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THE CHURCHES OF
BISHOP ROBERT GRAY &
MRS SOPHIA GRAY

An historical and architectural review

DESMOND KEITH MARTIN

Thesis presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Historical Studies, Faculty of Humanities,
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ABSTRACT

Bishop Robert Gray, the first Anglican Bishop of Cape Town, came to South Africa in 1848 to establish a province of the Established Church, the Church of England in the Cape Colony, adjacent territories and the island of St Helena. Gray's fourfold objective was to increase the number of clergy, to build churches and schools, to establish missions among the 'heathen' and to found a training college for young men. The focus of the thesis is Gray's second objective – his church building programme.

During the course of 25 years, the number of Anglican churches and school chapels increased from the 10 existing in 1848 to over 60 at the time of Gray's death in 1872. Throughout this period, the Bishop was assisted by his wife, Sophia, a self-taught architect, who is reputed to have designed the majority of the churches founded by her husband. The favoured architectural style for ecclesiastical buildings of the Victorian era, was a revived form of the ancient Gothic, thus the majority of Mrs Gray's churches follow the earliest version of the Gothic, Early English. Prior to leaving England, it is known that the Grays assembled a portfolio of architectural drawings, donations from architects such as William Butterfield and Henry Underwood. Other plans emanated from the architectural societies that had been established at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge where fervour for the correct interpretation of the Gothic had banded together hundreds of clerics, known as ecclesiologists. Other currents of thought like the Oxford Movement and Evangelicalism and the role of missions in the British Colonies, form a backdrop to the work of Robert Gray. Arising out of the disparate influences experienced during their early years in the ministry in England, prior to 1848, Robert and Sophia Gray formulated a consistent, mutual approach to the building of churches as part of the mental furniture and material wares, such as plans, architectural reference books and paper, which they brought with them for the ecclesiastical challenges in South Africa.

The objective of the thesis is fourfold: (1) it provides a catalogue of histories of the churches and chapels planted by Bishop Gray, which catalogue comprises the major part of the thesis, (2) it identifies and documents the churches, the authorship of whose design may be attributed to Mrs Gray, (3) it summarises the ecclesiastical and ecclesiological movements that influenced the Grays in their building programme, and (4) it assesses a range of stylistic and architectural elements of forty individual Anglican churches of which Mrs Gray was the author, in order to identify her overall style in relation to the Gothic Revival style of churches of mid-Victorian England.

An adjunct to the above is the information that was garnered on ancillary issues such as the financing of the individual churches, the part played by four Scottish stonemasons and, in the form of a case study, how Bishop Gray handled a particular, sensitive building issue. The thesis presented the author with an opportunity of documenting the few surviving copies of Mrs Gray's architectural drawings, which with some of her pencil sketches, serve as verification of her skill as a draughtsperson.

The thesis provides the evidence of a unique husband and wife partnership dedicated to consolidating existing English church communities, planting new ones and erecting places of worship that met predetermined ecclesiological standards.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The words and actions of a number of persons have greatly assisted and encouraged me during the years of research. I wish firstly to express my thanks to the members of the 1997 National Monuments Council (now the South African Heritage Resources Agency), under the Chairmanship of Professor John Milton, University of Natal, for their initial approval of my research programme and for financing the first year's costs.

I appreciated the enthusiastic cooperation received at the outset of the project from Mrs Anne Kotze, formerly Archivist of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, and the Revd Canon Arthur J R Beddy, previously Rector of St Jude's, Oudtshoorn and author of the *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools associated with Bishop Gray & Mrs Sophie Gray*. Letters of recommendation received from Revd Anthony Gregorowski and Revd Charles Church, enabled me to approach over forty Anglican churches across the country regarding proposed visits. To the many rectors, churchwardens and church secretaries of all these churches, I extend my thanks for giving me time at their churches for photographing and recording building details and consulting church records.

Librarians Ms Carol Archibald and Ms Michelle Pickover, at the CPSA Archives, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, and Ms Jane Ayres of the NMC Library, Cape Town, are thanked for recommending and locating books pertinent to my topic. I am indebted to personnel at the Diocesan Library, Church House, Cape Town and Mrs Diane Scogings, Natal Diocesan Archives, Pietermaritzburg, for their help. My visit in 2000 to the Diocese of Durham, England, was facilitated by the kind cooperation of Stephen Turnbull, Assistant Secretary, Board of Finance of the Diocese, Nicholas Rowark of the Durham Diocesan Board of Education, and Dr Janet Hodgson. The assistance of staff at the Drawings Collection, British Architectural Library, RIBA, London, was appreciated.

The ongoing counsel of Professor Michael Godby, Head of Department of History of Art, UCT, my supervisor, has been invaluable and I am particularly grateful for his meticulous consideration of all facets of the material to ensure comprehensive coverage of the topic. Comments by Architect John Rennie, on building with stone, were most useful.

Finally, to my wife, Marianna, who accompanied me on field trips and made allowances for my long hours in the study, for her constant encouragement, I give my thanks and love, which I also extend to my family, Ian, Catherine, Sharon and Diane, for their support.

DEO GRATIAS

I dedicate the thesis to the memory of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray, who demonstrated their faith by their works.

*They build not castles in the air
who would build churches on earth;
and though they leave no such structures here,
may lay good foundations in Heaven.¹*

*Pinelands, Cape Town
February 2002.*

¹ Sir Thomas Browne, *To a Friend*, quoted in G. Manuel & D. Hatfield, *District 6*, Cape Town, 1967.

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BISHOP ROBERT GRAY
FIRST BISHOP OF CAPE TOWN



Photograph possibly taken in Cape Town
(in the same studio and chair as the photograph on the next page).
From the AG 10077 Collection, State Archives

MRS SOPHIA GRAY AND BISHOP ROBERT GRAY



Above: Sophia Gray
a photograph taken at an unknown date;
from T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*.

Right top: Robert Gray
A photograph possibly taken at the time
of the Lambeth Conference, 1867

Right: Robert Gray
Taken possibly in Cape Town soon
after his arrival in 1848.
Jeffreys Collection 12616, State Archives



Source: Frontispiece, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*; Photograph originally in Church House, Cape Town.



Together with Holy Scripture and the Book of Common Prayer, Gray would have used the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England as the third essential reference work in his day-to-day decisions as priest and later as bishop. The Church of England subscribes to the Thirty-Nine Articles, the doctrinal statements drawn up in the 16th century to define the Church's stance in relation to religious beliefs and controversies of that time. The first draft was accepted in 1563 and for over 400 years the Articles have been used to reflect the doctrine of the Church. Every minister of the Church on induction to a new living, would be required "to read every Article and assent to each one..." and up to 1854, no one was permitted to teach at Oxford University without also assenting to the Articles.⁷ Robert Gray, having been ordained to the priesthood in the Church of England in January 1834, would have read and acknowledged the validity of the Articles when he was later inducted to the living at Whitworth, his first parish, in the Diocese of Durham.

Apart from the services of worship that Gray would have been obliged to conduct according to the Prayer Book, two sacraments⁸ were administered, which, though seen by many as adjuncts to the worship and preaching activities, are in fact the two essential rites upon which the Christian faith is based. Article XXV of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England states that "There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord." Five other "commonly called" Sacraments are not to be counted as such as "...they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God."⁹ The Sacraments exist as the means by which the participants indicate their membership of the Christian society and allegiance to Christ, yet the very nature of Christian sacraments emphasizes the social side of religion. These two Sacraments take the form of ceremonies among members of a society, stressing that religion includes a relationship to fellow believers as well as to God. In examining these essential services below, it will be apparent that the demand made on the church building is *visibility*, meaning that, because the congregation needs to be witnesses as well as partakers of the Sacraments, space for these must be adequate and the lighting conducive to both the performance and the appreciation of both ritual and ceremony.

In the service of Holy Baptism, the "sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened,"¹⁰ the intention is that it be *public*. The Bishop or Priest, in baptizing infants or adults at the font, pours water on each candidate's forehead three times, "once at the mention of each Person of the Holy Trinity".¹¹ Since medieval times, the font was almost always free-standing and positioned in the nave near the entrance to the church, symbolizing the entry of the child into the family of God. It was sometimes fixed against the west wall, virtually opposite the altar (which stands against the east wall of the nave or in the chancel). The service of Baptism is conducted with the priest, parents, godparents

⁷ M. De-la-Noy, *op cit.*, p43.

⁸ The term Sacrament came to be limited to those rites that were commanded in the New Testament.

⁹ E. J. Bicknell, *A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, (1919) p351. These five Sacraments are Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and extreme Unction. Though technically disregarded, church services relating to these are conducted and invariably take place at the east end of the church nave, just below the chancel steps.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p368.

¹¹ *An Anglican Prayer Book* (1989). Adult baptism by immersion, if desired and with the permission of the Bishop, may take place elsewhere than in the church building or in a place commonly used for worship, as this is not provided for within Anglican churches.

records of the Diocese kept by Sophia Gray between 1847 and 1865, that contains *inter alia* records of all land transfers to the Diocese, consecration dates of churches and burial grounds and dates of Visitations. Bishop Gray's published journals of his visitations of 1848, 1850, 1855, 1856, 1864 and 1865 (AB1161) were widely used as they contain Robert Gray's personal accounts and impressions of church sites, committees, building prospects and projects. His journals of March/June 1869, September/October 1869, 1871 and 1872 were published in *The Mission Field*. Among other primary sources were the Letterbooks of the Bishops (AB1162), Robert Gray's diary of 1837- 1844 (part of AB1161) and Sophia Gray's loose sketches, sketch book and book of architectural drawings (AB2137 & AB2070). Too numerous to list but of immense value were the original minute books of vestry meetings, building committee meetings and general meetings that a number of the churches retain on site in their archives or files.

The monumental work of Cecil Lewis and G E Edwards, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (1934), draws on the official accounts of Bishop Gray's many visitations to his diocese, on the published journals of the Bishop and his correspondence with church bodies in England. Gray's biography, *Life of Robert Gray*, published in two volumes in 1876 four years after his death, was written by H L Farrer (Mrs Sidney Lear) and edited by Gray's son, Rev Charles Gray. This detailed work makes useful references to the few church building projects of Gray in England prior to his departure for Cape Town as well as to many of the churches built in South Africa from 1848 onwards. The comprehensive history by C F Pascoe of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel between 1701 and 1900, *Two hundred Years of the SPG* (1901), devotes a number of chapters to the work of Bishop Gray and Anglican missionaries in Southern Africa. Other biographies on Bishop Gray such as Audrey Brookes' *Robert Gray – First Bishop of Cape Town* (1947), Anderson-Morhead's reminiscences of Robert Gray, *A Pioneer and Founder* (1905) and John Eedes' *Notes on some Recollections of the Life and Church work of Bishop Gray*, published serially in the *Cape Church Monthly* in 1892/93, describe the work and person of Robert Gray but "suffer from the inalienable defects of adulation."² No biographies of Sophia Gray have been written other than *The Bishop's Lady* (1970), a thoroughly researched account of her life in historical novel format by Thelma Gutsche that carries numerous references to Mrs Gray's churches, sourced from the Bishop's papers and journals. Augmenting the official history of the CPSA, the SPG and Gray's biographies, are many individual histories of Anglican churches established during the time of the Grays largely written by retired priests, churchwardens or long-standing members of the various congregations. Robert Langham-Carter's notable contribution to this group includes parish histories on Cape Town Anglican churches in Claremont (1973), Newlands (1977), Sea Point (1985), Constantia (1986), District 6 (1986), Woodstock (1988), Observatory (1992), and also Clanwilliam (1993). Architectural comment in separate histories is minimal but dates of key events in the life of each church, such as foundation stone-laying ceremonies, consecration services and opening services assist in completing the development account of church buildings.

As may be expected, monographs on the ecclesiastical architecture of South Africa in the 19th century, provide the richest source of information on the architectural style of

² T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, (Bibliography).

INTRODUCTION & METHODOLOGY

Robert Gray was consecrated as the first Anglican bishop of Cape Town in Westminster Abbey on 29 June 1847. Twenty-five years later he had established the independence of the Church of the Province of South Africa from the Privy Council in England which event signified the spiritual authority and autonomy of the South African Anglican Church. Within this quarter century the number of Anglican communities and churches increased from ten in 1847 to more than 100 at the time of Gray's death in 1872. The subject of this dissertation, however, is not on Robert Gray as churchman and theologian or on Mrs Sophia Gray as his amanuensis but on a unique husband and wife partnership dedicated to consolidating existing church communities, planting new ones and erecting worthy places of worship that met the ecclesiological standards of the period.

More specifically, the four-fold purpose of this study is (1) to provide a catalogue of histories of the churches and chapels planted by Bishop Robert Gray in South Africa during his episcopacy as Bishop of Cape Town between 1848 and 1872; (2) to identify and document the churches and chapels whose design or selection of design may be attributed to Mrs Sophia Gray; (3) to investigate and summarise the ecclesiastical and ecclesiological currents of thought in Britain at the time that influenced the Grays in their building programme, and (4) to assess selected architectural elements of the individual churches and chapels in South Africa designed by Mrs Gray in order to identify the overall style of her work in relation to the Gothic Revival style of churches in the mid-Victorian era in England.

The task of identifying churches and chapels designed by Mrs Gray would have been relatively simple had building plans of most of her churches survived. As this is not the case, attributing authorship of church designs to Mrs Gray had to depend on the literature as referred to in the following paragraphs. During the course of research, however, eleven architectural drawings by Sophia Gray, considered to be the only remaining examples of her work, were examined. These comprise the three pencil tracings by Dr Orpen of her plans for the Colesberg church, seven of Mrs Gray's original sketch plans for extensions to St Peter's Church, Pietermaritzburg, and a single sketch of the north façade of St James' Church, Worcester.¹ Most of these drawings have been reproduced as figures in Section 3.1 (Figures J, L, O, P, R, S, U, and V) as they provide invaluable evidence of Sophia Gray's draughtsmanship and knowledge of building construction.

The existing literature relating to the Grays is extensive, covering *inter alia* historical developments of the diocese, individual church histories, missionary enterprise, biographies, legal disputes and architectural comment on the ecclesiastical buildings associated with the Grays. In this introduction therefore, only the most useful reference works relevant to the design and building of the Gray churches will be mentioned. Primary source material, most of which is preserved in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) Archives, Johannesburg, included the *Chronicles of the Diocese of Capetown* (AB1159), a leather-bound volume of the

¹ The Colesberg drawings are in the State Archives, Cape Town, C.O. 593; St Peter's sketch plans are in the Natal Diocesan Archives, Pietermaritzburg and the Worcester sketch in the CPSA Archives (AB 1569 – 5.1.8.1), Johannesburg.

the Gray churches as the authors of the majority of these works were architects. Dennis Radford's unpublished doctoral thesis, *The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901* (1979), in particular, documents the approach taken by the Grays in establishing and building churches and gives professional comment (and in some cases reproductions of floor plans) of Mrs Gray's churches though the very wide scope of the thesis limited the number to less than half of the total churches she designed. Other literature includes Doreen Grieg's *A Guide to Architecture in South Africa* (1971), Hans Fransen and Mary Cook's *The Old Buildings of the Cape* (1980), and Ronald Lewcock's outstanding architectural work, *Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa* (1963), which describes the early Gothic style in the country but concentrates on buildings up to 1837. Desireé Picton-Seymour's writings included two authoritative works, *Victorian Buildings in South Africa* (1977) and *Historical Buildings in South Africa* (1989), the latter of which describes for historian and tourist, 300 buildings including five of Sophia's churches, that are part of South Africa's architectural heritage. In all of these, with the exception of Radford's thesis, references to the churches are, by nature of the topics covered, both selective and abbreviated. No major work has been undertaken to provide a comprehensive historical and architectural appraisal of Bishop and Mrs Gray's churches.

In attempting to establish the full scope of the Grays' building programme, a number of architectural historians in recent decades have provided accurate basic information on the founding and consecration dates of churches in the form of lists. Foremost among these is the *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools associated with Bishop Gray & Mrs Sophie Gray 1847 – 1872*, compiled by Rev Arthur J R Beddy in 1985. Robert Langham-Carter's list, *Buildings wholly or partly designed by Mrs Gray* (1974) and *Architects and Builders of Some Churches in S.A.* (1977), provide confirmatory information for the Beddy list as does the summary of lists compiled by Professor Paul Kotze and Martie Bitzer in 1998. The Beddy list names 107 churches that were in some way associated with the Grays; it may be said that his list provided the starting point for this thesis, the reach of which could only be determined after the completion of wide ranging research of churches and chapels erected between 1848 and beyond 1872. This involved both archival research and fieldwork.

Archival research was conducted at the Church of the Province of Southern Africa Archives (University of the Witwatersrand), the State Archives, Cape Town, the National Library of SA, Cape Town (previously the S A Library), the National Monuments Library, Cape Town and the UCT Libraries, Rondebosch. The Drawings Collection of the RIBA, London and the Durham County Archives, Durham, provided information and plans of churches relating to Robert Gray's early years at Whitworth Parish Church near Durham. Fieldwork involved visiting all the churches thought to be Sophia Gray's work (in excess of 40 sites) in the Western and Eastern Cape and two churches in KwaZulu-Natal to photograph, sketch and measure selected architectural features and to consult primary source records such as early minute books and correspondence, where these old records are still held on site. Fieldwork in Britain concentrated on County Durham where the Whitworth and Byers Green Churches were inspected. Visits to St Cuthbert's Dalmeny Parish Church near Edinburgh and the town of Brechin, Scotland were also made. The link between the named churches and Robert Gray is explained in the thesis.

Following the elimination of churches and chapels on the Beddy list that were extant

prior to the Bishop's arrival in Cape Town, those erected after the death of both Sophia and Robert Gray, and those that research just conducted indicated were *not* established or planted by Bishop Gray, a total of 50 churches remained. Histories of the 50 churches in Section 2.2 were written paying special attention to establishing the author of the plans for each church. The histories invariably follow a similar format to provide the essential information on the church building under four sub-headings: *How the Church was Planted*, *The Church Building Project*, *The Architect of the Church*, and *Architectural Features*. After identifying 40 of the churches as buildings for which Sophia Gray could probably be credited with the authorship of the design, it was considered logical to exclude from the architectural review, the 10 churches where the designer could not be identified or where plans by another architect had been supplied. Towards the end of the research and fieldwork, 8 churches that were initially disregarded as 'Gray' churches, were grouped together as *Other Churches associated with the Grays*. Although the Grays' part in the establishment and design of these is vague, evidence gathered thus far was documented to achieve as full a review of their work as possible.

The difficulty in establishing authorship of building plans is not a new phenomenon though it must be addressed at this point with regard to Mrs Gray's role in the church building programme. The thesis records the fact that the Grays possessed plans of English architects and plans supplied by Ecclesiological societies when they sailed for South Africa in December 1847. It will also be shown that the grand expectations the new bishop had for building finely detailed Gothic structures had to be modified for a number of reasons. Mrs Gray's understanding of architecture was more than adequate to amend where necessary the plans of other architects but the *extent* to which she modified these without the original plans is impossible to measure. Mrs Gray is (1) attributed authorship of churches and chapels for which she evidently supplied designs, whether extensively or minimally simplified, where these may have been copies of churches in England. Neither is exception made (2) of those churches completed with varying degrees of deviation from her plans by local builders. There are no doubt cases (3), where church plans were hers in totality. (These were the three factors Rev Beddy applied when he marked 39 churches on his list with asterisks to denote Sophia Gray designs). Lastly, (4), where *working drawings* of her sketch plans are known to have been prepared by another, Mrs Gray rightfully remains author of the design. Despite the above criteria, awarding authorship of designs remained a problematic aspect throughout the thesis, depending largely as it does on evaluation of archival evidence, stylistic features of the extant structures, the manner in which each church as an entity relates to the architecture of the group but rarely on popular opinion or legend. The thesis deals with this issue again in the Conclusion.

The establishment of the founding and opening dates of the majority of the churches allowed the construction periods of the churches and chapels to be plotted on a time chart. This is included in the thesis in Section 2.6 as the *Church Construction Chart*. It became apparent that the church building activities of the Grays over about a quarter century could usefully be divided into five phases, with a sixth phase to cover churches built after 1872 but to Sophia Gray designs. The histories of churches in Section 2.2 have thus been presented in six sub-sections, each under cover of a page that carries an abbreviated summary of the visitations to the diocese made by Bishop Gray during each building phase, considering that most of the Gray churches were initiated during the course of tours-of-duty.

Unemployment after the Napoleonic Wars was rife in Britain, a situation that led to calls for political reform, to riots and the infamous 'Peterloo' incident in Manchester in 1819. With the threat of discontent becoming revolution, and to address widespread poverty and redundancy of the workforce, the British Parliament responded on 12 July 1819 by voting £50 000 "for the passage of carefully selected emigrants to the eastern districts of the Cape Colony"⁵. An article in the *Times* of 18 June 1819 epitomizes the stance taken by the upper classes at the time: *Carry out as settlers all the families who have not bread nor labour here, and we lay for posterity another England, with which... the mother country will be joined in bands indissoluble.*⁶

The unprecedented settler project of 1820 orchestrated by the Colonial Office was to have far-reaching implications in South Africa. Over 4000 Britons immigrated to the Cape with thousands more following in subsequent years. The peopling of the colony in significant numbers in 1820, however, had been preceded by missionaries of various British and European missionary societies. In addition to the proliferation of Protestant missionary movements, British rule from 1806 also "exposed South Africa... to a dynamic global economy."⁷ It was David Livingstone who said that Britons could be harbingers of peace to a downtrodden race and that Africans "... could be elevated to a higher level of civilization by the elimination of the slave trade... and by the introduction of Christianity and commerce".⁸ The Colonial church and missionaries, however, have been regarded by some historiographers as "agents of colonialism and precursors of colonial conquerors..." on the grounds that missionaries (and clergymen in colonies for that matter) were "involved in religious and secular colonization, and Christianity did go hand-in-hand with commerce..."⁹

The appointment of military chaplains and the fact of ecclesiastical grants for all denominations was implicit recognition by the 'Home and Colonial Governments' of the role of Christianity in the Colony.¹⁰ Though the Anglican Church's grant in 1847 was less than half that of the Dutch Reformed Church, the close working relationship Bishop Gray had with the Cape Governors, adds to the belief that Christianity (the Anglican Church in particular), was regarded as an arm of local Colonial policy. The actions of Sir George Grey may be cited as a further example.¹¹ When he arrived as the new Governor in December 1854, Grey had just resolved the native question in New Zealand and was determined to attempt the same pacifying method in South Africa. Believing in "christianizing and educating the native tribes as a preventative of war", he called meetings of various religious bodies with the idea of starting educational industrial schools, run by the missions. Bishop Gray wrote, "Sir George Grey informs me that it is his intention to begin to help the races on the frontiers... The whole cost to the British Government will be £45000 of which the colony will only be able to give £5000. It is a bold step... without it there will be war."¹²

⁵ A. T. Wirgman, *The English Church in South Africa*, p75.

⁶ Quoted in L. Bryer and K. S. Hunt, *The 1820 Settlers*, p15. The 'another England' lasted until 1910.

⁷ R. Elphick and R. Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa*, p3.

⁸ O. Furley, 'The Humanitarian Impact' in C. J. Bartlett, *Britain Pre-eminent*, p146.

⁹ J. du Bruyn and N. Southey, 'The Treatment of Christianity & Protestant Missionaries in South African Historiography' in H. Bredekamp and R. Ross (eds.), *Missions and Christianity in South African History*, p36, p38.

¹⁰ W. A. Newman, *Biographical Memoirs of John Montagu*, p283.

¹¹ C. Lewis and G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, p252.

¹² *Ibid.* Gray's letter was dated December 1854. The addressee is not disclosed.

The undue tendency among modern historians to regard materialist motivation as the “essential undercurrent of change” has recently been recognized by Elphick and Davenport.¹³ Any account of churches and missions in South Africa of the 19th century should acknowledge that though the whole range of church and mission action was about *change*, “it was motivated by principles of Christian charity and love of one’s neighbour... the missionaries sought religious conversion and social change from a benevolent spirit”.¹⁴ These sentiments, as far as Bishop Gray was concerned, correlate with his seeking out in the years of his episcopacy, the churchless, scattered English settlers who had become detached from the ‘Mother Church’, and the native ‘heathen’ who were in dire need of religious conversion, which was believed to be nothing but beneficial for their ultimate spiritual salvation, for the promotion of God’s glory, and “the extension of the Kingdom of [his] ever-blessed Redeemer.”¹⁵

A purity of motive detached from commercial gain is also evident in the records of a meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), held in London on 19 March 1839. A petition to the House of Commons was agreed upon, requesting the House to sanction measures to provide “more effectually for the religious instruction of the Colonies...” including the erection of new churches and chapels commensurate with the needs of the Colonists. The SPCK added that no new Colonies should be founded without express provision being made for instructing inhabitants “in the truths... of Christianity according to the principles of the Church of England.”¹⁶ It was this petition that led to the raising of the Colonial Bishops Fund in 1841, to which the Church Societies, the SPCK and the SPG gave substantial donations (the part played by the SPCK and SPG in funding Bishop Gray’s church building projects is addressed in Section 2.3) and the subsequent endowment in 1847 of the See of Cape Town to which Robert Gray was called.

In the two decades leading up to 1848, Robert Gray had been conditioned by the principles of faith and movements within the Church. He had received his Deacon’s Orders in 1833, and had been ordained the following year. He had been challenged by the ecclesiastical revival in Oxford in the 1830s (discussed under ‘Tractarianism’ in Section 1.2) that advanced the recognition of the Church “as the spiritual Body of Christ, and not as a Whitehall Department of State”.¹⁷ After his marriage to Sophia in 1836, the couple had become aware of the popular support within ecclesiastical circles for the building of churches in the Gothic Revival architectural style. In towns and villages, new churches were being built at a faster rate than any other period of the Church’s history. Thus when the call came to Robert to serve in Africa as the continent’s first Anglican bishop, they sailed from England with preconceptions for Anglican liturgy and ecclesiology, for a land far removed physically, climatically and culturally from their own. The thesis is an analysis of the resultant overall building programme and the individual churches and chapels it produced.

¹³ R. Elphick and R. Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa*, (1997), preface.

¹⁴ J. du Bruyn and N. Southey, *op cit.*, p39, quoting from A.J. Dachs (ed.), *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, Vol.1, p53.

¹⁵ Sentiments expressed by Gray in his journal on his 39th birthday, 3 October 1848, while at Sundays River Inn, during his first Visitation to his diocese.

¹⁶ J. A. Hewitt, *Sketches of English Church History*, p78.

¹⁷ H. Davies, *Great South African Christians*, p51.

PART ONE – THE PERIOD PRIOR TO 1848; THE CHURCH, THE GOTHIC ETHIC AND THE GRAYS

1.1 THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: STATUS, DOCTRINES AND LITURGY AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE ON INTERNAL SPACE OF CHURCHES OF THE GOTHIC REVIVAL

In order to understand the religious arena in which Robert Gray and his wife operated it is essential to review, as background material, the status, doctrines and functions of the Church of England to which the Grays were committed and to consider the demands made by its liturgy on the internal architecture and the basic internal fittings and furniture of the churches of the period.

It is not possible, however, to cover anything more than brief facts relating to the status of the Church of England and to those services that required space within the physical confines of a church.

The Church of England has been known as a Church ‘by law established’ since 1559 when the Second Act of Supremacy was enacted under Elizabeth I. A consequence of this Act, known as the Elizabethan Settlement, was the use of the title, ‘Supreme Governor of the Church of England’ by the sovereign. The Settlement itself “was born... out of a need to define the status and authority of a national Church”.¹ As the national Church (of Great Britain), it has been at the service of all the citizens of the country, irrespective of their formal allegiance, and serves the whole country and not “just one religious segment of it.”² Another aspect of relevance to this thesis is that the Established Church is responsible for the appointment of diocesan bishops and cathedral deans. Robert Gray’s appointment as Bishop of Cape Town in 1847, though approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, also received the consent of Queen Victoria. After realising that the massive Diocese of Cape Town could not be effectively administered by a single bishop, Robert travelled to England in 1852 to press, *inter alia*, for the division of the diocese. The Queen was thus subsequently involved in the appointment of bishops for the dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal.

In addition to the Bible³, an essential handbook for Robert Gray as a minister of the Church of England, would have been the 1662 Book of Common Prayer,⁴ which sets out the liturgy, the Church’s formularies for public worship. The 1662 Prayer Book comprises five parts, also termed ‘books’, which lays down the ‘order’ or ‘form’ for a variety of services. These included the Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany (a service of intercession after Morning Prayer), Holy Communion, Baptism, and ‘Other rites and ceremonies of the church’ such as Confirmation, ‘Solemnization of Matrimony’, Burial of the Dead and the Communion⁵. Each type of service has its own ‘ceremonial’ (“the manner of *doing*”) and its own ‘ritual’ (“the manner of *saying*”).⁶ Some of these will be examined in detail later in this section.

¹ M. De-la-Noy, *The Church of England*, p34.

² *Ibid.*

³ In the form of the King James (or Authorised) Version of the Holy Bible (1611).

⁴ The 1662 Book of Common Prayer is heir to the three Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, and 1559.

⁵ Communion was the Denouncing of God’s Anger and Judgements against Sinners. This took the form of warnings of the consequences of a sinful life and pleas of the parishioners for mercy.

⁶ P. Dearmer, *Everyman’s History of the Prayer Book* (1912), p20.

In summary, the thesis was written with a number of objectives in mind:

- a) It provides comment on the Church of England, its rituals and ceremonials and the space these required within a typical parish church; it presents an overview of the characteristics of the Evangelical and High Church parties including the Oxford Movement within the Church of England;
- b) It reviews briefly the changes in architectural style in Britain as these effected ecclesiastical buildings during the first half of the 19th century and outlines the origins, objectives and achievements of the Ecclesiologists;
- c) It sets out the architectural interests and accomplishments of both Robert and Sophia Gray prior to 1848, with special reference to Robert Gray's church-building and mission interests and his reading programme, while he was Rector of Whitworth and Stockton;
- d) It seeks to formulate the philosophy adopted by Bishop Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray that regulated their approach to building churches in South Africa between 1848 and 1872;
- e) It documents comprehensive histories of 50 churches planted by Bishop Gray, in chronological order of their founding dates, as well as noting a further 8 churches where the history of the Grays' involvement is unclear;
- f) It evaluates the design of 40 churches attributed to Mrs Gray, in relation to the Ecclesiological standards and preferences as published by the Cambridge Camden Society in collaboration with the Incorporated Church Building Society;
- g) It documents as an adjunct to the main objectives of the thesis: the *modus operandi* of Bishop Gray with building committees, using a church at Mossel Bay as a case study; the ways in which building projects were funded; the contribution made by Scottish stonemasons to some of the churches in the programme;
- h) It reproduces some of Sophia Gray's sketches and rare examples of her building plans as evidence of her competency as artist and architect.

The Grays grew up in an era in Britain when the Church of England, the Established Church, as well as the State, were in crisis. Robert Gray was born three years after the Cape of Good Hope had been taken by Britain for the second time, in 1806, in the early years of the Napoleonic Wars. It was a time when Britain's overseas traffic had increased rapidly and when British colonies had grown in number and wealth. Industrialization of the country had caused and continued to be the reason for a marked drift of people to the towns and cities, where burgeoning populations created an alarming lack of accommodation in the churches. This insufficiency was perceived to be "a danger to the Church of England and to religion generally"³ and the Church Building Act of 1818 was passed in an effort to relieve the situation (discussed in Section 1.2). The Act is an example of the State's involvement in the affairs of the Church but also tacit recognition of Christianity as a means to steady the moral fibre of the nation. An earlier act of 1786 that permitted colonial and missionary bishoprics was an indication by the State, not only that Anglican services should not be confined to the garrison churches, but also that natives within the colonies should have access to the Gospel.⁴

³ F. Warre Cornish, *A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, p77.

⁴ G. Stamp, 'Church Architecture', in R. Fernor-Hesketh (ed.), *Architecture of the British Empire*, p153.

and children grouped and standing around the font. The Instructions of the Church-Building Society (1842) stated that the font was “to be fixed at the west end of the building, or as near as convenient to the principal entrance, but not so as to be under a gallery. Care to be taken that sufficient space is allowed for the sponsors to kneel. The font to be of stone as directed by the Canon, and large enough to admit of the immersion of infants. To be provided with a water-drain.”¹²

The Holy Communion (or Eucharist or Mass) is central to the Church’s liturgy, depicting in the symbols of bread and wine, the sacrificial death and resurrection of Christ. As the elements of bread and wine are shared by the priest¹³ to those members participating in the service, so believers share in forgiveness of their sins by the death of Christ and in new life, by his rising again. The Sacrament originated from the last shared supper between Christ and his disciples when they were commanded to re-enact the occasion by his words, “Do this in remembrance of me.”¹⁴ Since then, for two thousand years, the Holy Communion has been the most sacred service of the Christian faith, not only for the Anglo-Catholic Church but for most Christian denominations world-wide. (The frequent references in Robert Gray’s journals to him conducting Communion services, especially during his many visitations from 1848 onwards to church communities in the Diocese of Cape Town, indicate Gray’s commitment to this main event in the life of the Church). Though the Communion service is centred on the elements of bread and wine, the *table* or *altar*, on which the supper is shared and Christ’s death remembered, is the single piece of church furniture, pre-eminent among the other sacred and utilitarian fixtures and furnishings.

The English parish church was designed for a very clear purpose; it had to accommodate the congregation *and* it had to make provision for liturgical space – “for the unencumbered celebration of the Mass.”¹⁵ This gave rise to the nave with an articulated chancel (Refer Figure A.1). In addition to the west tower, a characteristic of churches since Anglo-Saxon times, two lesser spaces, the porch and the vestry became useful, almost indispensable additions to the basic plan. In Pugin’s words, “An old English parish church as originally used for the ancient worship was one of the most beautiful and appropriate buildings the mind of man could conceive; every portion of it answered both a useful and mystical purpose.”¹⁶ Excluding the tower, the requirements for and characteristics of the four named spaces of a typical 19th century parish church, with which Robert Gray would have been familiar, are now examined.

NAVE¹⁷: The largest space in the Gothic Revival church, the nave, accommodated the congregation, its members usually seated in wooden pews¹⁸ with the pews facing the altar in the chancel or the east end of the nave where there was no chancel. The Ecclesiologist’s ‘instructions’ for *Seats* in churches were that “The seats must be so placed as that no part of the congregation may turn their backs upon the altar. There must invariably be an open central passage up the whole length of the Church, from

¹² *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p155. This publication will be discussed fully in Section 1.2.

¹³ The priest leading the service ‘celebrates’ the Holy Communion and is thus called the ‘celebrant’.

¹⁴ *Holy Bible*, St Luke, Chapter 22 v19.

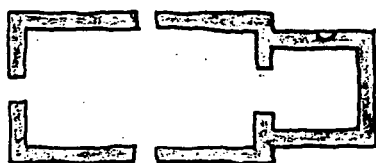
¹⁵ C. Platt, *The Parish Churches of Medieval England*, (1995), p13.

¹⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, p42.

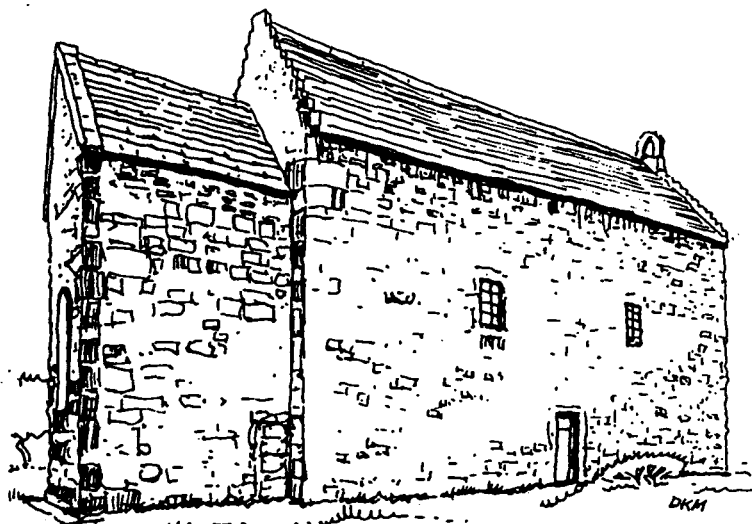
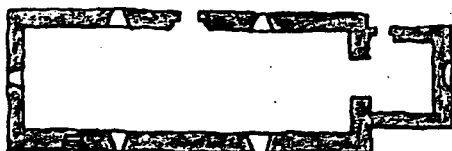
¹⁷ Derived from the Latin for a ship (*navis*), the Church being regarded as the refuge on the sea of life.

¹⁸ The enclosed (box) pews of the 17th and 18th centuries, for which rents were often charged, became unpopular in the 19th century. The Ecclesiologists did not approve of them and preferred ‘open seats with backs’ (*The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p156.)

PRE-GOTHIC AND GOTHIC REVIVAL PARISH CHURCH PLANS

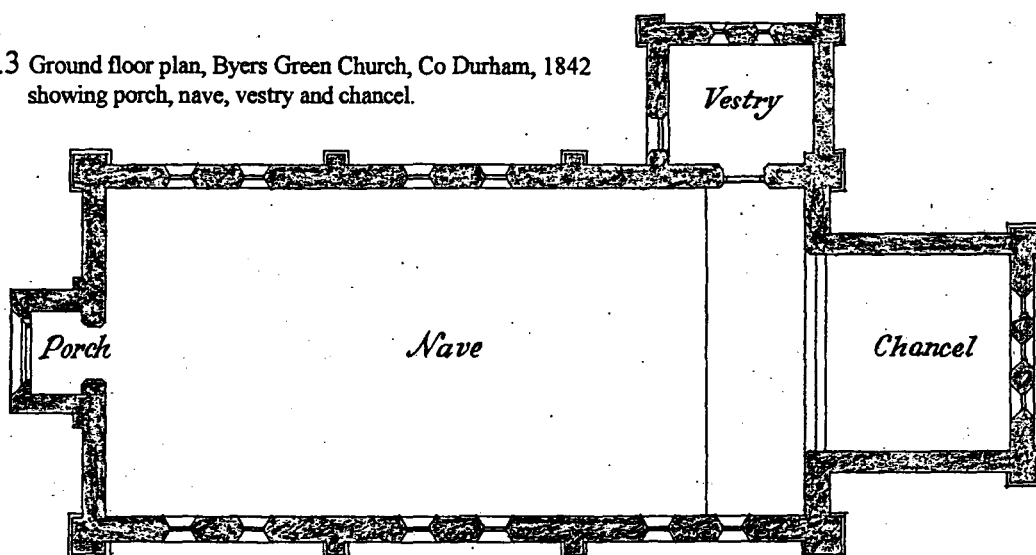


A.1 Plan, Saxon church at Boarhunt, Hampshire, 11th century



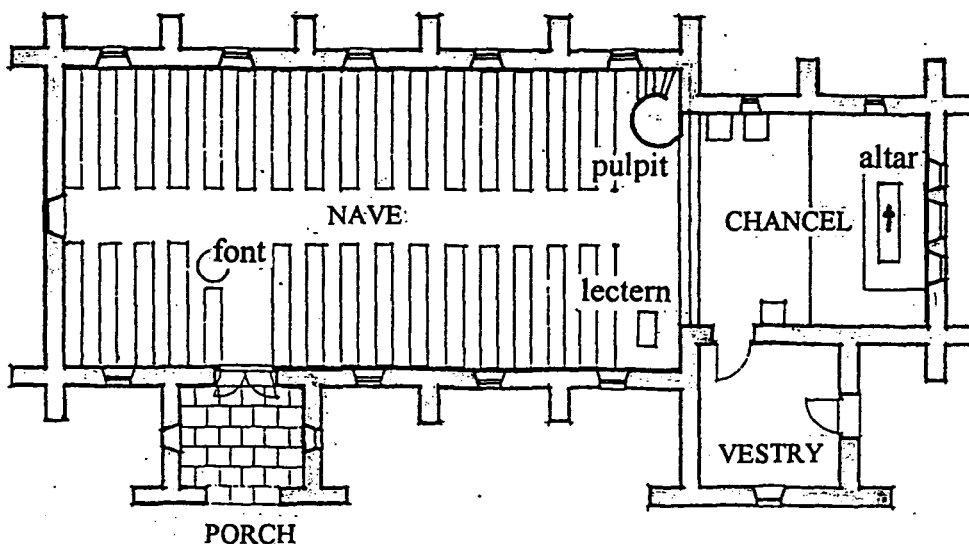
A.2 Chancel and Nave (North-east elevation) and plan of Saxon church, Escomb, Co Durham, 7th century

A.3 Ground floor plan, Byers Green Church, Co Durham, 1842 showing porch, nave, vestry and chancel.



Designed: G. Y. Wall, 1842

Drawn from Elevations & Sections
D.K. Martin, 2001



A.4 Typical Gothic Revival parish church plan, c1865, showing porch, nave, vestry and chancel and positions of pulpit, font, altar, lectern and pews.

west to east.” The distance from the back of one seat to that of the next depended “in great measure on the height of the backs and the arrangements for kneeling.”¹⁹ The recommended gap was three feet “or even *three feet four inches*.” Further detailed dimensions were given by the editors to ensure the comfort of congregations. The Ecclesiologists endorsed the instruction that a means for kneeling during prayers, a centuries-old custom of the Church, had to be provided. In this instance too, comfort was a consideration and thus hassocks were preferred to kneeling boards.²⁰ The size of a nave was thus influenced by the basic design of the pew, the kneeling arrangements and the gap between seats.²¹

In a Gothic Revival church, the nave abuts the chancel at the chancel steps under a pointed chancel arch, framing the altar at the east end of the chancel. The pulpit and reading desk (or lectern) are positioned respectively on the left and the right of the chancel arch (Refer Figure A.4). Scripture readings (lessons) are an integral part of many of the services; portions from the Gospels are read from the pulpit whereas other portions of Scripture are read from the reading desk or lectern.²² The left side of the nave thus became known as the Gospel side and the right side of the nave, the Epistle side. Ecclesiologists supported the instruction that “The reading-pew should not be so elevated as to resemble a second pulpit; and both reading-pew and pulpit should be so placed as to intercept the view of the east end as little as possible from the body of the Church.”²³

The focal point of the nave is the middle of the church at the foot of the chancel steps. The various services are held in different places, and each makes its own demand on the envelope created by the church walls, as stated by Rev Dr Dearmer,²⁴ “... the Holy Communion is a great action done solemnly at the altar [whether there be a chancel or not. In the latter case, the altar would stand against the east wall of a nave, as was the case in many of the churches built by the Grays (Refer Section 3.1)]. Baptism is a service of admission, done at the font near the church door; the Marriage rite is the Christian blessing of the affianced pair, leading them from the body of the church to the Lord’s Table; the Communion begins with warning from the pulpit and concludes with penitence when the priest and clerks kneel amidst the people in the nave; the Litany is a special intercession, sung in winding procession through the aisles, to culminate at the chancel-step... But Mattins and Evensong are said or sung within the choir, the congregation itself being accommodated when there is room...”

Apart from the five main items of ecclesiastical furniture already discussed, *viz* altar, font, pews, pulpit and reading desk, there were numerous other items found in Victorian Gothic churches. These include the *altar rail* (timber or iron rail extending across the chancel in front of the altar at which communicants kneel when receiving the bread and wine during Communion); *reredoses* (the ornamental or painted

¹⁹ *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p156.

²⁰ Hassocks are small, rectangular padded cushions used for kneeling.

²¹ Larger Gothic churches were often built with one or two aisles and transepts. Where more space was required in a small church, the addition of an aisle was an option. This is discussed in Section 3.1

²² In medieval times the Gospel was read from a lectern in the chancel. After the Reformation the lectern was moved into the nave. The lectern often takes the form of a brass eagle, supporting the Bible or reading material on its outstretched wings.

²³ *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, pp155, 156.

²⁴ P. Dearmer, *Everyman’s History of the Prayer Book* (1912), p145. Dearmer also wrote a companion volume, *Everyman’s History of the English Church*.

backdrops to the altar, made of marble, alabaster or wooden panels); *sedilia* (seats of stone or wooden chairs against the walls of the chancel, reserved for the clergy). Judging from occasional comments in Robert Gray's journals, the parish churches he and his wife built in South Africa were seldom equipped with much more than the rudimentary pieces of furniture as drawn by Mrs Gray in her plan for Christ Church, Colesberg (Refer Figure J). Neither were arrangements made to accommodate church organs. Mrs Gray's Colesberg plan carries the words, *Seraphine here*, indicating that the early churches invariably had to rely for their music on harmoniums, placed at floor level in the nave.

CHANCEL: Long before the Gothic style manifested itself in Britain in the late twelfth century, recognition was given by the Anglo-Saxons to the east end of the church for its sacred function; the earliest extant nave-and-chancel church at Escomb, County Durham, was built in the 7th century (Refer Figure A.1 & 2). Apart from a brief revival after the Norman conquest of the semi-circular apse, the square east end became standard in English churches throughout the middle ages, either as a single cell or with nave and chancel annexed to each other in what is now called the 'cellular linear' plan.²⁵ The chancel, also called the *Sanctuary*, was reserved in medieval times for the clergy but after the Reformation, the chancel was opened to the parishioners to receive Communion. Chancel space thus became entrenched in church planning in the three phases of the Gothic styles and when the Gothic revivalists of the nineteenth century took up the style again for ecclesiastical buildings, the chancel was regarded as a non-negotiable option in church plans. The Tractarians²⁶ went further and recommended the long chancel for larger Gothic churches so that robed choirs could be accommodated at the western end of the chancel, known as the *choir*.²⁷

The sacred function of the chancel was emphasized by *The Ecclesiologist* while reviewing a new church in Cambridge in its very first issue in November 1841. It claimed that the most important requisite in erecting a church "is that it be built in such a way that the Rubrics and Canons of the Church of England may be consistently observed, and the Sacraments rubricly and decently administered." The editors asked, "How can the chancel 'remain as it hath done in times past' when there is no Chancel whatever?" Neither did they want it said that if there were insufficient funds, a church could be built *without* a chancel, anymore than a church could be built without pews. The church in question had been built with a tower, which provoked the response, "This... ought never to have been thought of, if it involved the sacrifice of the Chancel." George Gilbert Scott was criticized two months later after nine of his designs for new churches were reviewed by *The Ecclesiologist*: "... we must mention that fatal fault of which we have so often spoken – *the absence or curtailed proportions of the chancel*. In these designs, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7 have no Chancel whatever; and 4 has merely a pentagonal Apse."²⁸ Scott's omission of chancels from six of the nine plans reviewed can only be attributed to his lack of experience at the time.²⁹

²⁵ C. Platt, *The Parish Churches of Medieval England*, p13.

²⁶ The Tractarians and the Oxford Movement are covered in the following section.

²⁷ The *choir* is the part of a long chancel where divine service can be sung. The terms *chancel* and *choir* are not synonymous as the choir can be in the nave. Usually reserved for choristers, the choir is often fitted with highly decorated seats known as choir stalls.

²⁸ January 1842, p56.

²⁹ Scott (1811-1878), later Sir George Gilbert, was still to be acclaimed as the most prolific of the High Victorian architects who led his age in the Gothic Revival. Two of his foremost works in London are the Albert Memorial (1863-72) and St Pancras Station Midland Hotel (1868-76). The designs for the

To give further prominence to the chancel and to ensure that the ceremonial at the altar was visible to all, ancient usage required that both the chancel floor and altar be raised. In churches of the Gothic Revival, the number of steps into the chancel was "... a step or two above the floor of the nave" with the altar "raised two or more steps above the floor of the chancel."³⁰ William Butterfield's church at Coalpit Heath (1844) had a single step into the chancel and the altar was raised on three further steps. The church at Byers Green (1842) that Robert Gray was instrumental in founding (Refer Figure A.3) had a raised area at the eastern end of the nave and three steps leading up into the chancel.³¹

PORCH AND VESTRY: Though not essential to worship as the fundamental spaces of nave and chancel, the porch and the vestry were considered desirable in the Gothic Revival church for more practical reasons. In medieval times the porch had unique liturgical functions. At baptisms, the priest would meet the sponsors and child at the porch where the service began while the first part of marriage ceremonies could start in the porch. The porch is still the starting point in Anglican churches for the Palm Sunday procession. The porch was usually positioned against the nave on the south side, close to the corner but not flush with the west wall (Refer Figure A.4). At the time when Gilbert Scott's nine plans were being assessed, *The Ecclesiologist* also commented on a church at Hartshill, near Newcastle-under-Line. The church had "a good Chancel, Nave, two Aisles, S. Porch, and a Tower... The only thing we could wish altered... is the position of the porch, which now stands in the last, or westernmost bay, instead of the last but one."³² The Byers Green church had no south porch but a centrally placed porch on the western wall (Refer Figure A.3). A review of the place where porches abut churches built by the Grays is given in Section 3.1.

The vestry provides the priest and other clergy with private space where they may be robed for the particular service to be conducted. In small churches where there is no sacristy,³³ vestries invariably also store the essential consecrated vessels and elements for the Communion as well as altar cloths, frontals, candlesticks, crucifixes etc. There are usually two doors to a vestry; one on an outside wall to give the priest access to the vestry, and another often smaller door (priest's door), opening directly into the chancel or nave. The vestry, if not built simultaneously with other parts of a church, may be added later to the chancel or nave. It was not uncommon for small churches to be built with nave and vestry as was the case at Colesberg (1849), where the vestry was planned and built in 1850-53, ahead of the chancel and porch that were only added in 1880.

The role of towers in Gothic Revival churches is addressed in Section 3.1.

nine churches were from his early period during which much of his work was designing gaols and workhouses.

³⁰ *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p155.

³¹ The three steps are presumed to be Trinitarian symbolism.

³² January 1842, p58.

³³ Small room for the storage of sacred vessels and vestments.

1.2 THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: EVANGELICALISM, CHURCH BUILDING, TRACTARIANISM, AND THE ECCLESIOLOGISTS

The history of the Church of England, the Established Church, is inextricably bound with the history of the State. Political events, Acts of the British Parliament and social and religious movements cannot be easily disassociated from the Church's complicated history. These events and currents of religious thought impacted on the lives of Robert and Sophia Gray and became part of their mental furniture with which they arrived in South Africa in February 1848.

Following the religious revivals in Britain in the eighteenth century across all denominations under men such as John and Charles Wesley, Griffith Jones, George Whitfield and Charles Simeon, personal religion became a major issue with both clergy and people and it was "almost fashionable to be religious"³⁴ For the Church of England, the nineteenth century was to become a field of debate between corporate religion and individual religion, the former represented by the so-called High Church party and the latter by the Low Church party, also known as the Evangelicals. During the early part of the century, many of the High Church party, regarded as being indifferent and even hostile to religious excitement, did little spiritual work themselves, neglected Church observances and celebrated the Holy Communion once or at most three or four times a year.³⁵ On the other hand, among the same section of the Established Church, there were those who sincerely observed the old-fashioned order and concerned themselves with doctrine. From these would arise the scholars of the Oxford Movement, discussed later in this section. The Evangelicals within the Established Church at this time became identified with philanthropic movements but showed little inclination to inquire into issues such as the origins of the Prayer Book of the Church of England. This was in keeping with their openness towards all Protestant denominations and which manifested itself in a willingness to work with Non-conformists such as the Baptists, Presbyterians and Independents.³⁶ Robert Gray encountered men from both persuasions within the Established Church and was influenced by their approach to the mission of Church in his time as priest and during the twenty-five years of his incumbency as Bishop of Cape Town between 1848 and 1872.

EVANGELICALISM

The progress in religious and mission activity that marks the nineteenth century would not have taken place without the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century. Having begun on evangelical lines, however, it was believed by the High Church group within the Church of England that, as Evangelicalism laid stress only on the doctrine that appeared to its devotees to lead to conversion and sanctification of the souls of men, its 'Gospel' was limited; emphasis on salvation alone omitted the vital corporate union of Christians in the Anglican Church and with the Sacraments which are the channels of God's grace.³⁷ These truths which the Evangelicals omitted to teach were considered to be the single great influence that produced the Oxford Movement. Evangelicals in all denominations owed their prominence in the early years of the century principally to their activity in humanitarian and Christian service

³⁴ F. W. Cornish, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, p3.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p5.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p10.

³⁷ H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, Vol. I, p256.

organizations, headed by leaders who showed that strictness in religion could be combined with efficiency in business. Only the briefest of mentions can be made of the charitable work of some of the Evangelicals within the Church of England. The *Clapham Sect* provides an example of the deep spiritual devotion, missionary zeal and practical Christianity of Anglican Church Evangelicals.³⁸ Its members, mostly from the upper classes, met for prayer and Bible study in Clapham, London, and concerned themselves initially with the effects of the French Revolution on life in Britain. They were committed to the abolition of the slave trade from 1787 onwards and kept the matter before the British Parliament. Pre-eminent among the Claphamites was William Wilberforce, a parliamentarian and churchman who, with Sir Thomas Buxton and others, exposed the wickedness of the trade. The Abolition Bill was passed in 1807 and the Emancipation Act in 1833, the latter ensuring the freedom of all slaves in British territories. Despite Britain's stance and actions in this matter, slavery continued well into the century and Robert Gray was to experience first hand the plight of rescued slaves while on a visit to St Helena in 1849.

The Religious Tract Society (RTS), established in 1799 with the object of circulating evangelical tracts, was founded largely through the writings of Hannah More. The Society, led by clergymen from the Church of England as well as other denominations, channelled their missionary zeal into the translation of tracts in foreign languages for distribution to Europe, India and China. The Society also published commentaries on the Bible, with which Robert and Sophia Gray were familiar.³⁹

The two 'outreach' societies of the Church of England, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) must be mentioned here although they had been established almost a century before the Evangelicals within the Anglican church became known. The SPCK was founded in 1698, its primary object being religious education⁴⁰ while the SPG, established in 1701, was the missionary arm concerned with planting the Church of England in British Colonies and "evangelising the heathen."⁴¹ Despite earlier commitments to missionary endeavours *outside* Africa, both the SPCK and the SPG featured prominently in the funding of missions and church building projects in South Africa.⁴² Robert Gray was directly influenced by the SPG and from January 1840 he served the Society as a local secretary. (Reference to Gray's work with the SPG in England is covered in Section 1.5. The role of the SPCK and SPG in funding Bishop Gray's church building programme in South Africa, is addressed in Section 2.3).

Joseph Hughes, the Secretary of the RTS, while acknowledging the good work done by the SPCK, proposed, along with other Evangelicals, that another society should be formed to promote extensive distribution of Bibles within Britain and abroad. With

³⁸ A. M. Renwick, *The Story of the Church*, (1958), p178.

³⁹ There are specific references in Robert Gray's Reading Book, (CPSA Archives, AB 1161) to Bible commentaries of the RTS that they read during November and December 1836 and in January, February and July, 1837.

⁴⁰ Within five years of incorporation, the SPCK had started more than 50 schools in London. This number increased to more than 2000 by 1750.

⁴¹ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, (1901), Preface.

⁴² Bishop Gray stated that in 1847 the SPG had contributed only £125 annually to the Church in South Africa. Eleven years later (1858) the SPG was maintaining most of the missionary work, spending £7000 annually. (Substance of a Speech, London, 1858. CPSA Archives, BX 5692. N1 GRA).

the Bishop of London's approval, the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804.⁴³

Prior to the turn of the century, a number of independent missionary societies were established in the belief that knowledge of the Gospel was the first essential for heathen to learning the basics of civilised life. After William Carey's successful founding of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Congregationalists were aroused to start a missionary society for non-Baptists and the London Missionary Society (LMS) was founded in 1795.⁴⁴ Robert Gray was later to meet LMS missionaries during his years in South Africa. (During a courtesy visit in 1848 to the LMS station at Pacaltsdorp, near George, during his first visitation to towns in his diocese, Gray saw their Gothic church built in stone with a battlemented tower. He recorded that it was "the most Church-like looking edifice... in the Colony," indicating that the LMS was following the English Gothic style in their buildings.)⁴⁵ Though outside the scope of this thesis, mention must be made of the Evangelicals in other denominations such as the Wesleyans (Methodists), Lutherans and Moravians who had been active in establishing mission stations in South Africa, their presence alone acting as a stimulus and encouragement to Robert Gray in his own missionary programme.

The *Clapham Sect* and other Evangelicals formed an Anglican missionary society in 1799 in order to work mainly in Africa and the East considering that the SPCK and SPG had almost entirely confined their missionary activities to the British plantations in America and the West Indies. Archbishop Moore gave his approval in 1800. Later in 1812, the name "The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East" (CMS) was adopted. Concern in both Church and State for the spread of Christianity in India led to the passing of the East India Charter Act in 1813 and the appointment of Bishop Middleton as the first bishop for all the British territories in the East Indies. This opened the way for further colonial bishoprics including South Africa (Diocese of Cape Town) in 1847. The CMS operated only for a short period in South Africa. Following Captain Gardiner's visit to Zululand in 1835 and his appeal to the CMS to start a mission among Chief Dingaan's people, Rev Francis Owen was sent out in March 1837.⁴⁶ With his party that included Gardiner, they travelled to Zululand. Owen witnessed the fate of Piet Retief and his followers at the hands of Dingaan in February 1838 after which Owen worked in Sidbury, Eastern Cape and later was sent by the CMS to Bechuanaland. The CMS closed the mission in 1841 and "decided to abandon South Africa, and to turn to more hopeful parts of the world. Besides, there were American missionaries... with whom the English Society did not wish to interfere"⁴⁷

ACCOMMODATION CRISIS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

During the reign of George III (1760–1820) hardly a dozen churches had been built in London.⁴⁸ Concern was expressed in 1811 in letters to the Prime Minister that the lack

⁴³ The first Treasurer of the British and Foreign Bible Society was John Thornton, a banker in whose Clapham home, members of the *Clapham Sect* often met (A. M. Renwick, *op cit.*, p179).

⁴⁴ Its missionaries included Robert and Mary Moffat, and their son-in-law, David Livingstone.

⁴⁵ Gray's Journal, 11 September 1848, p14. This incident is covered more fully in Section 2.1.

⁴⁶ C. Lewis and G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of SA*, p23.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p305.

⁴⁸ F. W. Cornish, *History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, p77.

of church accommodation, in relation to the increase in population, was a threat to the Church of England. Under the leadership of Joshua Watson and John Bowdler, further pressure was put on the Bishop of London in 1814. The lack of accommodation was seen as the cause of defections from the Church to other denominations. In 1815, Bowdler wrote to Lord Liverpool, the new Prime Minister, stating that '...[the] providing [of] churches or chapels adequate to the wants of the inhabitants, is beyond the power of private or parochial contribution. Parliament alone can do it.'⁴⁹ The State was taking its time to react so in 1817 a church building society was mooted. With the approval of the Archbishop, the Church Building Society (CBS) was formally constituted on 6 February 1818. Large subscriptions flowed into the coffers of the new society and on 30 May 1818, the Church Building Act was passed. This empowered the King to authorise the issue of one million of Exchequer bills to the Commissioners for carrying out the purposes of the Act; to expend money on church building in places which had a population of not less than 4000 and church accommodation for not more than 2000, or in any place where there were 1000 people resident more than four miles from any church or chapel. It gave the Crown the authority to grant or, through the Commissioners, to acquire sites for building. Churchwardens were also permitted to borrow funds to build or enlarge churches.

After the Act was passed by Parliament, the grant of one million pounds was made and four notable persons were duly appointed as Commissioners. The division of parishes into new parishes was a secondary aim of the Government and the pew rents collected at the newly formed parishes were designed to partly support the clergy.⁵⁰ Free sittings were to be provided for the poorer parishioners. Dissenters understandably objected to being obliged to contribute towards the erection of the State's churches, the Church of England. Progress in the church building programme was significant⁵¹ and in 1824 a further sum of half a million pounds was voted for church building in England and Scotland.

In 1828, ten years after its establishment, Parliament incorporated the Society and by means of Royal Letters, ordered collections to be paid to the Society⁵². The Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed President. The provision of churches by the Society, however, could not guarantee church attendance for a number of reasons. These included disputes about freehold and leasehold rights in pews, the discomfort of the 'free' sittings, and "the more lively style of the dissenting preachers [who] diverted the congregations from the churches..."⁵³ Criticism of the style and quality of the new churches were that they were extravagantly built; they thus appealed more to the rich than the poor; money was wasted "upon costly and inconvenient buildings, designed in a pompous classical taste, or a so-called Gothic style, in which there was nothing Gothic but the pointed arch."⁵⁴ The two most extravagant churches were St Pancras, built between 1819-22 to a design by Henry Inwood and recognized as one

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p78.

⁵⁰ Robert Gray's dislike of pew rents may not have been a popular view until later in the century.

⁵¹ In the period following the passing of the Act, 96 churches were built and after 1824, "another 450 churches". (D. Radford, *The Architecture of the Western Cape* (unpublished thesis), (1979), p176.

⁵² Twenty-seven years later, in 1855, the Society requested the Crown, "according to former practice" for a Royal Letter "authorizing collections to be made on behalf of the Society, but the Ministers... at that time did not think fit to advise her Majesty [Victoria] to comply..." As a consequence the Society lost £10 000 annually in diminution of income. (*The Church Builder*, 1862, p154.)

⁵³ F. W. Cornish, *op cit.*, p81.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p82.

of the great buildings in the Greek Revival style, and St Luke's, Chelsea, built between 1820-24, to a Gothic Revival design by James Savage.⁵⁵ Another example of a notable Greek Revival church is All Souls, Langham Place, designed by John Nash and built in 1823 (Refer Figure B).

In the two decades that followed many of the country churches, known later as 'commissioner's churches', which had been built through the assistance of the CBS appear to have deteriorated judging from an article in 1831 in the *Christian Remembrancer*,⁵⁶ "... scenes of dismal ruin and dank desolation... dirt and damp, crumbling rafters and tottering walls, ... neglect and wanton mutilation." This report corroborates Eastlake's criticisms that the walls of the 'commissioner's churches' were built as slender as structural safety would permit, the roofs were of a low pitch, ceilings and galleries had been installed, the porches were small, and many of the churches had no chancels.⁵⁷

Notwithstanding the criticisms mentioned above, the CBS, or to use the full title, the "Incorporated Society for promoting the Enlargement, Building, and Repairing of Churches and Chapels", after 49 years' activity between 1818 and 1867, could announce that it had erected 1,430 new churches, enlarged or rebuilt 3,740 old churches and thereby had increased the total seating capacity of churches in England and Wales by 1,376,000.⁵⁸ The vast majority of these new churches were in the Gothic Revival style.⁵⁹ Though there is considerable disparity between historians as to the number of churches built with the co-operation of the CBS,⁶⁰ there can be no doubt that the accelerated pace of church building was a noticeable action in many British towns and villages in the mid 19th century. It was a remarkable national achievement and clearly was a model for the Grays, particularly as the 1840s, the years immediately prior to their departure for Cape Town, appear to have been the period of highest building activity.

TRACTARIANISM – THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

Simultaneous with the church building programme in the early decades of the 19th century, designed to draw people back to the Church, the three Church of England missionary and literature societies zealously propagated the Gospel in foreign lands at a time when many of England's poor were emigrating to British colonies overseas. Meanwhile certain academics in the High Church section, centred mainly in Oxford, were more concerned with the apostolical succession, the Episcopal system, and the administration of the Sacraments. They could not tolerate that Anglican missionaries should be sent to heathen countries without a bishop over them, or that there should be town districts without a consecrated building in which the weekly or daily Holy

⁵⁵ D. Yarwood, *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*, pp 203, 205, 219.

⁵⁶ Founded in 1819 by Norris, Daubenny, Watson and Cambridge. The latter two were Commissioners.

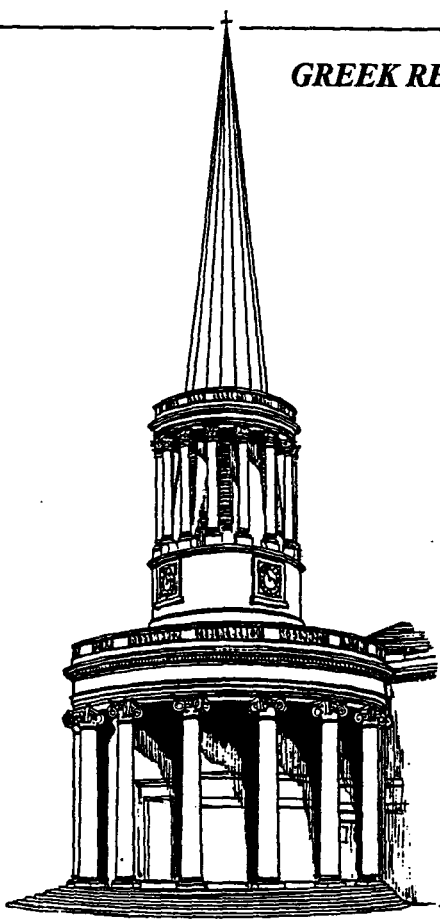
⁵⁷ C. L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, p188.

⁵⁸ *The Church Builder*, No. XXIII, 1867

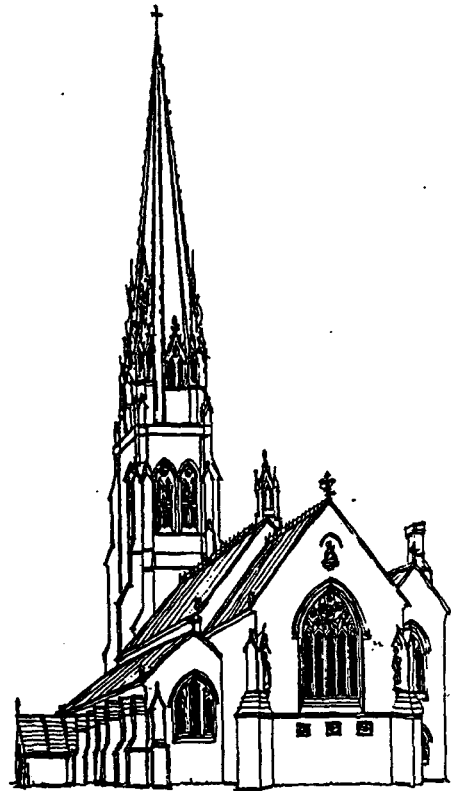
⁵⁹ G. Randall, *The English Parish Church*, p151.

⁶⁰ R. Lewcock, in *Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*, p279, states that a total of 214 churches were eventually built by the Commissioners in England. M. De-la-Roy, in *The Church of England – A Portrait*, p151, mentions that 401 new Anglican churches were built between 1841 and 1845 alone. Radford's figure quoted above is 546. It is difficult to reconcile these figures in the light of the Incorporated Building Society's claim that 1430 churches were built between 1818 and 1867. The basis on which these different counts were made was not established.

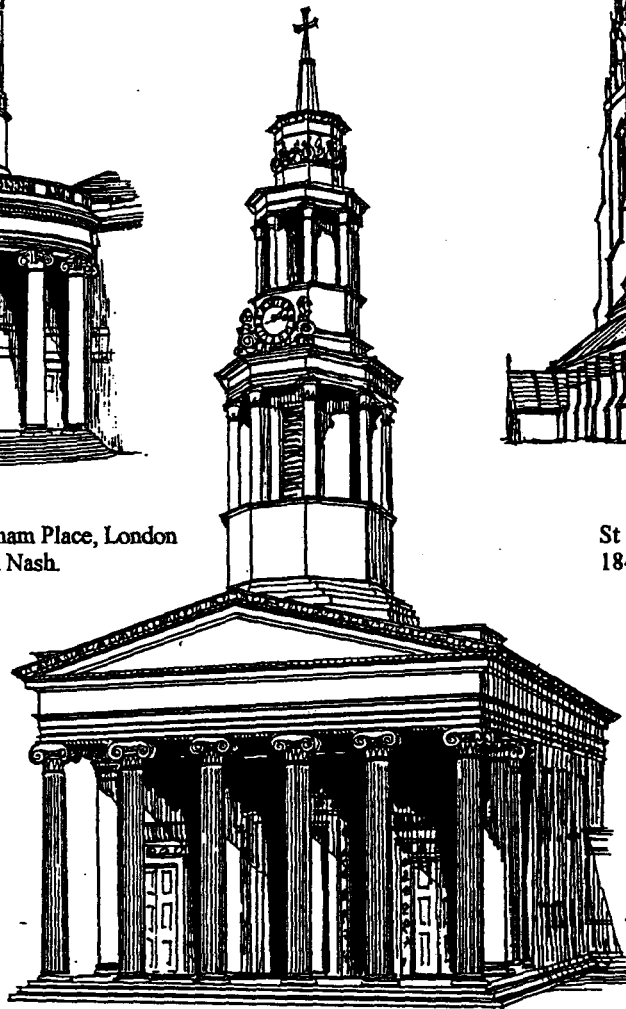
GREEK REVIVAL AND GOTHIC REVIVAL CHURCHES - 1819-1846



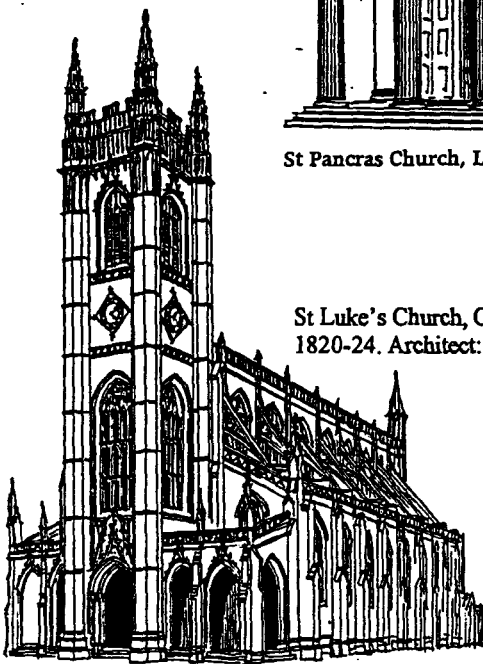
Portico of the
All Soul's Church, Langham Place, London
1822-25. Architect: John Nash.



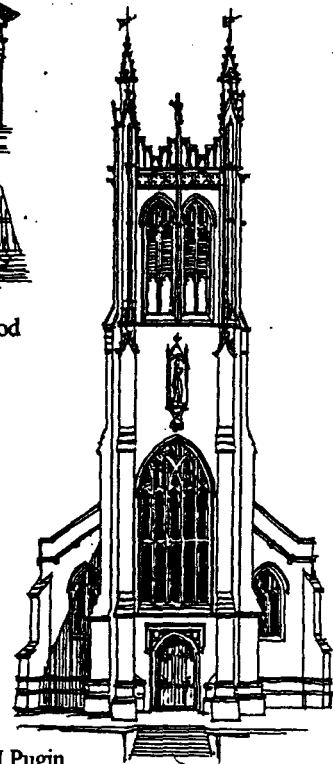
St Giles's Church, Cheadle
1841-46. Architect: A W N Pugin



St Pancras Church, London, 1819-22 Architect: Henry Inwood



St Luke's Church, Chelsea, London
1820-24. Architect: James Savage.



St Marie's Church, Derby
1838-39. Architect: A W N Pugin

Communion could be celebrated.⁶¹ Apart from these perceived irregularities within the Church, State and Church relations were deteriorating. In 1829, the British Parliament passed the Emancipation Bill.⁶² Permission for Non-conformists and Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament alarmed some of the Oxford churchmen, who were appalled at the prospect of non-Anglicans voting on questions affecting the Church and they supposed that the Established Church was in danger.⁶³ In the years that followed, the Church became the subject of criticism directed at the clergy for their alleged idleness and comparisons were drawn between the wealth of bishops and deans and the poverty of curates. There were recommendations for the separation of Church and State; pamphlets questioned the Book of Common Prayer, recommended the abolition of the Creeds and denied fundamental doctrines such as the Trinity.⁶⁴ It was further recommended that the Church should include all the denominations if it was to be regarded as the State church. When in 1833 Lord Stanley introduced the Irish Church Temporalities Bill in which the number of Church of England bishoprics in Ireland were to be reduced from 22 to 12, this was seen by many churchmen in Oxford as unjustified interference by the State in the affairs of the Church.

John Keble preached a sermon on 14 July 1833 on National Apostasy in which the Church's rights against State interference were defended and the date came to be regarded as the start of the Oxford Movement. Church leaders, particularly in Oxford, were moved to protect the doctrines, the services and the discipline of the Church of England and to withstand all changes involving the denial or suppression of its doctrine.⁶⁵ It was agreed that the best way to bring the clergy of Britain to understand the real nature of the Church, and to defend it against broad-minded thinking, was to circulate information leaflets or tracts, which in time became known as "Tracts for the Times". Under the leadership of the three Oxford divines, John Keble, John Henry Newman and Edward Pusey, the Tracts were published to resist theological liberalism, to re-state the historical basis of the Church of England and to show that it was an authentic part of the early Catholic and Apostolic Church.⁶⁶ Their writings gave rise to the Oxford Movement, ardent supporters of which became known as Tractarians.

The first tract, written by Newman in September 1833, called on clergy to be loyal to the bishops as they were the successors of the Apostles and guardians of the Church.⁶⁷ The first volume comprising the first 46 Tracts, was published in 1834. A total of 90 tracts were written between 1833 and February 1841. Robert Gray first began reading Tracts during January 1839 although he became aware of the 'movement' in winter of 1836 (Discussed in Section 1.5).⁶⁸ What was to be the last tract, Number 90, was seen as a challenge on the validity of the Thirty-Nine Articles (one of the foundation documents of the Church referred to in Section 1.1). Newman regarded the Articles as not uncatholic and that these could be subscribed to 'by those who aim at being catholic in heart and doctrine'. It caused an upheaval in theological circles and on 12

⁶¹ F. W. Cornish, *op cit.*, p83.

⁶² Roman Catholic churches were permitted to be built only after the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

⁶³ A. M. Renwick, *The Story of the Church*, p186.

⁶⁴ A. G. Lough, *Dr Pusey – Restorer of the Church*, p20

⁶⁵ H. P. Liddon, *op cit.*, p270.

⁶⁶ A. G. Lough, *op cit.*, p46.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p21.

⁶⁸ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p29.

March 1841, within days of publication, it was censured. The Church hierarchy ultimately condemned most of the Tracts and the Movement was judged to have turned its back on the very principles for which many of the clergy had been martyred during the Reformation. In the years that followed, a number of the leading Tractarians including Newman seceded to the Roman Church.

The Tractarians were involved during this period in another literary project, the *Library of the Fathers* that was far less controversial than their *Tracts for the Times*. The undertaking arose out of Tractarian reverence for the teachings of the early Fathers of the primitive church. With the rise of the Oxford Movement, the Fathers assumed a new degree of importance as the Tractarians considered it impossible “to recall men’s minds to the teaching and principles of the Primitive Church of Christ without having recourse to those great writers who were the guides and exponents of its faith.”⁶⁹ Edward Pusey, familiar with the writings of the Fathers since his student days, wrote to Keble in 1836, telling him that he and Newman were proposing to edit a “Library of Catholic Fathers of the Holy Church Universal, anterior to the division of the East and West.”⁷⁰ The first volume of the Library, *The Confessions of St Augustine*, appeared in 1838.⁷¹ During the years that followed, Pusey, Keble, Newman and Charles Marriott and their associates translated a further 47 volumes from the original Greek and Latin manuscripts, until the last volume was published in 1885. The works of 13 Fathers and ancient writers were thus made available to the public in the English language. The project demanded sustained commitment and scholarship from its translators, which in turn, gave credibility to the Tractarians.

In retrospect, despite the official censure of the Tracts, the Church of England clergy had learnt from Tractarian teachings a new conception of their Holy office. They challenged the clergy to re-examine their faith and the manner in which their services were conducted. “The humdrum age of weekly services and occasional communions was passing away; daily services and weekly celebrations became common; the Cross was no longer looked upon as a popish symbol.”⁷² Tractarianism also implied an adequate architectural setting for ritual, emphasising in particular the sacramental basis of worship of the Church. The chancel thus received a new emphasis with the revival of the medieval tradition though it differed from the primitive church in that, firstly, the congregation had to have an uninterrupted view of the liturgy, and secondly, the chancel was to contain the choir.⁷³ The robed choir, accommodated in the western end of the chancel (the *choir* of the chancel, as discussed in Section 1.1), created a hierarchy of people, choir and priest and added order and dignity to the service.⁷⁴

THE ECCLESIOLOGISTS

The writings of the Tractarians from 1833 onwards together with the publication of architectural monographs such as Augustus Pugin’s *Contrasts* (1836), Matthew

⁶⁹ H. P. Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey, D.D.*, Vol.I, p414.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p425.

⁷¹ Some of the most characteristic documents reprinted were The Epistles of St Ignatius, St Cyprian on Church Unity and St Justin Martyr on Primitive Christian Worship.

⁷² F. W. Cornish, *op cit.*, p248.

⁷³ G. Randall, *The English Parish Church*, pp153, 156, 157.

⁷⁴ A robed choir in the chancel was an innovation in parish churches made in St Peter, Leeds, about 1841. Music in churches was usually provided by often unruly and disinterested musicians in a gallery (*Ibid*, p157).

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Bloxam's *Principles of Gothic Architecture* (1829), John H Parker's *Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture* (1836) and other antiquarian books, augmented by the works of William Gresley⁷⁵ and Francis Paget,⁷⁶ generated among the Church of England clergy an unprecedented interest in ecclesiology.⁷⁷ In 1839, the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture was founded, soon to become the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society. In the same year, the Cambridge Camden Society was founded.⁷⁸ The former's aim was as its name implies while the latter society sought to carry Tractarian aspirations into architecture by reforming design to provide settings for the revived rituals, by promoting the study of ecclesiastical architecture, and by restoring damaged buildings.⁷⁹ In addition, the style of new churches was to be closely monitored. The Oxford Society was closely connected with the Oxford Movement in its beginnings; James Mozley (who became Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford), J H Parker, the author and publisher of architectural works, Oxford, and John Bloxam (brother of M Bloxam mentioned above) were members of the Society.⁸⁰

The Cambridge Camden Society was similarly initially composed of members of Cambridge University. Twenty meetings of the Society were held in the first two years after its founding. In 1841 the Society decided to publish a journal to "convey both interesting and useful information to all connected with... church building, or the study of ecclesiastical architecture and antiquities." The preface to the first edition of *The Ecclesiologist*, November 1841, stated that the editor had undertaken to "point out defects in church building, and infringements of religious reverence... with the object of putting a timely stop to errors which, if unchecked, would probably multiply." The Society considered itself subservient to the good of the Church, its object being to convey practical suggestions and to make available, drawings, engravings, and surveys of English and foreign churches, from their large stock.

The Ecclesiologist was also seen as a means of strengthening the ties with the Oxford Society⁸¹ and other societies "of kindred character". The first issue also commented on publications of "the several sister societies in union with the Camden..." in particular, "the last publications of the Oxford Society, on S... and F... churches," indicating that Oxford was publishing ecclesiological material on specific churches. Forty years later, the Oxford Society was still producing plans for ecclesiastical furniture and working drawings of Norman and Gothic churches that had been

⁷⁵ Gresley's books included *The Present State of the Controversy with Rome; The Siege of Lichfield, a Tale of the Great Rebellion; The Forest of Arden, a Tale of the English Reformation*. Robert Gray recorded that he read the latter in January 1842 (Gray's Reading Book, CPSA Archives AB 1161).

⁷⁶ One of Paget's books, *The Owlet of Owlstone Edge*, is an imaginary discourse between two owls in which every aspect of the Church of England, particularly the lives of the parsons and their wives, are discussed to highlight the joys and sorrows of the Church of the time. Paget, himself a rector of a parish, wrote that the clergy "were rather country squires than parish priests." (p101).

⁷⁷ The science of church building and decoration.

⁷⁸ N. Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, p123.

⁷⁹ J. S. Curl, 'All Saints, Margaret Street', *Architectural Journal*, 20 June 1990, p39.

⁸⁰ N. Pevsner, *op cit.*, p123.

⁸¹ The Camden's Membership Law XVIII reads: "Members of the Oxford Society... are admitted to attend the meetings of the Cambridge Camden Society, and have the privilege of purchasing the Society's publications on the same terms as are granted to the Members of the Society." This Law was modified on 8 November 1841 to allow all "Associations formed on church principles for the study of ecclesiastical architecture and antiquities..." to be admitted. The Exeter Diocesan Society and the Lichfield Society were admitted on the same day. (*The Ecclesiologist*, No. I, November, 1841, p9.)

designed in the 1840s (Refer Figure C). Further evidence of the close connection between the two societies is that *The Ecclesiologist*, though printed in Cambridge was published in London, Cambridge, and Oxford by J H Parker (Refer Figure D). Also published regularly in *The Ecclesiologist* were the lists of candidates applying for membership of the Camden Society, these indicating the depth of interest that the clergy of the Church of England was taking in ecclesiology at the time.⁸² In the decades that followed, *The Ecclesiologist*, continued to be judge of all church building whether new or restorations. Works of architects were systematically criticised, information was disseminated, and definitions of correct design were given: it remained the promoter of Tractarian principles in architecture until it ceased publication in 1868.

1.3 THE GOTHIC REVIVAL IN ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND

An overview of the events which gave rise to the revival of the Gothic architectural styles in Britain in the first half of the 19th century and its influence on the architectural preferences of Robert and Sophia Gray.

Between the late 12th century and the middle of the 15th century, the Gothic architectural style characterized all ecclesiastical buildings - small parish churches, town churches, minsters, priories and cathedrals. The style had evolved from the Anglo-Saxon and Norman styles of the previous centuries where the semi-circular arch was the distinguishing feature. Though a style is not "an aggregate of features, but an integral whole," with the advent of the pointed arch, the flying buttress, and the rib-vault,⁸³ ecclesiastical buildings took on a more slender shape and verticality became the hallmark of the Gothic style for over three centuries.

The commencement of the Renaissance of Classic architecture that had manifested itself earlier in Europe, coincided with the Reformation in medieval church in the British Isles late in the 16th century. Thus by the end of the 18th century, secular and ecclesiastical architecture had been dominated by versions of the English Renaissance style for over three hundred years. The Romantic movement in literature of the mid-1700s, reawakened interest in the medieval forms and encouraged English architects to seek inspiration in both the Greek style as well as the Gothic. Architects of the new century were "...able to draw from a well-assorted stock of historical detail"... so that in the early 1800s most architectural styles were available to builders and the public in the pattern-books of the time.⁸⁴

In 1817, Thomas Rickman published his book, *An attempt to Discriminate the styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation* (Refer Advertisement in Figure D). This work was the first serious study in the development of the medieval styles which were categorised by Rickman into four periods: Norman, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular, terms that have continued to be used up to the present.

⁸² At the 21st meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, held on 8 November 1841, 69 persons were elected of whom the majority were ministers, chaplains or fellows of university colleges. Only two were architects (*The Ecclesiologist*, November 1841, p6,7).

⁸³ N. Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, pp89, 90.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp377, 379.

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The book was widely read and had to be republished a number of times.⁸⁵ Another notable book, published in three volumes in 1836, was John Henry Parker's *Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture*. Parker stated later in another of his books, "Rickman was the first... to shew that the age of a building can be ascertained by the construction and the details... and he should always have the credit of being the first to establish this. His work was at first thought rather hard reading... my 'Glossary of Architecture' was called 'Rickman made easy,' ... I was able to explain all the technical words which Rickman was obliged to use."⁸⁶

Numerous other works on 'architectural antiquities' and Gothic architecture were published in the first half of the 19th century. Auguste Charles Pugin's detailed drawings, mainly on Gothic architecture and decoration, published between 1821 and 1831, were the first important works that provided designers and architects with details for working in the Gothic style. Auguste Pugin's son, Augustus Welby Northmore, more than any other author of the early 19th century, challenged the precept on which Classicism was based and promoted the pure Gothic cause. In 1834 he converted to Roman Catholicism and in 1836 published his book, *Contrasts; or a Parallel between the Noble edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and similar Buildings of the present day. Showing the Decay of Taste*. This was a scathing condemnation of Henry VIII's pillage and destruction of the churches at the time of the Reformation, the present "degraded state of Ecclesiastical Buildings", and the people of Pugin's time who visited ancient cathedrals and churches without the slightest degree of feeling for "the sanctity of the place or the majesty of the design." Pugin continued with severe criticism of the so-called restorations of the period and the "mass of paltry churches erected under the auspices of the commissioners... a disgrace to the age... and the miserable sums that have been allotted for their construction." He argued that as luxury was everywhere on the increase, the neglected state of old churches and the measly funds spent on new churches showed "...a total want of religious zeal, and a tepidity towards the glory of Divine worship."⁸⁷

A W N Pugin published further books on Gothic and Ecclesiastical architecture which exerted a marked influence on the design of Gothic-styled buildings erected throughout the whole Victorian era. The most influential publication was *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841),⁸⁸ a copy of which Robert Gray recorded he had received and read in March 1843.⁸⁹ In the same month, the Grays also read a copy of Matthew Holbeche Bloxam's book, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*. Considering that Gray, and probably also his wife, read *The True Principles*, the seminal work of Pugin, propositions he put forward call for special attention as these had a bearing on the design of the Gray's churches in South Africa. Pugin's "two great rules of design are... 1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety; 2nd, that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential

⁸⁵ Robert Gray received a copy of Rickman's book from his booksellers in March 1842. In February 1842 Gray had received the *Glossary of Architecture* in three volumes, by J. H. Parker (Gray's Reading Book, CPSA Archives, AB1161).

⁸⁶ J. H. Parker, *A B C of Gothic Architecture*, p4.

⁸⁷ A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts*,

⁸⁸ Two further books by Pugin were *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture* (1843) and *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament* (1844).

⁸⁹ Robert Gray's Reading Book, CPSA Archives AB 1161. The entry reads: "among books, read Herschel's Astronomy, Pugin's Work on Architecture. Republished from the Dublin Review."

construction of the building.”⁹⁰ Pugin believed that in architecture, “the smallest detail should *have a meaning or serve a purpose*; and even the construction itself *should vary with the material employed*, and the designs should be adapted to the material in which they are executed.” He added that it was in “*pointed architecture alone that these great principles have been carried out...*” and that “A pointed church is the masterpiece of masonry... essentially a stone building.”⁹¹

Pugin’s published works on the medieval Gothic are considered largely responsible for “the second, more archaeological phase of the Gothic Revival...”⁹² Pugin himself recognised that at the time of writing *True Principles*, there was a marked return to the Gothic: “Now that the pointed style is reviving, we cannot suggest anything new, but are obliged to return to the spirit of the ancient work.”⁹³ (Further reference to Pugin’s principles will be made in Section 3.1 when different parts of the Gothic churches in South Africa designed by Mrs Gray are reviewed). In addition to his writings, Pugin practised as an architect, his most notable churches being St. Marie (St Mary’s), Derby, built 1838-39; St Chad, the Roman Catholic cathedral, Birmingham, built 1839-41; and St Giles’s Church, Cheadle, built 1841-46. (Refer Figure B). Pugin’s fame as an architect was established in 1835 when he shared with Sir Charles Barry the design for the new Houses of Parliament (Palace of Westminster). Pugin designed all the interior wall decoration, stained glass, fittings, furniture, carpets and sculptures and mouldings. The choice of Gothic Perpendicular demonstrated that Gothic could be successfully used for State and civic buildings in addition to its more accepted ecclesiastical application. As discussed in Section 1.2, the journal of the Cambridge Camden Society, *The Ecclesiologist*, began in 1841 to provide the forum for regular comment on the correct Gothic. The 1840s is thus regarded as the decade when the Gothic Revival commenced, reaching its height between 1855 and 1885, the period known as the High Victorian Gothic.⁹⁴

The Gothic of the nineteenth century was not a slavish imitation of the ancient styles but a simpler reinterpretation of the essence of the style. The Victorian architects, in turning to the ancient Gothic for inspiration produced a style that *only afterwards* became known as Gothic Revival or Neo-Gothic. Rickman relied on the careful application of Gothic detail whereas A W N Pugin thought ornament relatively unimportant, placing emphasis on structure and design. It was Pugin, who, as one of the foremost protagonists of the Gothic Revival, “concentrated such ornament as there was in the sanctuary to enhance the importance of the altar; the rest of the chancel could be simpler, the nave simpler still.”⁹⁵ It was the Camden Society that pressed for an exact reproduction of medieval forms and details, believing that these had a symbolical and moral value but because the traditional skills of medieval masons had been lost, Gothic detailing of the new churches in Britain was the least successful aspect of the revival.⁹⁶ Gothic detailing in Mrs Gray’s South African churches (discussed fully in Section 3.1) was generally simplified or totally absent. Where

⁹⁰ A.W. N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, p1.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² R. Lewcock, *op cit.*, p293. This phase made its appearance in South Africa in the 1840s.

⁹³ *True Principles...*, pp8, 9.

⁹⁴ D. Yarwood, *op cit.*, p206.

⁹⁵ G. Randall, *The English Parish Church*, p152.

⁹⁶ Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, p286.

Gothic ornamentation is apparent, this was achieved through the employment of Scottish stonemasons (Refer Section 2.4).

The Gothic Revival style was carried forward by a number of architects and writers.⁹⁷ These included William Butterfield, an austere but deeply religious man who was a staunch adherent to the Ecclesiologist philosophy.⁹⁸ He is also known to have befriended some of the leading figures in the Oxford Movement and he gave his absolute loyalty to the movement. He built nearly a hundred churches, restored many others and designed certain collegiate works at Oxford. In 1849 he was chosen as architect for what was to become the most influential of his buildings – All Saints Church, Margaret Street, London. This was regarded by the Ecclesiological Society as the exemplar of a Tractarian church. In the late 1830s and 1840s, when the Church of England and its places of worship were being challenged respectively on theological and architectural principles and the Gothic Revival was being recognized, Robert and Sophia Gray were involved at their first parish, Whitworth, in County Durham. As noted already, despite the distance between Durham and London, Oxford, and Cambridge, where the Church debates centred, the Grays were not unaware of the crisis in the Church and of current architectural opinion. At some juncture at this time, they became known to Butterfield, an association which was maintained during their time at the Cape and through which Butterfield contributed to ecclesiastical architecture in South Africa, although he never visited the country.

1.4 THE GRAYS: ARCHITECTURE IN THEIR EARLY YEARS

During their earlier years in England, Robert and Sophia Gray used their drawing skills and natural affinity for art to record scenes from nature and the built environment. This interest in art and architecture served to prepare them for the time in South Africa when the building of churches became a dominant activity of Robert Gray as the Bishop of Cape Town.

Robert Gray was born in Bishopswearmouth, near Sunderland, England, on 3 October 1809, the third son of a Church of England minister. After completing his schooling at Eton in 1826, Robert travelled to the Continent before entering Oxford in October 1827. He completed a Masters Degree in 1831, spent a full year touring Europe before entering the Church at age 24. On 3 March 1833 he received Deacon's Orders at a service conducted by his father, then the Bishop of Bristol, in the church of St Margaret, Westminster. The following year, on 11 January, he was ordained to the priesthood, in Wells Cathedral. Three months later he was appointed priest to the parish of Whitworth, close to Durham Cathedral, where he commenced duties on Christmas Day 1834. Thus from his earliest days he was never far from the influence of the Established Church; his usual surroundings were its churches, cathedrals, church schools and rectories.

⁹⁷ John Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *Stones of Venice* (1851) drew popular attention to the values and principles of Gothic architecture (Bannister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture*, (1931) p854.

⁹⁸ Butterfield became a member of the Camden Society in 1844 and an honorary member of the Oxford Architectural Society in 1848. Among architects, Butterfield's contemporaries were Pugin, Gilbert Scott, George Street, Richard Carpenter and Benjamin Ferrey, the foremost of the Gothic Revivalists (J. Summerson, *Heavenly Mansions*, p159).

Robert Gray's awareness of architecture was possibly stimulated by visits to the Continent. In 1827, when he paid a short visit to his cousins in Switzerland, travelling via Paris, he enjoyed the scenery of Europe and noted in his journal that the Gothic masterpiece, Rouen Cathedral, Normandy, was "perfect" and "greatly surpassing anything I ever saw in England."⁹⁹ During his second visit to Europe, a prolonged stay between October 1831 and October 1832, Robert wrote brief notes in his journal that indicate an interest in art and architecture. He wrote when in Paris, "Their churches are very handsome". In Italy he was said to have "... worked diligently on at pictures and statues, palaces and churches..." When in Rome, he recorded, "Ruins, galleries, palaces, statues, pictures, villas, studios, catacombs". While writing to his sisters, Robert described his life as "... the same routine... ruins, churches, and palaces – the subject is inexhaustible..."¹⁰⁰ Apart from visiting and appreciating the buildings, he committed some of the scenes to paper indicating that he had more than a tourist's reaction to the built environment. Three sketches of his 1832 tour of Italy depicting lakeside villas, and a church with a steeple, show Robert's better than average grasp of perspective and scale.¹⁰¹

Robert Gray met Sophia Myddleton in 1835 during his first year at Whitworth. After the death of her father in 1834, Sophia had moved with her mother and two sisters from their home near Easington, Yorkshire to the ancestral family seat at Old Park, Durham County, an ancient mansion that was part her father's estate and about a mile from the parish church of Whitworth. Sophia, then 21, became involved with Robert's concerns for the poor people of the straggling settlement of Byers Green, (part of Robert's parish) which was to feature prominently in his first efforts with church building. Robert and Sophia were married on 6 September 1836.

Sophia was a prolific sketcher and painter as later confirmed by her many later drawings and watercolours made during visitations around the Diocese of Cape Town from 1848.¹⁰² Her landscapes were clear and precise but she was by nature a draughtsperson and obviously enjoyed drawing exact subjects such as buildings and architectural details. At some stage during her first ten years' of marriage, Sophia Gray began her Book of Architectural Drawings.¹⁰³ The book comprises 112 pages filled with delicate and neatly executed line drawings of arches, piers, capitals, doors, arcades, windows, fonts etc. from churches in Britain. None of the drawings are dated. The diversity of architectural features in the sketch book have been drawn in the same order as architectural books of the time classified the Gothic styles, beginning with

⁹⁹ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. 1, p11. Although authorship of this two-volume book is given to the Bishop's son, Charles, the compiler of the biography was H. L. Farrer (Mrs Sidney Lear). It was edited by Charles prior to publication (T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p231).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, pp14, 21-23.

¹⁰¹ Robert Gray's sketch book, CPSA Archives, AB1161/A4a.

¹⁰² There are 80 sketches and watercolours in the CPSA Archives, Johannesburg and 23 in the Library of the USPG, London, alone.

¹⁰³ CPSA Archives AB 2070. In 1965, Mr C. P Walgate, who had been a server at St George's Cathedral in his younger days, sent a book of architectural sketches to Rev Canon C. T. Wood, Provincial Archivist of the CPSA under cover of note which read: "I send to you... a sketchbook which was salvaged from a pile of rubbish in the [St George's] crypt, which was being sent to the incinerator. This was about 35 years ago [1930]... I can think of no one here since Mrs Gray who would be likely to acquire such a laborious and admirable record of details." Canon Wood sent the book in turn to Robert Langham-Carter who confirmed the book as Mrs Gray's work as all the titles were in her handwriting. He added " She lived in County Durham... of the drawings about 162 are of Durham, Yorks & Scotland and only 85 or so of all other parts of England."

Norman and progressing through the three Gothic phases of Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular. Sophia begins on page 1 with the Romanesque arches of St Albans and moves through other Norman cathedrals like Durham, sketching a series of Norman archways and chancel arches at Kelso, Jedburgh, Tutbury and others. The first drawing of a pointed arch appears on page 32 in a sketch of the apse at Tidmarsh followed by sketches of Darlington, regarded by Randall as "one of the earliest completely gothic parish churches in England".¹⁰⁴ Some of the pages show a group of six capitals (p51) or six fonts (p55) from churches all over the country such as Etwall in Derby, Pitstone in Buckinghamshire. To fill each page in sequence if she was sketching at the respective sites as initially thought by Langham-Carter, would have involved Sophia in endless trips across the country that seems highly unlikely. There are no gaps in the pages except towards the end of the book. The conclusion must be reached that Sophia was compiling her own handbook of architectural features, not by visiting the churches but *by consulting architectural books of the period* and copying from printed illustrations.¹⁰⁵

The question arises, "What prompted Sophia to record architectural details so painstakingly in a sketch book?" Robert Gray recorded in his reading book (discussed in the following section), that in February/March 1842 he received and read three volumes of the *Glossary of Architecture* and Rickman's *Gothic Architecture*. In January/ March 1843 he read "Pugin's Work on Architecture republished from the *Dublin Review*" and Bloxam's *Gothic Architecture*. As was the Grays' custom after their marriage while at Whitworth, they read together or Sophia sat while Robert read aloud.¹⁰⁶ Possibly spurred on by the books they read and her husband's interest in ecclesiology, or for her own edification, Sophia recorded architectural details. Certainly at that period in her life she could not have foreseen that she would have many opportunities to design churches herself in South Africa. Langham-Carter suggested that Sophia's interest in architecture "may have been aroused by Charles Norris, another antiquarian writer of the day, ... a relative of the Gray family."¹⁰⁷ For whatever reason the book was started, it is more likely that it was only begun in 1842/1843 and not before her marriage in 1836, the view held by Langham-Carter.¹⁰⁸

It is questionable whether the sketch book was extensively used by Mrs Gray during the church building programme in South Africa for her own churches as it contains no plans and no roof truss designs. Furthermore, as already mentioned, the book is filled with details of capitals, corbels, fonts and richly decorated arches - all components of churches that were seldom incorporated in Sophia Gray's plans. Although there are some twelve pages with sketches of traceried windows, the designs were generally more ornate than the eleven separate designs found in traceried windows in her churches. Speculation as to the usefulness of the book and the date when it was compiled, however, should not detract from its significance as the work of a competent draughtsperson. It is evidence too of her appreciation for the unique features of Norman and Gothic architecture (Refer to Figures E, F and G).

¹⁰⁴ G. Randall, *The English Parish Church* (1985), p40.

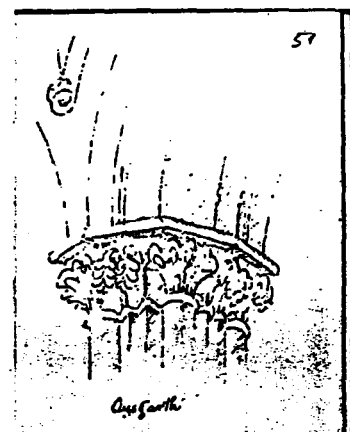
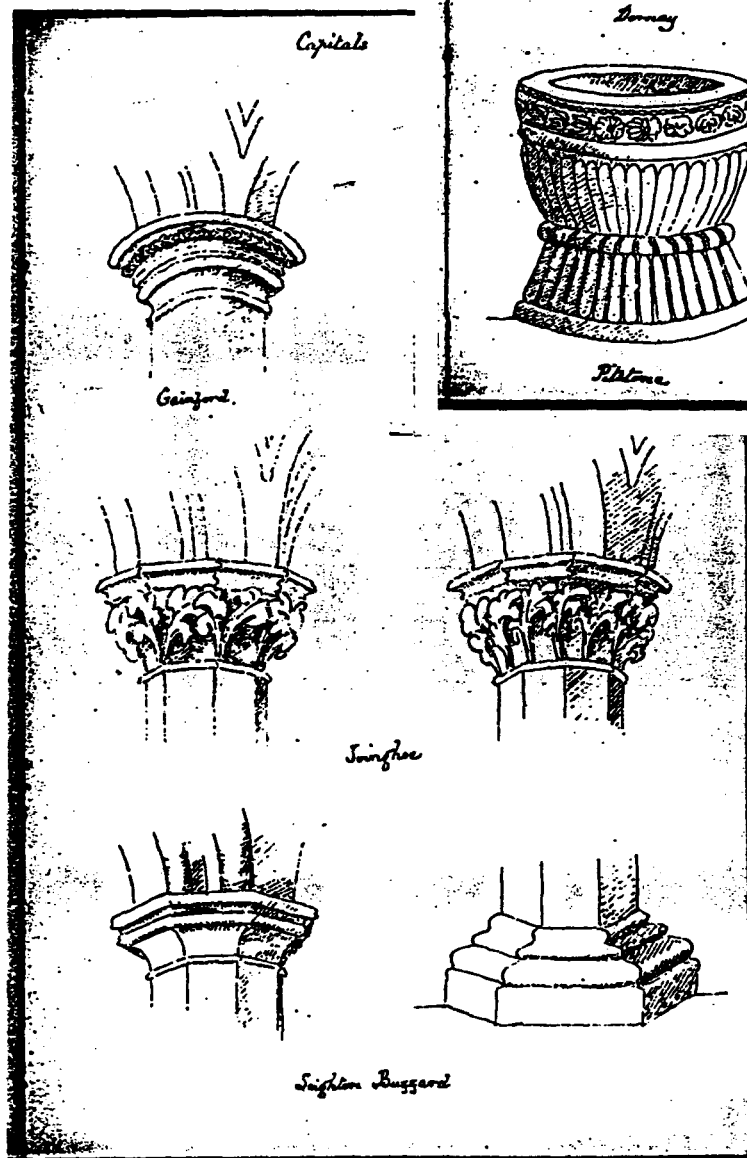
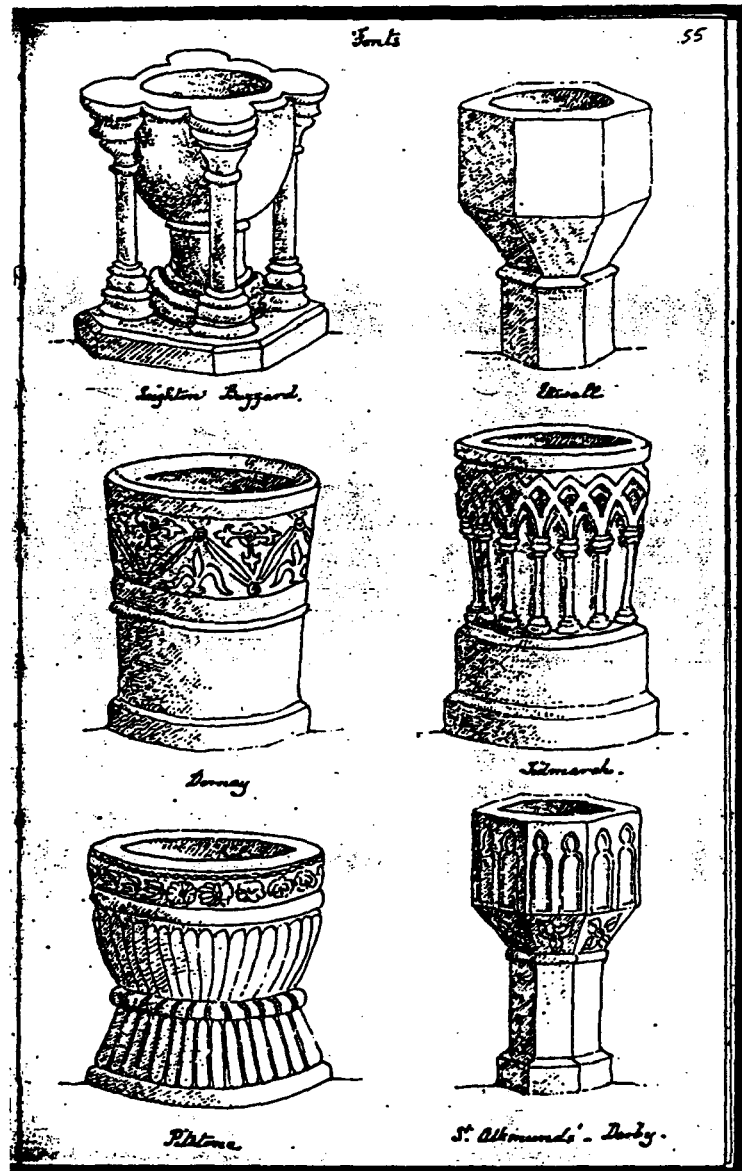
¹⁰⁵ The book (s) that it is assumed Mrs Gray used as references for her sketches, could not be identified.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Gray's Reading Book (CPSA AB1161/D) has numerous references to him reading to Sophia.

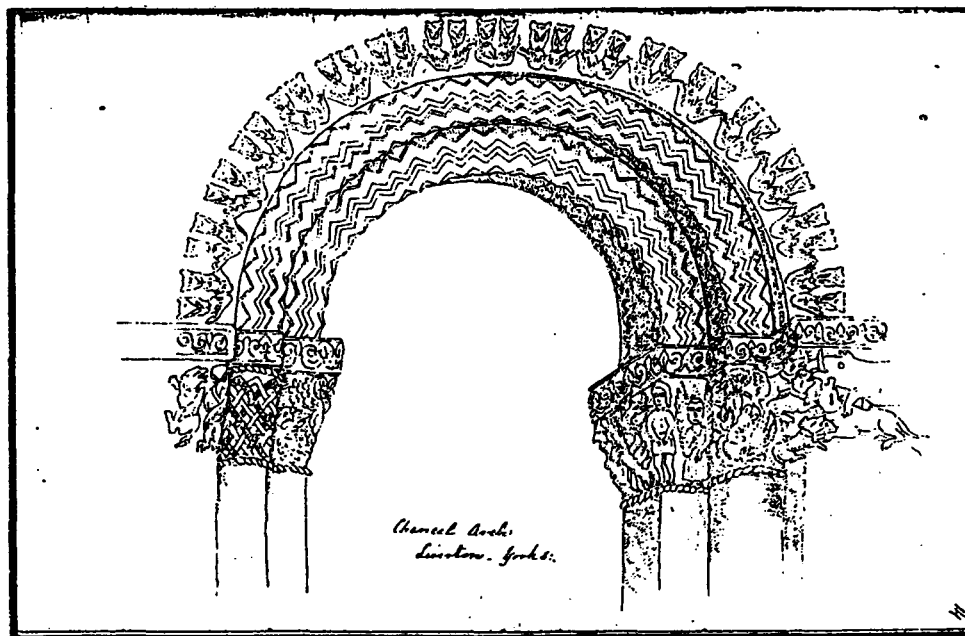
¹⁰⁷ R. Langham-Carter, 'South Africa's First Woman Architect', *Architect and Builder*, March 1967.

¹⁰⁸ Langham-Carter's note to Rev Canon C. T. Wood, c1965, stated, "I fancy they [the sketches] were done when she was young, as she wouldn't have visited so many places after she married Gray."

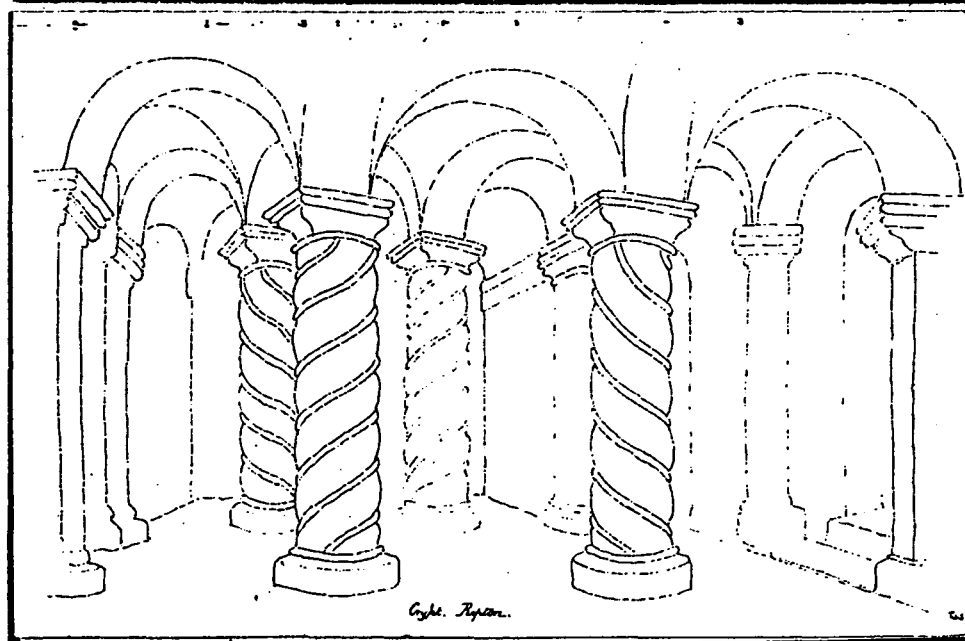
Fonts - page 55
Capitals - page 51



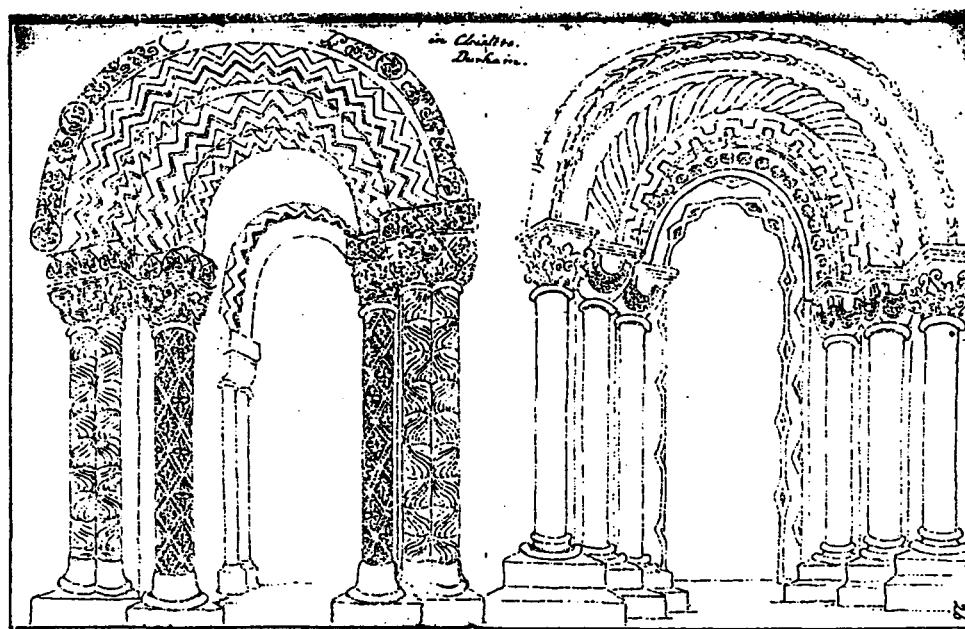
MRS SOPHIA GRAY'S 'BOOK OF ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS'



Chancel Arch –
Liverton, Yorkshire
page 14

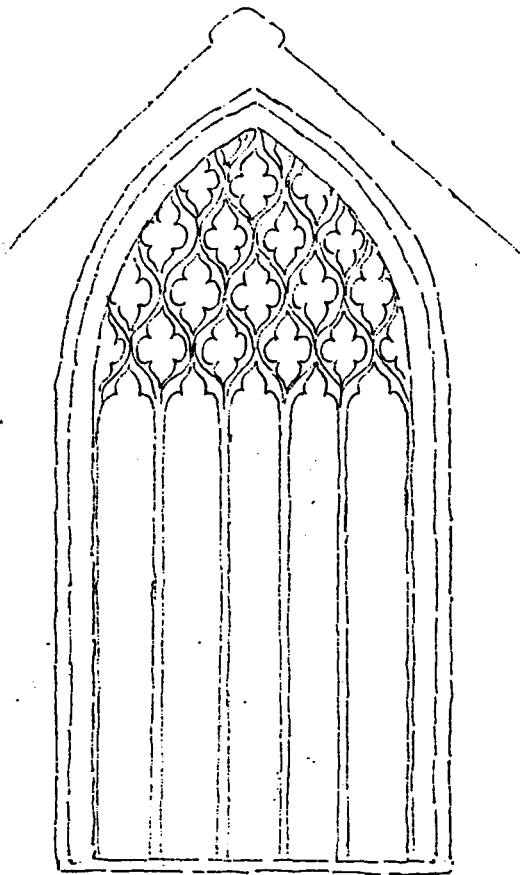


Crypt – Repton
page 3

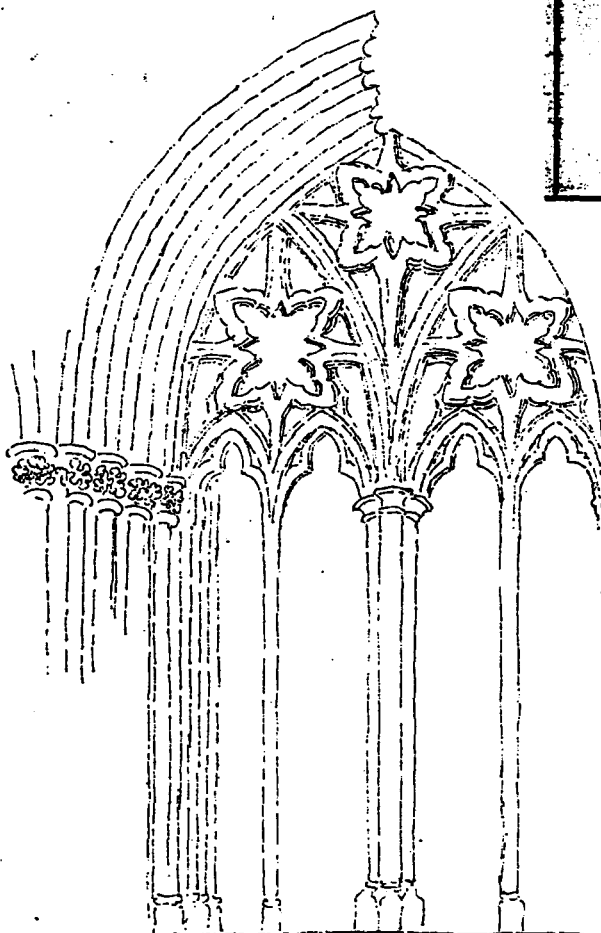


Norman arches in the
Cloisters, Durham Cathedral
page 26

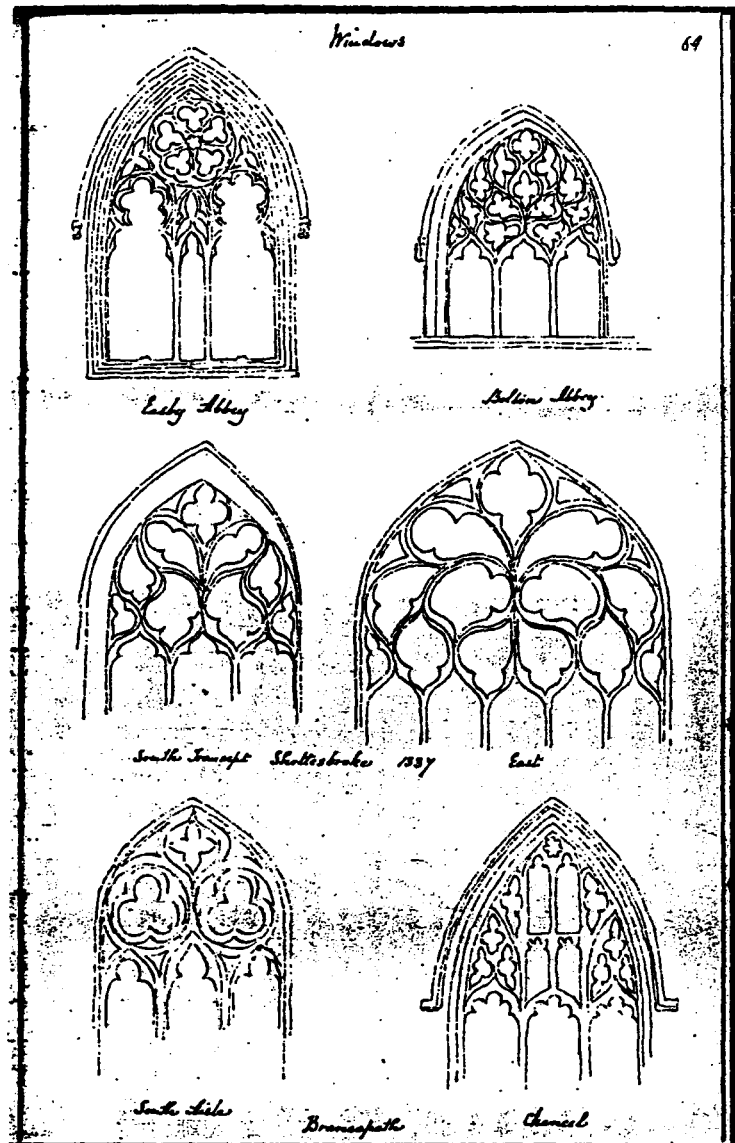
MRS SOPHIA GRAY'S 'BOOK OF ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS'



Priory. Reading



Whitby Abbey



Windows

64

Early Abbey

Early Abbey

South Transept. Shaltesbroke 1337

East

South Aisle

Bromsgrove

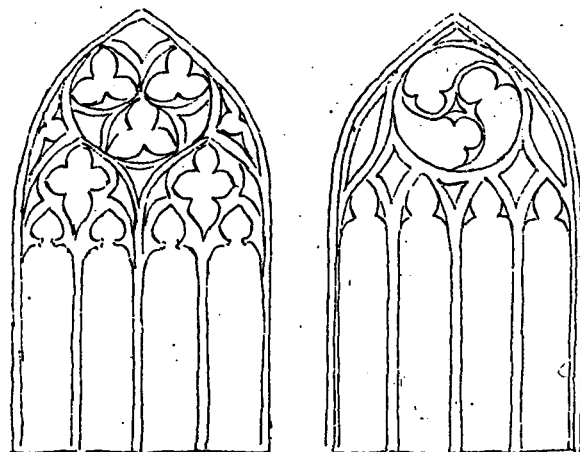
Chancel

Windows from various churches & priories

Left, top and bottom - page 65

Above - page 64

Below - page 71



South Aisle Melrose.

1.5 THE GRAYS: AT WHITWORTH & STOCKTON - 1836 TO 1847

During the period between his marriage in 1836 and the departure for Cape Town in December 1847, Robert Gray was involved with two activities which could be regarded as precursors of his rôle in South Africa: Church building and Mission work. This section covers these and also the Grays' reading programme during this time.

BYERS GREEN, TUDHOE AND HILLINGTON

Robert had already in 1835 recognised the urgent need of a chapel for the coalminers and their families who were pouring into the little hamlet of Byers Green situated about a mile from Whitworth church. His objective was to get a suitable chapel built at Byers Green, instead of the school room where, since he first began them, services had been held regularly.¹⁰⁹ Gray wrote a letter to the Bishop of Durham in c1838 in which he revealed how earnestly he had the interests of his parishioners in mind. He appealed on behalf of the newcomers to the village, "Should the coal field adjoining Byers Green not be worked, the population will... not materially increase, and there would... be no very urgent necessity for building a chapel. If, on the other hand your Lordship's coal should be worked and the pit population be located in Byers Green, I must most decidedly differ from Mr----- in thinking that your Lordship's bounty could be better bestowed than in endowing and building a chapel for the very people who are working the coal. It would seem to me that they had the strongest, and I may add the only claim upon your liberality..."¹¹⁰ Considering that Robert Gray was only 29 at the time and scarcely four years into his first parish, this recommendation to his bishop was a bold approach. Gray contended that the responsibility of providing religious instruction for the coalmining families drawn to the area rested upon the different proprietors whose coal was being worked. A favourable reply must have been received as later Gray thanked the Bishop in another letter for his "very liberal offer," an offer that Robert hoped would secure a church and a resident minister for the coal mining district around Byers Green. Gray agreed with his bishop that 1840 would be "the earliest period for building" and he made himself available in the interim "in making application to the different parties interested, Church Building Societies, and in arranging any preliminary matters." (The aims of the CBS were addressed in Section 1.2).

Gray in addition referred the Bishop to an earlier letter in which he had asked for a chapel for Byers Green *and another for Tudhoe*, as the whole of his parish, with its small Whitworth Church, lay between these districts. Gray assumed that as Tudhoe was within the limits of his church, the Byers Green chapel would have prior claim on the Bishop's funds. He concluded with a request "that the pit-houses should be built as near the present village of Byers Green as possible. We should then have the whole population thrown very much together, and consequently nearer the church."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ C Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. 1, p64. A chapel is a room or small building reserved for Christian worship. Holding services in a school room was unsatisfactory as the building was not set up for worship. The need for both types of building probably gave rise to the school-chapel that could serve the dual purpose of a school during the week and a church on Sundays.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p65. In all his correspondence, Robert Gray referred to 'Byer's Green', with an apostrophe.

The above exchange of correspondence has been recorded in detail as the action taken on behalf of the Byers Green congregation could be seen as a forerunner of the many similar exchanges in which Gray was to be involved in South Africa. From 1848, Robert Gray, as the first Anglican Bishop in the Cape Colony, was to approach the Governor of the Cape Colony for church sites on behalf of poor church communities. Gray wrote a letter in April 1839 to Mrs Williamson, his sister stating, "We are... watching where the population... will settle down; in order that we may know what will be the most eligible sites for churches... five churches or chapels (if not 6) are contemplated in this neighbourhood."¹¹² Gray does not name them but the number would have included Byers Green, Tudhoe and Hillington. In January 1840 Gray approached the Shaftos, the wealthy landed gentry at Whitworth, for a school at Whitworth and a coal company about a church at Hillington. Before the Grays moved to Stockton on 30 September 1845 they were present at the consecration of the churches at Byers Green and Hillington.

The church at Byers Green could be regarded as the first church that Robert Gray initiated and built. To what extent he directed the architectural style and choice of architect, however, is not known. The appointment of an architect was probably the rôle of the Bishop of Durham as funding would have come largely from diocesan coffers and possibly the CBS. Considering that Gray was Rector at the time of the parish that included Byers Green, it is possible that Gray had sight of the plans prior to the erection of the church. A Durham parish history states that the Church was built in 1844 and consecrated on 10 July 1845 having been designed by a Mr Watts of Durham.¹¹³ The full set of drawings by the architect G Y Wall, dated 28 December 1842, have survived.¹¹⁴ These are for a three-bay, Early English church with chancel, vestry and porch. The west gable wall carries a bellcote with two arches although the bellcote as built has only one arch. The chancel end wall has three lancets. At the four corners of the nave and on the chancel and vestry end walls, there are *clasping* buttresses, a version of buttress not used by Sophia Gray in South Africa (Refer Figures H and K). Gray's hopes for a church at Tudhoe only materialised in 1866, some 27 years after his initiatives for a place of worship there.¹¹⁵

WHITWORTH AND STOCKTON

Robert Gray was sent as the Vicar to Whitworth in 1834. The parish church had a flat and ceiled roof and sash windows and was described as a "small and mean fabric consisting only of a Nave and Chancel..."¹¹⁶ On arrival at Whitworth, Gray found the vicarage in such bad repair that he was compelled to lodge in Durham. There is no adverse comment from Gray about the 'small and mean' church in the local histories neither is there anything on record to suggest Gray had in mind to upgrade the church into something more in keeping with the style of the times. As mentioned already, he involved himself from May 1835 with the plight of the coalminers of the district and motivated for chapels elsewhere. In 1841, Gray built the *National School* and a house for the headmaster in the rising township of Spennymoor.¹¹⁷ It may be considered that the Spennymoor School foreshadowed the string of schools the Grays were destined

¹¹² *Ibid*, p72.

¹¹³ H. Conyers Surtees, *History of the Parish of Byers Green*, p11.

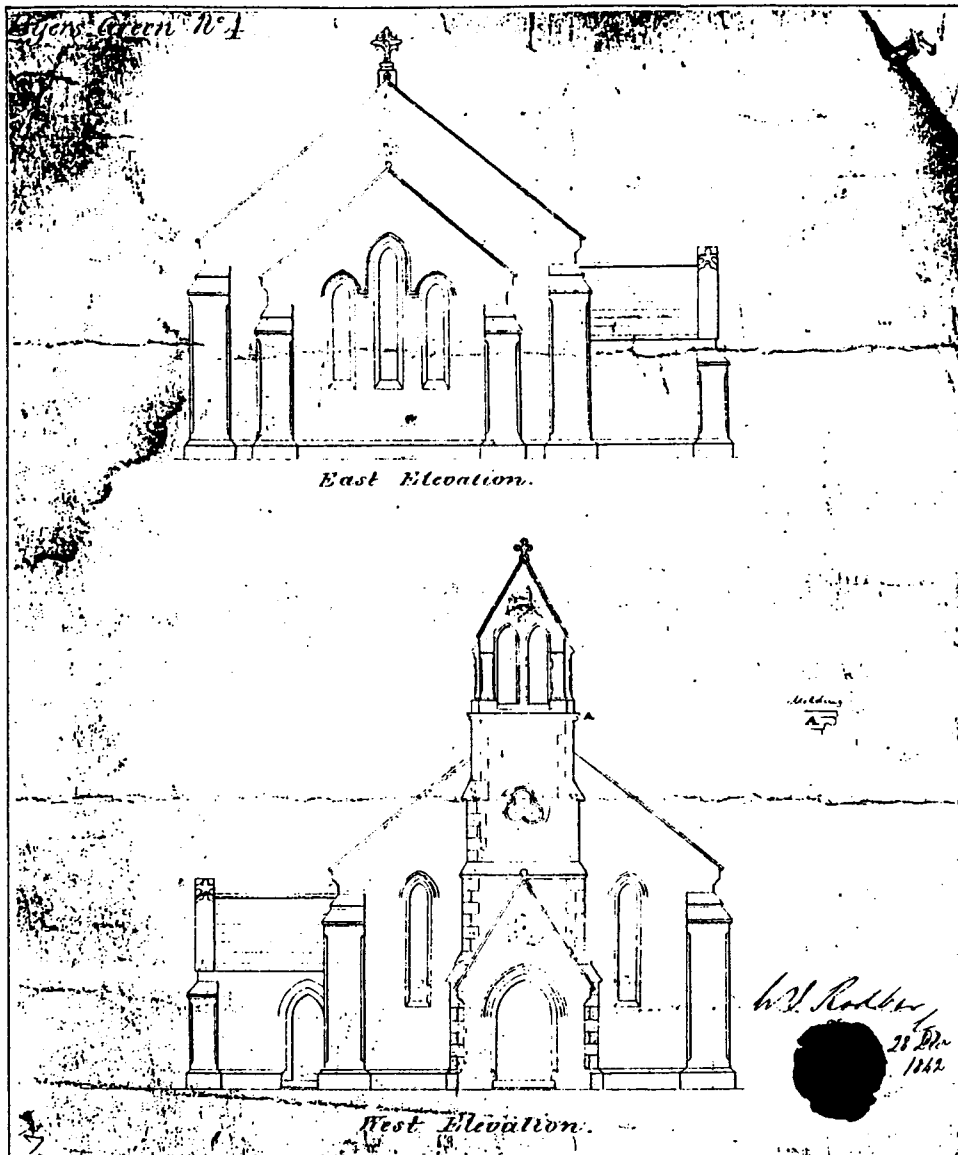
¹¹⁴ Durham County Council Archives, File EP/26

¹¹⁵ H. Conyers Surtees, *The History of the Parishes of Tudhoe & Sunnybrow*.

¹¹⁶ G. R. Berriman & C. Brennan, *A History of the Parishes of Whitworth & Spennymoor* (1949), p17.

¹¹⁷ T. S. Groser, *A Short History of the Parish: Whitworth*, p25.

BYERS GREEN CHURCH, PARISH OF WHITWORTH, NEAR DURHAM



Architect:
G. Y. Wall
Designed:
December 1842
Built: 1844



to build in their new diocese overseas. In August 1845, the Grays moved to Stockton after accepting an offer from the Church to the new living and Rev Arthur Duncombe Shafto was appointed to Whitworth¹¹⁸ In retrospect, it was unlike the Grays not to have done some corrective building at Whitworth because in August 1845, when they arrived at the church at Stockton with its round-headed windows and walls of brick, Gray described it as 'hideous.' (Gray's full comments about Stockton church are quoted in Section 2.1).

ROBERT GRAY AND THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (SPG)

Gray's dedication to church planting and building, cannot be easily separated from his concerns for reaching the unchurched peoples in his parish and beyond with the Gospel. His endeavours with mission work, particularly in the Eastern Cape amongst the indigenous black population from 1848 onwards, arose out of his earlier commitment to the SPG while he was still at Whitworth in 1840.

The two-fold objective of the SPG was the "planting of the [Established] Church in the British Colonies *and* in evangelising the heathen."¹¹⁹ This it sought to accomplish by building up the Colonial Churches as Missionary centres, its first duties being "to the peoples within the Empire" to save them from "lapsing into Pagans", while simultaneously "converting the Pagans into Christians."¹²⁰ The high ideals for which it stood and the achievements of the Society, were widely known.¹²¹ Robert Gray considered the SPG as the true organ of the Church and in January 1840, he wrote in his journal, "Much engaged this month in writing letters to the principal laity of the county, inviting them to support the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of which I have undertaken the Secretaryship".¹²² In the months and years that followed, there are numerous short entries in his journal, evidence of his loyalty to the SPG's cause. For example, in May 1840 he wrote: "Much engaged with the SPG." In June 1841: "Time much occupied with SPG meetings throughout the Diocese." In August 1841: "Represented SPG at a meeting at Eston and at Darlington". In April 1845 Gray made a prolonged tour to the districts of York, Bradford and Leeds on deputation for the SPG.

The SPG had been connected with South Africa since the Colonisation movement of 1819-20 when British immigrants were introduced to the Eastern Cape. The Society provided assistance towards the support of Colonial Chaplains at three towns and had made a grant towards the completion of the first English church in the Colony at Grahamstown and later assisted in providing seven clergymen between 1836 and 1846. Rev E T Scott, (Minister at George), wrote a letter to the SPG in 1846 in which he stated, "We want a Bishop out here very much".¹²³ The following year, Miss

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, p26. Shafto was so distressed at having to minister in a building so unlike a church that he commenced immediately to raise funds for the Church's restoration. In 1850 the work of restoration devolved on Rev Charles Carr who began by building the chancel and vestry.

¹¹⁹ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG, 1701-1900*, Preface.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, pix.

¹²¹ In the course of 200 years, the SPG recruited and sent 4 267 missionaries to mission fields in the British Colonies and 'Foreign Parts'. Of the 97 Colonial, Indian and Missionary Bishoprics of the Church of England, 82 were planted or supported by the SPG. (C. F. Pascoe, *Ibid*, px.)

¹²² C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. I, p74. Gray's post was that of local secretary (T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p34.)

¹²³ Journals of the SPG, Vol.9, p259.

Bourdett-Coutts, provided an Episcopal endowment for the See of Cape Town, thus facilitating the appointment of a Bishop for the Diocese of Cape Town.¹²⁴

With his proven record of commitment to the missionary cause, Robert Gray was singled out by the SPG and asked by Rev Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the SPG and honorary secretary to the Colonial Bishoprics Council on 30 January 1847, to allow his name to be put forward for one of the vacant colonial bishoprics, Adelaide (Australia) or the Cape of Good Hope. On 29 June 1847, he was consecrated as Bishop of Cape Town. The SPG thus played a major part in influencing and equipping Robert Gray for his church planting rôle in South Africa. Prior to his departure for Cape Town, Bishop Gray wrote, "... the Society is the main-stay of the whole Colonial Church. That in proportion as its means are enlarged, so will the Church in each... extremity of the British empire expand." Gray exhorted the Church to support the SPG with a much larger income than it had done to meet the necessities of the Church in the Colonial empire.¹²⁵

THE GRAYS' READING PROGRAMME

The third activity of the Grays that absorbed a relatively great amount of their time (to a lesser extent in Sophia's case), was 'reading', an understatement for Robert Gray's diligent appraisal of varied literary works. A reading notebook¹²⁶ that Gray kept contains, not merely the titles of the books he read, but "terse and clear comments upon them, showing an original and independent mind brought to bear on all the subjects which came under his attention."¹²⁷ The book begins on Christmas Day 1834 when he entered on his duties at Whitworth. His first reference to reading was in January 1835: "skimmed through Mr Bulwer's *Pompeii*."

As commented on earlier, after Robert's marriage in September 1836, there are numerous references to reading aloud to Sophia, a practice that demonstrates that they were being simultaneously informed and influenced from a common source. Understandably most of the reading was of a religious nature, for example, July 1837 – "Finished reading aloud to Sophy the R.T.S. [Religious Tract Society] Commentaries to the end of the Pentateuch"; August 1837, "Read to Sophy - Joshua, Judges, Ruth"; May 1838, "Read Newton on Prophecies to Sophy"; in July and August 1838, "Read to Sophy Old and New Testament". In addition to Biblical commentaries, theology, and sermons, the Grays read history, classics, and books on architecture. In June 1839, five years after commencing his notebook, Gray noted, "Much at home. My average reading and writing of all sorts is about eight hours per day."¹²⁸

In January 1839 Gray began reading *Tracts for the Times*. His intense interest in the writings from Oxford concerning the revival of Church principles is not surprising considering his dedication to literature related to his calling and faith. He recorded.

¹²⁴ Miss Burdett-Coutts was a wealthy philanthropist who was deeply involved in schemes to alleviate the position of the poor in London. Her endowment to the Cape Town bishopric took the form of a gift to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund of £17,500. She was later instrumental in securing the Bishop's residence 'Protea', now Bishops court, for the Diocese of Cape Town.

¹²⁵ Journals of the SPG, Vol.9, pp329-330.

¹²⁶ Robert Gray's Reading Book is preserved in the CPSA Archives, AB 1161

¹²⁷ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. 1, pp30, 31. Compiler of Gray's biography was H. L. Farrer; Gray's son, Charles edited the publication.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p71.

“My object is to read the Tracts through, that I may judge for myself whether the charges of their opponents are true – i.e. that their doctrines are unscriptural and contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England. As far as I have gone, I see little or nothing to object to in their principles, though I would by no means subscribe to all their opinions.” Four months later in May 1839, Gray noted, “I have been much pleased with these Tracts, notwithstanding the great outcry raised against them. Sure I am that their principles are in the main those of the Church of England. *There are some passages and opinions to which I cannot assent...* (author’s italics).”¹²⁹ Gray read the controversial Tract XC over and over;¹³⁰ he read Tracts of the Anglican Fathers that were being translated and published by the Tractarians; he read Gresley’s *Portrait of a Churchman*, which explained the principles of the Church in a popular style; Benson’s *Four Sermons against Tracts for the Times*, which gave the ‘low’ or evangelical view of the writings.¹³¹

In January 1842, Gray recorded that he had read *The Forest of Arden* by William Gresley. This was one of the books of the day about church affairs and history (Refer Figure I). Gray’s comment about Gresley’s book, “a Tale of the English Reformation”, was “I do not like this so well as some other of his writings.”¹³² Exactly what other of Gresley’s books Gray had read is not disclosed. This comment is nevertheless evidence of his conscientious evaluation of Tractarian principles *vis à vis* the Church of England after the Reformation. Gray’s comment in his Reading Book in March 1842 reveals a cautious response noted earlier in May 1839: “Pusey’s *Letter to the Arch Bishop of Canterbury on the present crisis in the Church*. Written in a very beautiful spirit – Fills one however with very melancholy thoughts respecting the Church’s prospects, - and gives practical evidence I think of some unsoundness in the character of the present movement within the Church...” (Refer Figure I). These comments indicate that Gray was not totally committed to Tractarian thinking.

As mentioned in the previous section, Robert Gray received between February 1842 and March 1843 six books on architecture: three volumes of the *Glossary of Architecture* and works by Pugin, Rickman and Bloxam. The reading book does not mention *The Ecclesiologist*, the monthly journal of the Cambridge Camden Society first published in November 1841. It is significant, however, that Gray read the three volumes of the *Glossary of Architecture*¹³³ and Rickman’s work within four months of the appearance of *The Ecclesiologist* which periodical could well have prompted him to purchase specific books on architecture. Although there is no direct reference to his wife reading these architectural books, it is the opinion of many architectural historians that Sophia Gray “was certainly a competent draughtsman and had the ability to adapt designs to particular circumstances, her ideas being derived from Rickman’s and the Pugins’ books on Gothic architecture and the publications of the Ecclesiological Society – which were, indeed, intended for this very purpose.”¹³⁴

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p68.

¹³⁰ Tract XC was the last of the Tracts and was condemned by the Hebdomadal Council in 1841. In it Newman contended that the 39 Articles were not uncatholic and could be subscribed to by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine, thus explaining away the creed of the Anglican Church.

¹³¹ C.Gray, *op cit.*, p69.

¹³² Robert Gray’s Reading Book, CPSA AB 1161.

¹³³ *A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture*, by J. H. Parker, published in 1836 and 1837.

¹³⁴ G. Stamp, ‘Church Architecture’, in R. Fermor-Hesketh, *Architecture of the British Empire*, p156.

EXTRACT FROM ROBERT GRAY'S READING BOOK - 1834 to 1844

The forest of Arden by Gresley - I do not like this
 well as some other of his writings - Greek Test -
 Old - Joshua -
 Mary -
 February
Waddington's third vol. made Extracts
Glossary of Architecture - Three vols - Peters
 Sermons - Old Test with Lophy - Greek ^{little} _{class}
 March
Rickman's Architecture
Art on the Horse
Palmers Letter Aids to Reflection on the Bishopric
of Jerusalem
Palmers Letter to Litchford
Pusey's Letter to the Arch Bishop of Canterbury on
the present Crisis of the Church - Written in a very
 beautiful spirit - fills one however with very melancholy
 thoughts respecting the Church's prospects - and gives
 practical evidence I think of some unsoundness in the
 character of the present movement within the Church, however

Extract shows the page for part of January, February and March 1842.

The first sentence refers to "the Forest of Arden" by Gresley. Other entries include "Glossary of Architecture", Rickman's Gothic Architecture and, at the bottom of the page, Pusey's letter to the Archbishop of which Gray says "...fills one with very melancholy thoughts respecting the Church's perspective... some unsoundness in the character of the present movement..."

The Grays were judged to have been “very high church” and therefore the literature produced by the Ecclesiologists, at the time at their most powerful stage, “would and did have a strong influence on their attitude towards church architecture.”¹³⁵ Robert Gray’s communication with the architectural societies is revealed in two letters he wrote after moving to the Cape. The first, addressed to the SPG in September 1848 (quoted more fully in the following section), explained his source of plans for his churches. These included designs that Gray stated had been produced by the “Architectural Societies in England”. The second letter was dated 27 August 1850 that he wrote in connection with the plans of the church in Bloemfontein.¹³⁶ Gray stated, “There are certain definite rules & laws in Church Architecture. To understand these requires much study of this particular subject. Mr Steabler [the local priest] who has studied Ecclesiastical Architecture and who is a member of our chief Architectural Society in England (the Camden) can easily point out the details to which I allude.” These letters confirm that Bishop Gray had been in contact with the Oxford and Camden Societies and had acquired some of their plans as advertised in architectural books (Refer Figures C & D).

Robert Gray’s disciplined approach to a regular, thorough reading programme, together with his concern that his wife should be similarly informed, exposed them *inter alia* to the architectural writers named above, the views of the Ecclesiologists and to the writings of the Tractarians. It is doubtful whether the establishment of an architectural style for the Church of England in South Africa, compatible with the Gothic Revival style in Britain, could have been attained without Bishop Gray’s commitment to the reading programme.

THE GRAYS: PREPARATIONS FOR BUILDING IN SOUTH AFRICA

From the time of his confirmation as Bishop of Cape Town to the time of his departure for South Africa, Gray devoted much of the waiting period to preaching and fundraising around England. Apart from his personal concerns that he would need to raise most of the costs to relocate to Cape Town himself, the Bishop and his wife prepared for the anticipated building programme. Writing from the Vicarage at Stockton-on-Tees on 26 April 1847, Gray prepared a four-page letter of appeal, under the heading *Diocese of the Cape of Good Hope, Provision for Additional Clergy*, which was printed and distributed by the SPG.¹³⁷ The letter sketches the extent of Gray’s diocese, provides basic demographics and then outlines Gray’s three objectives, these being “[1] to endeavour to increase the number of Clergy who will minister to the members of our own community... [2] to wipe off the reproach... for being almost the only communion of Christians that has not attempted to establish Missions... [3] to erect a Collegiate Institution... to train young men for the ministry of our Church in the colony.” A fourth objective is implied in [1] as Gray stated, “I shall also need aid in providing churches, schools and teachers”, ending his letter of appeal on page three with a specific request: “Contributions of Theological books, works on Architecture, Plans, Drawings, etc. of Churches, Schools, or Houses, will be of great use.” The Bishop’s readers were left in no doubt that he would be building churches. To emphasise this, Gray also set out in tabular form, statistics of the Church of England at the Cape of Good Hope, which indicated there were a total of only 14

¹³⁵ D. Radford, *The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901*, (unpublished thesis) 1979, p185.

¹³⁶ CPSA File AB 1162/A1

¹³⁷ USPG Archives, National Library, Cape Town, MSE 9, pp427 – 430.

clergy in the Western and Eastern Province and 10 churches.¹³⁸ He concluded by giving the addresses where donations could be sent, including his bank in Durham, and naming the two persons who had "kindly undertaken to receive Donations of Books, Plans of Churches, etc." The last page published the names of about 40 persons and their donations and subscriptions, the totals respectively being £884 and £266.

At the time, copyright laws did not exist and architects plans and drawings were passed between builders and clients without reference to the originators. Architects contributed to published Compendia of Styles and Details from which interested persons freely copied. On 27 September 1847, Gray was in Cirencester where he recorded, "Up early, walked to Mr Powell's new church, by Scott - [he] promised me the plans."¹³⁹ It is possible therefore that Mr Powell provided him with a plan by Scott (Sir George Gilbert Scott). As the church histories in Section 2.2 reveal, plans by Butterfield, Woodyer, Underwood and others were held by Sophia Gray. Augmented by working drawings from the Oxford and Camden Societies and possibly other unnamed architects, a most useful portfolio of building plans was compiled before the Grays sailed for Cape Town on 28 December 1847. The Grays also appear to have had direct dealings with William Butterfield as he later personally supervised the making of windows in England for St Saviour's Church at Claremont as well as its nave windows some years later. Langham-Carter wrote that before Gray came to Cape Town, he discussed his building objectives "... with his friend Butterfield and the latter gave him a number of specimen plans and drawings."¹⁴⁰ The Grays used Butterfield's plans in at least two churches in their programme, these being St Saviour's, Claremont and St John's, Victoria West. The plan used by Bishop Gray for St Paul's Church, Rondebosch, was also possibly one of Butterfield's. On the death of Mrs Gray in 1871, the Bishop approached Butterfield to design the final two bays and a spire for St Saviour's as a memorial to his wife (Refer to C10 and to Figure W).

Bishop Gray disclosed all his sources for church designs in a letter he wrote to the SPG after being in South Africa for only seven months: "The churches will for the most part be small but they will all be built upon correct Ecclesiastical principles, either from designs published by the Architectural Societies in England, or from plans kindly forwarded to me by Architects in England, who have in this way made many valuable offerings to the Colonial Church..."¹⁴¹ Confirmation of the above as the sources of the plans used in South Africa is found in Gray's journals, an example being the remark made about St George's Church, Knysna: "The church is a decorated building copied from an ancient English church".¹⁴²

¹³⁸ The 10 churches were at Cape Town (2), Rondebosch, Wynberg, Simon's Town, Grahamstown, Fort Beaufort, Sidbury, Bathurst, Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth). He marked a church at Zonder Ende as 'bg', which could indicate 'being built'. The records do not show any church activity there until 1848.

¹³⁹ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.1, p131.

¹⁴⁰ R. Langham-Carter, 'The Most Perfect Little Building in Cape Town', *Architect and Builder*, April 1980, p18. The article referred to the Lady Grey Infant School, built at Bishop Gray's request in 1856. It stood on the site of the present Houses of Parliament, Government Avenue, Cape Town. Butterfield was asked to send plans and the school was built accordingly. It was demolished c1875 when the Parliament buildings were begun.

¹⁴¹ Letter dated 23 September 1848, USPG Archives MSE 9, SAL.

¹⁴² Gray's Journal, 26 November 1850, p184.

PART TWO – THE PERIOD 1848 – 1872; BISHOP GRAY AND MRS GRAY IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 THE GRAYS: THEIR APPROACH TO BUILDING CHURCHES

Bishop Gray expressed his approach to ecclesiology through succinct entries in his journals. This section records in chronological order, selected statements on what, when, and how to build. Read as a sequence, they reveal Gray's unambiguous mind-set on the building of churches. Because of the nature of public life in Victorian England, the Bishop could make comments on architecture whereas his wife could not. What Sophia Gray believed about this subject is not extensively recorded but that she thought and felt precisely the same way as her husband is reflected clearly in the type of church she designed and in her rare comments made in correspondence. A few of these have been quoted below but more extensively in the individual histories of the churches in Section 2.2.

As documented in earlier sections in this thesis, Bishop Gray formulated an approach to architectural styles and building in general through his reading programme and his shrewd observance of church architecture in Britain as well as in Europe. To our knowledge, he never lectured on church architecture as a subject so his beliefs must of necessity be garnered from the numerous statements he made in journals, letters as well as in reports of speeches about the churches he was building, consecrating or merely visiting.

Probably Robert Gray's first recorded disapproval of a building material is recorded in his letter to his sister Annie, dated 14 August 1845, two years before the Grays left England for Cape Town. While still in Whitworth, Gray had accepted the Vicarage of Stockton in August 1845 and, although he moved there in September, he made his feelings known to his sister about his 'new' church. He remarked, "The Roman Catholics have just got a new church by Pugin, and an Independent chapel is now building." He continues about his Stockton church, "The church is hideous; - brick, - round-headed windows, pulpit and desk before the altar, large galleries, pews bought and sold!"¹ This sentence mentions many of Gray's aversions.

The church to which he was sent was St Thomas in the High Street, Stockton, a rare example in the North East of England of an early 18th century building.² Being a Georgian church, it had round-headed windows, was built of brick, and had galleries. Thus Gray was firstly expressing his dislike of the late Renaissance characteristics in this church that included the round-headed windows. He was also revealing his personal disappointment that it was not in the Gothic idiom. Secondly, as far as Gray was concerned, brick was not the preferred exterior facing. Pugin had in 1841 written, "A pointed church is the masterpiece of masonry. It is essentially a stone building; its pillars, its arches, its vaults... are all peculiar to stone, and could not be consistently executed in any other material"³ Although the Ecclesiologists also favoured stone, in practice this only applied to the external faces of the buildings as internal walls of the

¹ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.1, p85.

² J. E. Ruscoe, *The Churches of the Diocese of Durham*, p128. Ruscoe says of St Thomas's Church, "Tradition unreliably claims Christopher Wren as the architect".

³ *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, p2.

majority of churches were plaster over brick.⁴ A letter that Bishop Gray wrote to the builder of the church at Colesberg on 24 August 1849, is quoted here as an example of how Gray expressed his distaste of brick: "It [the church] would not cost £300 in England even if built of stone. I suppose you must build of brick, though I greatly regret it, for it will never be satisfactory."⁵ Thirdly, Gray's remark regarding the placing of the 'pulpit and desk before the altar,' shows his disapproval of what was typical of Non-conformist churches where the exposition by a minister of the 'Word' from a centrally positioned pulpit, thus taking precedence over the altar, was central to Non-conformist liturgy. By contrast, in an Anglican (and Roman Catholic) church, nothing should obscure the congregation's view of the altar (the focal point physically and liturgically of the church), least of all the pulpit which, as stated in Section 1.1, should be set to the left of the altar in front of the chancel arch. Fourthly, Gray was no doubt aware that galleries were not part of medieval Gothic architecture, so the 'large galleries' in his St Thomas Church were ecclesiastically incorrect. The Incorporated Church Building Society, during the Gothic Revival did not encourage the building of galleries though they were permitted with certain provisos.⁶ Lastly, in using the disparaging phrase, 'pews bought and sold', Gray was referring to the custom of 'pew rents', an abomination to Gray who believed in the equality of all men before God that entitled all to have equal access to 'sittings' in any church (Discussed in Section 3.1 in paragraph 12).

Disapproval of another building material is recorded in Gray's first journal covering his 1848 Visitation to the Eastern Cape. During this visitation he called at the LMS Mission Church at Pacaltsdorp near George on 11 September. The church had been built in the Early English Gothic style between 1822 and 1825 "...with gothic openings and a large battlemented tower at the west end."⁷ Gray stated, "I here found the most church-like looking edifice I have seen in the Colony. It has a tower of very respectable proportions, and is built entirely of stone, and *without a covering of plaster which disfigures every other church I have yet seen* (author's italics)"⁸ Gray's strong dislike of plaster expressed here was presumably directed at *external use* considering that Pugin qualified the use of plaster: "...and as for plaster, when used for any other purpose than coating [internal] walls, it is a mere modern deception, and the trade is not worthy of distinction."⁹ The survey of the Gray churches revealed that of the 22 churches with stone exteriors, all but one had plaster over brick internal walls (Discussed in Section 3.1 in paragraph 11).

The Grays' overarching approach to building churches was to use the Gothic style as advocated by the Ecclesiologists. This was briefly referred to in Section 1.5, while considering the Grays' early links with the Ecclesiologists: When the Bishop was in Uitenhage in 1848, he wrote on 23 September to Rev Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of

⁴ *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p153. Quoting the Incorporated Building Society's instructions, the editors stated about walls: "To be solidly constructed of stone...; or of brick, where no good stone can be procured without great additional expense."

⁵ Letterbook Vol.1, p83.

⁶ The Instructions stated that the Society "will not sanction any plan involving the erection of a gallery, unless... it is distinctly shown that no room is unnecessarily sacrificed... on the floor."
(*The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p156).

⁷ D. Greig, *A Guide to Architecture in South Africa*, p46.

⁸ Grays Journal, 1848, p14.

⁹ *The True Principles of pointed or Christian architecture*, p2.

the SPG¹⁰, London, in connection with the progress he had made during his first six months in his diocese with the building of churches. He stated, "...I have been enabled to arrange for the erection of 10 additional Churches, the support of 6 additional clergy. The churches will for the most part be small but they will all be built upon correct Ecclesiastical principles either from designs published by the Architectural Societies in England, or from plans kindly forwarded... by Architects in England..."¹¹ The Grays regarded *ecclesiastical* principles to be synonymous with *ecclesiological* principles. Gothic is implied. (In stating in his letter that 'I have been enabled', Gray omits mentioning to Rev Hawkins, his wife's role as the designer of most of the churches. Gray recorded elsewhere, however, that "Sophie is architect to the diocese".¹² It is surmised that telling the SPG that the design of the new churches in South Africa was being undertaken by a woman, would have been imprudent for the Bishop considering the non-acceptance by Victorian society of women in professions, least of all in those monopolized by men. The histories in Section 2.2, however, cite numerous occasions after 1848 when the Bishop was not hesitant to name his wife as author of plans and his adviser in matters architectural).

Further evidence of the Grays' approach being influenced by the building styles promoted by the Ecclesiologists, is the letter (referred to briefly in Section 1.5) that the Bishop wrote to the Church Building Committee in Bloemfontein regarding the plans they had submitted for a church.¹³ Gray had suggested that their rector, Rev Steabler, a member of the Camden Society, could easily point out details that were 'incorrect' (Refer C11 for detailed correspondence). In addition, when St Mark's Church, George, was built in 1849, plans of the Littlemore Church, built in 1835 near Oxford, were used. These had been drawn by Henry Underwood and issued by the Oxford Society in 1840. Working drawings of a number of churches were advertised for purchase by the public in Rickman's *An attempt to discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England* and Parker's *Introduction to Gothic Architecture* (Refer Figure C). Mrs Gray clearly had copies as St Mark's is "an almost exact replica of Littlemore Church, Oxfordshire."¹⁴

Two months after writing his letter to the SPG, Bishop Gray showed through his preaching that *the labour of building a church* is clearly a divine commission that sets itself apart from the building of any other structure for secular use. This is assumed from a sermon preached when Gray was in Graaff-Reinet and conducted services in the Dutch Reformed church in the morning and evening of Sunday 19 November 1848. The evening sermon dealt with "...the spirit in which we should enter upon the erection of the House of God."¹⁵ Details of the sermon's content have not been recorded thus Gray's spiritualizing of a church-building project would be speculative. The spiritual exercise of erecting sacred buildings, considered in 1848, may be coupled with the need for perseverance. In a journal entry made two years later in

¹⁰ Hawkins was also Honorary Secretary of the Colonial Bishops' Fund that was set up in 1841 mainly to pay the salaries of Colonial Bishops (Refer Section 2.3).

¹¹ Letter dated 23 September 1848, USPG Archives MSE 9, SAL.

¹² A. Hamilton Baynes, *Handbooks of English Church Expansion - South Africa*, p42. Baynes stated that Bishop Gray described his wife in this way but did not disclose the precise reference.

¹³ 27 August 1850, CPSA File AB 1162/A1.

¹⁴ D. J. C. Radford, *op cit.*, p188. In *The Ecclesiologist*, No. I, November 1841, p10, the Editors defend the idea that to be 'churchlike' a church will be expensive to build and state that the "most churchlike of modern churches, Littlemore, near Oxford, was also one that cost as little as any."

¹⁵ Gray's Journal, 19 November 1848, p61.

Grahamstown on 14 September 1850, Gray expressed his grave concerns for the continuance of building projects. Having taken a decision to establish a church, in any one of the many instances, Gray's quandary was how to *sustain* the efforts of the parishioners to continue to the end, until the church was complete. He wrote, "My time has been chiefly occupied in some very anxious business connected with several parishes, arising chiefly from *the difficulty the people find in completing the churches which they have begun* (author's italics). The expense of building in this colony is greater than any of us have been willing to believe. Though the designs of the churches have all been very simple, they have in most cases exceeded the means which are at the disposal of the several committees."¹⁶ Gray's answer to his own question was frequent visitations to personally counsel and encourage communities, as is evidenced by the fact that during his 25 years' of service, he and his wife made 24 visitations to towns and villages in his diocese.

Maintenance of building standards was yet another concern expressed by Gray during the 1850 Visitation. While he was in George for the consecration of St Mark's Church, he recorded in his journal on 3 December some of the problems hampering the achievement of high standards and correct styles that he desired for himself and the Church of England: "Considering the poverty of our people, the inferiority of coloured workmen, and the scarcity of good stone, this church is, I think, a credit to the diocese. It is delightful to see our old English churches repeated in this land. I am glad to find that it is generally admired and appreciated; for this encourages me to persevere in my efforts to get correct churches built."¹⁷ The thought that a vernacular style of church building for South Africa could have been more appropriate for the new diocese was, on the evidence of the churches built by the Grays, never a consideration. The Grays saw the 'old English churches', (presumably the Gothic Revival parish churches of his time) as a universal style for the Church of England, wherever it was planted. Gray's journal entry continues with castigation of the South African church builder who appeared to be satisfied with mediocrity: "It requires, indeed, much patience to combat the prejudices, and to endeavour to elevate the tastes of church builders in South Africa. Very many have not a conception beyond the ordinary shapeless brick building, plastered and whitewashed." The Bishop's personal commitment to sound building practice and correct architectural style is apparent: "I am happy to say, no incorrect building has been commenced, though the inferiority of our materials and workmanship would make one shrink from seeing them subjected to a very critical eye."¹⁸

Comments made by Mrs Gray were understandably more concerned with practical issues than principles. There are a number of instances quoted in the individual church histories in Section 2.2 where she reveals her firm grip on construction costs and her uncompromising approach to contractors who may have been inclined to exploit church communities. For example, in a letter dated 27 December 1849 to the church leader at Caledon, she cited the costs of churches at Port Beaufort (£300), Swellendam (£500), George (£1000) and Graaff-Reinet (£1500) to point out the error in the builder's estimates for the Caledon church which, "do not appear... to be worth much. He has quite mistaken the character of the building."¹⁹ In another letter, dated 4

¹⁶ Gray's Journal, 1850, p139. The committees Gray refers to are the Building Committees that were set up at virtually all churches under construction

¹⁷ Gray's Journal, 3 December 1850, p189.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Letterbook 1849, pp131,132.

September 1851, she wrote on behalf of the Bishop to Mr Harries, the Churchwarden at St Paul's Church, Port Elizabeth in connection with containing the cost of the overall building project. She agreed that the expensive parts of the church should in some way be reduced. A means to lessen the expense was to make the windows in timber in place of stone. In short she believed that, "The change of style from Decorated to Early English would probably make a certain reduction."²⁰ Her apparent preoccupation with the architecture of the church buildings (to be discussed in full in Section 3.1) did not blind her, however, to the relationship of a church to its setting. She reveals in a letter dated 18 June 1855 that she was aware that her church at Worcester needed to relate to its environment, in particular to the immediate streetscape. In submitting revised plans to the minister, she stated: "...I have made the West end and Bell Turret a little more imposing, which appeared necessary on account of the very large open space²¹ and more lofty buildings around it."

Bishop Gray, in keeping with the Ecclesiologists, held that the church building, in particular its internal space, had a vital role to play in generating reverence and awe of God. This set the *church building* apart from secular structures just as the *call to build* a church, mentioned by Gray in his sermon at Graaff-Reinet on 19 November 1848, was a divine commission. Of all Gray's beliefs related to Ecclesiology, this is the vital conviction that surpassed them all. Between 11 and 15 October 1855, the Grays visited and consecrated the remotely situated Schoonberg church, St John-in-the-Wilderness (C16), built on a farm in the mountains above George. Gray was well pleased with its Early English architectural style "...very neatly and correctly fitted up." He wrote, "I am sure we do not over estimate the importance of real Churches built after the fashion of our English churches. They are creative of reverence and devotion and I have seen enough in this land of the effects of *slovenly and dirty* buildings upon the converts, to make me anxious to guard against such evils."²²

In September 1857 an article appeared in the *SA Church Magazine*²³ that appears to have been based on the 1855 journal entry of Bishop Gray when the Grays visited Schoonberg. The article refers to the painted glass installed at Schoonberg and the arrival of "stone-work for arches and windows... prepared under the superintendence of Mr Butterfield..." for St Saviour's, Claremont. Rev W Newman²⁴, editor of the magazine, was probably also the author of the article in which, referring to the glass and stone-work, it was said: "They are signs of a growing love and veneration for the houses of God in the land... good must indirectly follow... to society generally, from the introduction of a higher order of art and workmanship into so many buildings throughout the colony." Newman's article, which may be assumed to have carried the acquiescence of his Bishop, concluded with a tirade against "miserable" buildings: "Slovenly (a word Gray used in his journal), deceitful, pretentious, vulgar work will make a poor-spirited, careless, thoughtless, dishonest workman." All who contributed to honest, good work were regarded as benefactors of society and were doing something "to elevate both those who carry it out, and those who look at it." Over a year later, a brief but significant statement appeared in the *SA Church Magazine*: "A

²⁰ Letterbook Vol.2, pp192,193.

²¹ Mrs Gray was referring to the Market Square that stood to the north of the church.

²² Gray's Journal, 15 September 1855, p66.

²³ Page 335. The *SA Church Magazine* was first published in 1850 under the editorship of the first Dean of St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, the Very Rev W. A. Newman.

²⁴ Newman appears to have been the spokesman for the Diocese on matters architectural.

Building dedicated to God should not only be a church, but seem a church. The outward and visible aspect should correspond with the inward and invisible life."²⁵ It must be assumed that this principle, though somewhat idealistic, was also endorsed by the Bishop as the concept is straight out of Pugin's *True Principles*: "The external and internal appearance of an edifice should be illustrative of, and in accordance with, the purpose for which it is destined."²⁶

Gray's approach to providing places of worship was that one building should suffice for all colours and kinds of people. Separate churches in a town on the basis of colour, was indefensible. Between March and June 1869, the Grays undertook a visitation to the Eastern Frontier that was well documented in three issues of *The Mission Field*. On 30 May the Grays were in Swellendam where the Bishop preached in the morning to only 20 English communicants, presumably at Christ Church (C15), completed in 1855. In the afternoon Gray held an English confirmation with Evensong at which there were 14 confirmation candidates. In the evening he confirmed "at a Dutch service, eighty-two coloured people. This is the first confirmation since the coloured congregation, formerly in connexion with the Wesleyans, came over in a body with their teacher to the Church. The little church was crammed. It is only built for 150, but 240 were present... Unhappily, *we have not, as yet, a chapel for these people*. They worship at present in a temporary building... because there were not sufficient funds to complete the chapel." The chapel to which Gray was referring was St Luke's Mission Church, which, though started in 1865, was only completed in 1874. Gray explains why the second church was being built: "I told our people... *that the difference of language alone justifies our worshipping in separate buildings* (author's italics); that it is against the spirit of Christianity, and an evil as regards the social condition of the country, to have one church for the black man, another for the white; that as we have but one faith, ... one God and Father of us all, so, where it is possible, we should worship together as one household of faith, in one church, in each place."²⁷

In the previous paragraph, mention is made for the first time of chapels. In considering the Grays' approach to building churches, the word 'church' is used as meaning a building for public Christian worship. In smaller, poorer communities, where there was a need for public worship as well as for a school, the Grays' practice was to build school chapels where the same basic space was used at different times for church and school. The school chapel, generally smaller and plainer than the average church was usually fitted with casement windows to ensure adequate lighting for the chapel's educational function. Other architectural differences between churches and school chapels are reviewed in Section 3.1 under the headings *Buttresses* and *Multifunctionism*. The histories of churches and school chapels in Section 2.2 show that it was not the Bishop's policy to consecrate any building while it had a dual function. For example, in October 1864, when Bishop Gray was at St Helena Bay, he remarked about the *church* that had been built, "At present we use it for a school also, and therefore I do not now consecrate it." (Refer History C35).

While visiting Prince Albert in 1855, Bishop Gray committed to paper the quandary in which he was placed as the decision-maker in the Diocese, every time he arrived in

²⁵ February 1859, p61.

²⁶ A. W. N. Pugin, *True Principles...*, p35. Though the Grays had read Pugin, there are no references to him, his writings or architectural work in Gray's journals or correspondence.

²⁷ *The Mission Field*, December 1869, p358.

one of the far-flung churchless communities in the land: Robert asked, "Lord what would thou have me to do?" He then expanded on his dilemma: "What ought we to do here? Is it God's will considering the vast field lying open before us? The narrowness of our means, the poverty of our labourers, that we should endeavour to plant our Church here? ...and if so, when? Should we do it now, or wait till the English population is increased?"²⁸ These questions do not set forth some clear-cut principle of Gray's approach to building; rather they underscore his fallibility and indecision and ultimately his reliance on divine guidance to decide to build.

The above should be regarded as aspects of the tacit approach that the Grays applied to their building projects. Other principles used were directly related to the architectural standards set by the Ecclesiologists and Gothic apologists of the time and will be examined in Section 3.1. It is ironic that when Bishop Gray and his family arrived in Cape Town on Sunday, 20 February 1848, they attended the evening service at the St George's Church, an example of an early 19th century Greek Revival church. The Bishop's Letters Patent declared it was to be called a cathedral. St George's was a close copy of the church of St Pancras, London, and had been completed some 14 years earlier in 1834. The style of the building did not allow for a chancel as the Bishop would have wished, its altar was a mahogany table covered with a velvet cloth, there were two galleries, the pews were very high and much of the furniture was not to his liking. Bishop Gray declared his disapproval of his cathedral in a letter dated 8 April 1848 to his brother-in-law, Dr Williamson: "It is as yet doubtful whether I shall have to try and build a Cathedral. Anyhow we must have a new Church in Cape Town; and I should like to throw overboard the present Cathedral, but I must not hurt people's feelings. We shall have a great deal of building and I am sure I don't know from whence the funds are to come." St George's was to serve as cathedral throughout Robert Gray's 25 years as Bishop of Cape Town. Considering the Bishop's fervent feelings for the Gothic style, it is to his credit that he set aside his personal agenda in favour of the building needs of the Diocese.

²⁸ Gray's Journal, 31 October 1855, p93.

2.2 BISHOP GRAY'S BUILDING PROGRAMME

This section contains historical and architectural comment on 58 churches and school chapels in South Africa as well a church on St Helena Island that were associated in some way with Bishop Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray, most of which were established by the Bishop and many of which were designed by his wife. These churches were erected largely during the lifetime of the Grays though a few were built after the Bishop's death in 1872. The church histories, C1 – C50, extending over a period of more than 30 years, have been divided for review into six phases. Histories of churches C51 – C58, "Other churches associated with the Grays," appear at the end of Phase 6.

PHASE 1: Churches (19) commenced between 1848 and 1853, arising mainly from Gray's initial visitations to the Diocese in 1848, 1849 and 1850.

When Bishop Gray and his party arrived in Cape Town on 20 February 1848, England had held possession of the Cape for over forty years. The Mother Church, however, "had evinced very little interest in the religious condition of South Africa, which... was in as neglected and hopeless a state as could well be."²⁹ Between forty and fifty thousand English emigrants had been brought into the Colony yet little had been done to provide clergy, churches or schools. There were 14 clergy in the country, 12 Chaplains supported by the Government and another two supported by the Colonial Church Society. Bishop Gray knew full well that there were only 10 churches in the whole Cape Colony, five in the Western Cape and five in the Eastern Province but none at all between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

In and around Cape Town the English were catered for at St George's Cathedral (built 1834), St Paul's Church, Rondebosch (1834), St John's Church, Wynberg (1839), Holy Trinity in Harrington Street (1845) and at St Frances Church, Simon's Town (1833/37). The Episcopal Chapel opened in Long Street in 1841 and in 1845 the Green Point Chapel opened to Anglicans on alternate Sundays. In the Eastern Province Anglicans worshipped at St George's Church, Grahamstown (1826), St Mary's, Port Elizabeth (1832), at Sidbury (1841), Bathurst (1838) and Cuylerville (chapel school)(1840).³⁰ There were church communities at Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, Fort Beaufort and George but no church buildings.³¹ Cape Town by comparison was well provided for as far as churches were concerned. After settling his family in their new home, Gray began establishing himself within the Church in Cape Town, making friends with the Governor, Sir Harry Smith and the Colonial Secretary, John Montagu. The pressure of the first three months in Cape Town "...nearly killed him and he collapsed under the strain. ...It took him two months to recover."³² Much of that time he spent in planning his first visitation to the diocese as it was abundantly clear that he needed to focus on the neglected English communities between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth and further inland. Before setting out on the visitation on 24 August 1848, however, the Grays had provided plans for the new nave for St Paul's Church, Rondebosch.

²⁹ J. A. Hewitt, *Sketches of English Church History*, p100.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p81. Cuylerville chapel school opened 15 September 1840.

³¹ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, pp271-274.

³² A. Brooke, *Robert Gray, First Bishop of Cape Town*, p38.

As the individual histories show, Gray sought out the leaders in the communities, held services and meetings, motivating the people to collect funds for the appointment of clergymen and teachers and finally, to build suitable churches. His first visitation between 24 August and 21 December 1848 took him via Caledon, Swellendam, George, Knysna, and Port Elizabeth and then to King William's Town. He returned via Somerset East, Colesberg, and Beaufort West and to George. Finally he travelled via Port Beaufort, Swellendam, Tulbagh and Paarl back to Cape Town. In 1849 between 22 February and 29 April, Gray travelled to St Helena Island. A second visitation via Caledon, George and as far as Knysna, this time accompanied by Mrs Gray, was made between August and October 1849. Between 1 April and 24 December 1850, Robert Gray undertook his longest visitation in which he travelled through the Karoo via Beaufort West, Bloemfontein and into Natal. After visiting Durban and Pietermaritzburg, he returned to Cape Town through Kaffraria, the Eastern Cape, George and Swellendam.

At least eleven churches were started in the first three years as a direct result of three visitations. A further eight churches were commenced in the next three years although no visitations were made. In 1852/1853 the Grays were in England. Thus as reflected on the Church Construction Chart, during the first six years in South Africa a combined total of at least 19 churches were commenced. These may be largely attributed to the pioneering efforts of Bishop Gray and his wife during the visitations of 1848, 1849 and 1850 and subsequent follow up of undertakings by letter and personal approaches. Gray's final entry in the Journal of 1848 summarised his own assessment of the first trip: "I have been enabled... to pave the way for the erection of Churches, and support of ministers in almost all our towns and large villages..."³³

Churches in Phase 1 are:

- C1. St Paul's **Rondebosch**
- C2. St Paul's **Eerste Rivier**;
- C3. St George's **Knysna**;
- C4. St James' **Graaff-Reinet**;
- C5. Christ Church **Colesberg**;
- C6. St Mark's **George**;
- C7. Holy Trinity **King William's Town**;
- C8. Holy Trinity **Caledon**;
- C9. St Andrew's **Redbourn**;
- C10. St Saviour's **Claremont, Cape**;
- C11. St Andrew's **Bloemfontein**;
- C12. Holy Trinity **Belvidere**;
- C13. St Peter's **Pietermaritzburg**;
- C14. St Mary's **Stellenbosch**;
- C15. Christ Church **Swellendam**;
- C16. St John-in-the-Wilderness **Schoonberg**;
- C17. Christ Church **Beaufort West**;
- C18. St James' **Worcester**.

C58. The Barry Church **Port Beaufort** (History appears at the end of Phase 6).

³³ Gray's Journal, 1848, p78.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The area south of Cape Town known as Rondebosch, had no Anglican church until 1834 when a small chapel, designed by Major Charles C Michell, Surveyor-General of the Cape, was opened for Divine Service on Sunday 16 February. Major Michell and four other Anglicans, Charles Pillans, N J Jones, W Hawkins and James Watt had earlier in the decade applied for a site for a church.¹ Their application had been approved by the Governor, Sir G Lowry Cole on 30 August 1832 and five days later on 5 September, Bishop Daniel Wilson consecrated the site.² Rev Edward Judge was appointed Acting Chaplain of the Rondebosch church on 1 March 1832. Funding for the building operations depended in part, for a time at least, on the support of shareholders.

The church designed by Michell was "in the Gothic style" and roofed in thatch and was built to accommodate 150 people. It is claimed that Major Michell superintended building operations.³ Though attractively situated on a rise above the Main Road, Rondebosch, it was oriented with the sanctuary to the south. Within a few years the need for more seats was apparent and on 19 February 1843, the first collection was taken for the addition of a gallery, which was eventually built in the church in 1845, increasing the seating by 100. The church was officially called St Paul's from 1845, on account of "the proximity of that saint's day to the day in the calendar on which the church was originally opened for public worship."⁴ After the building of the new nave (to be covered in the next section), the first, smaller church was used as the chancel.⁵ The construction of the first St Paul's Church could not have been too sound as 42 years later (1876), the churchwardens appealed for contributions for the building of a *new* chancel. The New Chancel Fund stood at only £130 at the time but four years later, when the fund had reached £1432, it was decided to proceed to build as a matter of urgency.⁶ The old chancel was described as "a dilapidated thatch-roofed building... in a deplorable condition."⁷

THE BUILDING OF THE NEW NAVE

Within five months of the arrival of Bishop Gray and his family and party in Cape Town on 20 February 1848, the First Annual Meeting of Parishioners was held at St Paul's Church on 10 July. At the second meeting on 14 July it was resolved that the

¹ P. A. Millard, *St Paul's Church, Rondebosch, 1834 – 1934*, p4.

² Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, arrived in Cape Town on his way to India on 31 August 1832. During his ten-day stay, he consecrated two church sites, Rondebosch and Wynberg, confirmed 300 persons and conducted the first Anglican ordination service held in South Africa on 9 September 1832.

³ P. A. Millard, *St Paul's Church, Rondebosch, 1834-1934*, p6.

⁴ *Ibid*, p8.

⁵ J. A. Hewitt, *Sketches of English Church History*, p67.

⁶ A. Robinson, *The History of St Paul's Church, Rondebosch, 1834 - 1947*, (unpublished notes), p12.

⁷ *St Paul's Record*, December 1929, p11.

extent of the Government's assistance with the enlargement of the church, be ascertained. A letter dated 24 July 1849 was sent seeking an appointment with the Governor. Four days later, the Colonial Secretary advised that the Governor regretted that it was "not in his power to pledge the Colonial Government to the aid requested."⁸ Minutes of the Vestry meeting on 7 August 1848 state, "the Lord Bishop of Cape Town having been invited to attend, various plans were submitted for enlarging the Church and it was resolved that Mr Low be requested to make an estimate of the expence (sic) of the erection of *the plan furnished by the Bishop* and submitted to the meeting (author's italics)." The plan selected entailed the building of a new nave and aisles onto the existing Michell church.

Mr James Low's estimate of costs, tabled at the Vestry Meeting of 17 August, provides valuable comment on the building materials and methods in use in the Cape in the mid-nineteenth century and is thus extensively quoted. The minute refers again to the "plans obtained from the Lord Bishop of the Diocis (sic)" for building "a Church at Rondebosch to be called 'St Paul's Church'." Referring to 'Masons Work', Low states "the footing to be put in concrete not less than two feet in thickness under all the foundations and walls... of Rough Quarry Stone set in Stone Lime Mortar. All outside Ornamental Work to be cut in Sand and Free Stone carefully selected." Low wrote that "Columns dividing, the Nave from the Aisles, with Bases and Capitals to be of Sand, or Free Stone, cut to the proper form; the Arches springing from the above Columns, to be turned in Bricks either Exteens or English and the ornamental work to be executed in Stucco." The inside ornamental work was to be executed "in Stucco or Papier Mâché, painted and sanded." The roof was to be framed according to the drawings "... Purlins, Boarding and other parts of the under... side of the Roof to be planed..." The roof was to be covered with "Slates, with Lead for the Ridges and flashings, wherever the Slates finish against the Wall". Sashes were to be of copper "and Glaized with Crown Glass", the inside walls "plaistered with Stone Lime and Sand" and the Entrance door "to be made of Teakwood and hung to Stone frame". The cost of the Nave and Aisles was estimated at £2978 but built without aisles, the cost would be £2350. The measurements of the new nave were given as 64 feet long by 38 feet wide and the existing chancel 27 feet by 19 feet.⁹

It was resolved that "as soon as the Season for building is favourable the work be commenced, and in the meantime, a clerk-of-works be advertised for..."¹⁰ At the following Vestry on 22 November 1848, Mr Low undertook to supervise the building of the church and recommended Mr V Balne as Clerk-of-Works. It was noted that quarry stone would be available from Mr Teubes' quarry. Foundations were probably laid and walls begun in the following months as on 13 February 1849 the Vestry met to make arrangements for the stone-laying ceremony. The next day the Governor, Sir Henry George Wakelyn Smith, responded to Vestry's invitation to lay the stone, the date being set for 20 February at 5 o'clock. A "Crucifix form of lead", appropriately engraved, was to be "placed over the cavity in the foundation stone containing the

⁸ Minute Book. Vestry of St Paul's Church, 10 July 1848 – 29 March 1910.

⁹ Ibid, pp 6 – 8.

¹⁰ This comment suggests that the winter of 1848 had been very wet.

coins of the realm".¹¹ The names of 11 persons were engraved on the lead; these included Robert Gray and James Low, the latter named as the 'Builder'. Progress over the following 18 months was good judging from the Vestry Minutes of 2 October 1850, which quoted Bishop Gray's suggestion that the church should advertise in newspapers "asking for a loan of £500 to complete the new church..." Bishop Gray chaired the next two meetings on 14 and 21 January 1851, the second of which was a general meeting of "the Inhabitants of St Paul's". It was resolved "that the first subscription list be submitted to the original subscribers" considering that the nave was so far advanced that the Vestry had "no doubt but that the building can and will be finished if the additional sum of £600..." was raised by subscription.¹²

The next two years, however, were plagued by a lack of funds that prolonged the eventual completion of the church. On 9 July 1852, Vestry noted the Churchwardens' report that "£300 will still be required to complete the roof of the church and Bell Gable."¹³ Three months later, on 15 October, Vestry resolved that "... *the works on the Tower be discontinued for the present.*" In early 1853, tenders were still being called "1st For the glaizing of the windows, 2nd for the flooring of the church, 3rd for the plaistering of the walls..." A printed appeal for funds was made on 22 February 1854, acknowledging that the completion of the New Building had "been for some time delayed for want of funds" and that £300 was needed, "*or £450 if we would have Belfry and Bells completed* (author's italics)", to ensure that the new church would be opened for public worship within three months. On 16 June 1854, the architect/builders Penketh and Calvert were brought in to complete the work. On 20 October 1854, the Building Committee reported to Vestry that "the only parts of the Contract entered into by Penketh and Calvert unexecuted were the colouring of the walls..." and the completion of seating. As no Vestry Meetings were held in the months November 1854 to April 1855, the date of the first service in the new nave could not be ascertained from the Minute Book.

THE BUILDING OF THE BELLCOTE¹⁴

Radford stated that the church was built "complete with bellcote" between 1848 and 1854.¹⁵ This conflicts with the minutes of the meeting of 22 February 1854 quoted above and wording on the wall plaque in the church, which states that the bell turret was presented by the children of John Bardwell Ebdon in 1873 and only erected in 1875.¹⁶ Vestry had earlier halted further development of the bellcote in 1852 after which building proceeded piecemeal. The minutes also reveal that in 1868, Judge John Watts Ebdon wrote to Vestry referring to a fund for erecting a belfry to

¹¹ Minute Book. Vestry of St Paul's Church, 10 July 1848 – 29 March 1910, p11. The cross-shaped piece of lead, ½ inch thick and in size, 10 x 9 inches, can no longer be traced.

¹² Subscriptions, a means of funding building projects, are discussed in detail in Section 3.3.

¹³ Minute Book. Vestry of St Paul's Church, p33.

¹⁴ Bellcotes are discussed in Section 3.1. The term is a synonym for 'bell turret' and 'bell gable'.

¹⁵ D. J. Radford, *Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 – 1901*, p188.

¹⁶ A photograph in the State Archives, AG 8404, entitled "St Paul's, Rondebosch in 1865" (Refer Drawings 1a, 1b, and photograph), shows the completed bellcote with a single opening, indicating an error with the date on the photograph as the bellcote was only completed ten years later (1875).

commemorate Lady Wodehouse. Vestry indicated that insufficient funds did not allow implementation of such a scheme confirming that no bellcote existed in 1868. Despite this evidence in the records, the church is depicted with a bellcote with three bell openings by a number of artists, all active in the 1850s. These artworks¹⁷ are:

- 1) On the cover of the *SA Churchman's Almanack* of 1852 (Refer Drawing 1A),
- 2) By Henrietta Cloete in her sketch of 1853 (Refer Drawing 1B),
- 3) By A Schaller in his etching of 1855,
- 4) By Le Camp in his 1856 drawing virtually identical to Cloete's sketch (2), and
- 5) A watercolour by Thomas Bowler, dated 1857.

Some artworks pre-date the completion of the nave in 1854, which fact supports a possible explanation for the above that, assuming the accepted Gray plan was based on a design that incorporated a three-opening bellcote, the artists drew their impressions of the church *according to the proposed plans* rather than the church as it was built. The random rubble of the existing gable wall, being clearly a different stone to the ashlar of the existing bellcote, is further confirmation that the nave built in 1854 was without a bellcote. There is also no record in the histories or the Vestry Minutes of a bellcote being built and subsequently collapsing or being demolished.

THE ARCHITECT OF THE NAVE

Bishop Gray's tabling of plans for St Paul's, on 7 August 1848, may be regarded as the first action he took in his building programme. The evidence in the Minute Book is that "*various plans were submitted for enlarging the Church*". In addition to considering more than one plan, this points out that as *enlargement* was the aim, only a nave was being considered, not a totally new church. Taking this further, the plans of churches tabled by the Bishop, whether with or without chancels,¹⁸ would have required modifications at the one end so that the new building could be attached to the existing Michell church. When it was resolved that an estimate for erecting *the plan furnished by the Bishop* be obtained, the costs would have been based on the *modified* plan. The Bishop, having tabled plans and participated in the selection of a suitable design, it is argued that the modifications were done by the Bishop's wife as the plan belonged to the Grays' portfolio.¹⁹ Sophia's authorship of the design is based on her involvement of the final stage.

Radford noted that the design of the nave bore "a great resemblance to W Butterfield's current work in England" and quoted a church at Shottestbrook as an example. Referring to the illustration (1) above in the *SA Churchman's Almanack*, that resembles "what seems to be an earlier design" of Butterfield, Radford states "it is tempting... to attribute this church to Butterfield, especially considering Sophy Gray's technical limitations."²⁰ The only other church in South Africa with three opening bell turret is St Saviour's Church, Claremont (C10). Plans for its bell turret were also the work of William Butterfield (Refer Figure X). The Grays' relationship with Butterfield has already been mentioned in Section 1.5. Reference has been made

¹⁷ No.2: Photograph in State Archives, AG 8341; No.3: Original at Church, copy in National Library, INIL 8337; No.4: *Rondebosch St Paul's Church, 1856*, Africana Museum; No. 5: Painting at St Paul's.

¹⁸ A 'model' church without a chancel was the Littlemore Church (Refer Figures Y and Z).

¹⁹ At this time, the Bishop did not openly credit his wife for supplying plans as he did in later years.

²⁰ D. J. Radford, *op cit.*, p188.

Drawing 1A: St Paul's by an unknown artist, showing three-opening bell turret (not built). Source: Cover of SA Churchman's Almanack, 1852.



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, RONDEBOSCH.



Drawing 1B: St Paul's by Henrietta Cloete, showing three-opening bell turret (not built). Portion of her pencil sketch 1853. Source: National Archives A.G. 8341.



Photograph: Slightly retouched, showing St Paul's Church (1849-1854) with single bell turret (1875). Michell's thatched church (1834) on far left. Source: National Archives A.G. 8404 photograph incorrectly dated "1865".

to his church at Coalpit Heath, England, a four-bay, aisled church in the Decorated style that has a number of features similar to the four-bay St Paul's Church, such as the octagonal piers, the arch-braced trusses and the decorated windows. The Grays also used a Butterfield plan at Victoria West (C45). The above links with Butterfield would therefore suggest that the Grays probably had a number of his plans at their disposal and that a Butterfield plan (with a three opening bellcote similar to what Butterfield designed in 1871 for Claremont) was selected.

Other historians' comments should be noted: Langham-Carter credited Sophia as the architect of St Paul's in his list, *Architects & Builders of Some churches in SA* (1977) whereas Beddy did not. Fransen and Cook, who state incorrectly that the front wall of St Paul's "is built up to form a bell-tower with 3 openings for the bells..." do not acknowledge Mrs Gray's involvement.²¹ Gutsche makes no mention of the architect of St Paul's. It is only in connection with the "absence of workable stone" that Gutsche refers to the Rondebosch church (which she erroneously called St John's).²² The windows and other details, states Gutsche, had to be imported from England owing to the non-availability of stonemasons.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE GRAYS' FIRST CHURCH

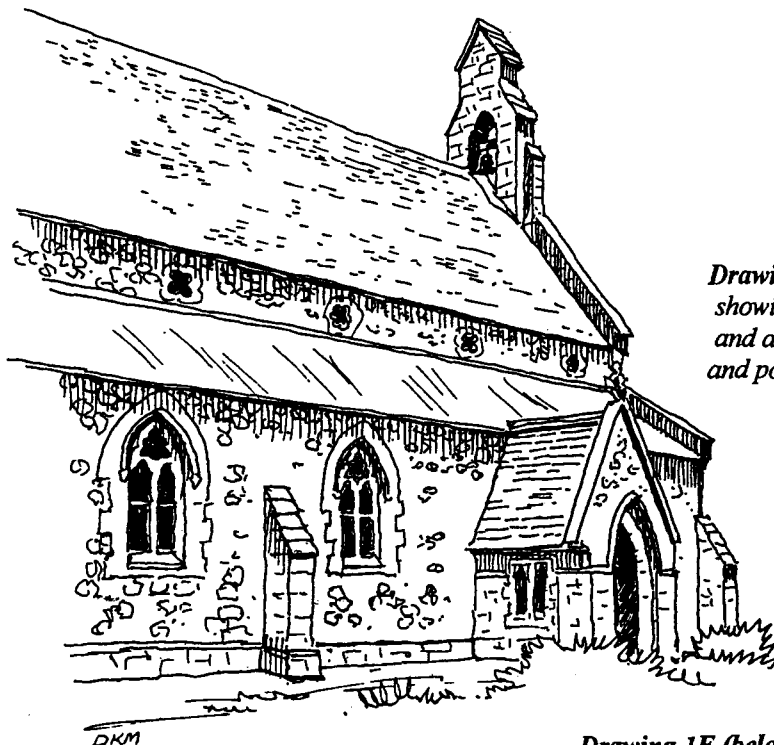
The church is in the Decorated style and comprises a four-bay nave (about 23 x 14 metres) and two aisles (each 23 x 2,3 metres). The nave was linked at the ecclesiastical east end (south end) to the 1834 church. A small porch of 3 x 3 metres, added in 1866, gives entrance to the nave at the north-east corner. The nave has angle buttresses on the north-facing 'west' wall and there are four single-step buttresses between the bays of the west aisle and two on the east aisle (Refer Drawing 1C). As already discussed, a single opening bellcote was added in 1875. A wide middle panel on the 'west' wall provides the extra support for the bellcote and bell. This panel also had a large two-light window with geometrical tracery, and higher up, a small trefoiled opening (Refer photograph on previous page). The four windows in the west aisle and the three in the east aisle, are similar to the design of the 'west' window (now enclosed by the 1964 porch of yellow brick); they have two-lights and the geometrical tracery incorporates either a trefoil, quatrefoil or hexafoil design (Refer Drawing 1D). Four clerestorey windows on each nave wall are either quatrefoils or hexafoils. The end walls of the aisles carry a small trefoiled lancet. The windows, carved from a light grey imported stone, all have hood moulds and label stops featuring human heads.²³

Internally, four pointed arches on octagonal piers separate the nave and aisles (Refer Drawing 1E). St Paul's is one of only three Gray churches planned with aisles (discussed in Section 3.1, Doorways and Arches). The roof (56 degrees) is carried on nine intersecting arch-braced trusses, similar to trusses in St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg and St John's, Clanwilliam (Refer Figure N). Apart from the quoins of imported stone, the walls are of random rubble.

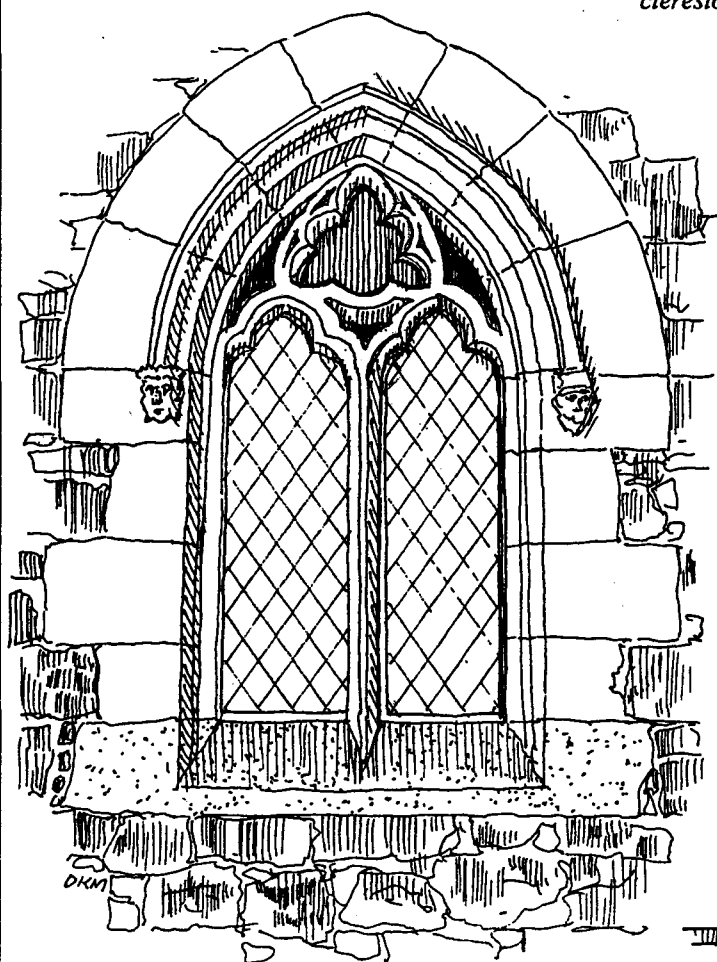
²¹ *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p95.

²² T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p110.

²³ H. Fransen and M. A. Cook remark that the stone church, though "inspired by the Decorated style... has very little ornament though there is some carving on the corbel stones [label stops] of the hood mouldings over the windows" (*The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p95).



Drawing 1C (left): East elevation of St Paul's showing bell turret (1875), clerestory and aisle windows, single step buttresses and porch (1866).



Drawing 1D : Aisle window with hexafoil head and two trefoiled lights; in imported English stone, set in random rubble wall.



HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Just six months after Bishop Gray arrived at the Cape, he set out on the first of his visitations to his vast diocese. He began his journey on 24 August 1848 and crossed the sandy waste of the Cape Flats, stopping at "Sandvliet", the farm of a Mr Peter Cloete. The Bishop wrote in his first journal (1848), "...he is anxious to build a church near his house. The plan he had procured was not a very correct one. I furnished him with another and promised him 25 pounds from my fund and 10 pounds as my private subscription.¹ I also urged him to apply to Government for assistance, both towards the Church and support of a Clergyman."² In the official record of this journey, the above account is put in a more positive light: "The first night he slept at Sandvliet, the home of Mr Peter Cloete who had made a plan for a church. The bishop gave him a better plan, made by Mrs Gray... Thus was built the church at Faure (Eerste Rivier)."³

Mrs Gray recorded in her *Chronicles* that "On the 7th of November [1848] a piece of ground at Sandvliet, Eerste Rivier, in the Cape division... was transferred by L. Cloete Esq. to the Bishop of Cape Town for the site of a church the foundations of which were already laid".⁴ This indicates that between the Bishop's first visit in August 1848 and the transfer of the site in November 1848, Peter Cloete had already started building.

The church was only opened in 1853 although it is thought that a building of small dimensions and modest ornamentation could have been completed in a shorter time span. Bishop Gray had been in England for 1852 and 1853, returning to Cape Town on 20 January 1854. The SPG records that on his return "...there were now 32 clergy. On the continent he had 18 parishes, and in all of these, except Worcester, churches had been erected or were in the course of erection."⁵

In the Bishop's third Journal he records on 23 August 1855 that "at Eerste Rivier we passed the little church which I had hoped to consecrate but which is still not finished". The fact that the church had been used for services from 1853 does not imply that the Bishop regarded the building as "complete". The journey in 1855 involved a short trip over three months and took the Bishop and Mrs Gray as far as Knysna, to Beaufort [West] and back via Swellendam. They returned via Worcester and missed out Eerste Rivier but the Journal also records some of the work done after arriving back at Cape Town. The Bishop wrote, "on St Paul's day [25 January 1856], I consecrated the little church of Eerste Rivier, which has been some time in building".⁶ This consecration date is confirmed both in the *Chronicles* and in the *List of Consecrations*, which was kept as a separate record by Mrs Gray. The consecration date also given in the full account of the event in the *South African Church Magazine*, "A church at Eerste River, dedicated

¹ The various sources of funding, including the use of subscriptions, are discussed in Section 3.3.

² Gray's Journal, 1848, p1.

³ C. Lewis and G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p38.

⁴ S. Gray, *Chronicles of the Diocese of Capetown*, p39. An entry on p152 relates to the transfer of cottages for a school in 1856.

⁵ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG, 1701-1900*, p286.

⁶ Gray's Journal, 1855, p143.

to St Paul, was consecrated by the Bishop... on St Paul's day, January 25 [1856]. The church... is a simple structure in the decorated style⁷ of architecture (Refer Drawing 4). Some of the internal fittings, such as pulpit, reading desk, and Communion table, still remain to be provided. The Rev F Carlyon offered the prayers... After the services, P L Cloete Esq., the chief promoter of the work, entertained at his house, Sandvliet, many of those who were present at the consecration."⁸ Beddy gives another date for the consecration, 22 August 1855, but this earlier date was the advertised date for the event, not the date on which it occurred.⁹

THE CHURCH AND ITS ARCHITECT

The original church of plastered brick comprised a two-bay nave of 12 x 7,5 metres, and a small porch, 3 x 3 metres, on the north-west corner. There were two-step angle buttresses at the corners and a buttress midway against the nave. The two-light pointed nave windows probably all had plate tracery in the head as seen in one of the three existing windows (Refer Drawing 3 and 4). The walls, 660mm thick, allow the windows to be deeply recessed with a wide splay. The roof of 54 degrees, probably thatched when originally built, is now tiled. Internally, a three-panelled ceiling conceals the trussed rafters that appear only to have a collar beam. The west gable wall retains the remnant of a small bellcote (Refer to Drawing 3) and differs from the pointed east end wall, which carries an iron cross at the apex (Refer Drawing 5).

The church, correctly oriented to the east, had a blank east wall in anticipation of a chancel. When this was added, possibly in the mid 1900s, it was an unsympathetic flat-roofed structure with a parapet wall and loopholes. Through the years further additions have been made to accommodate all church activities. Unfortunately in the process much of the charm of the early simple structure has been lost.

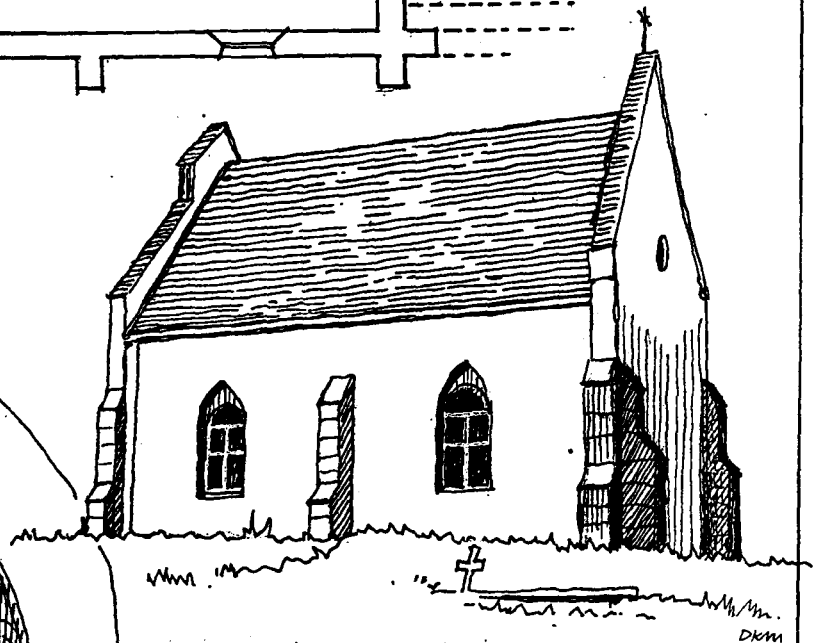
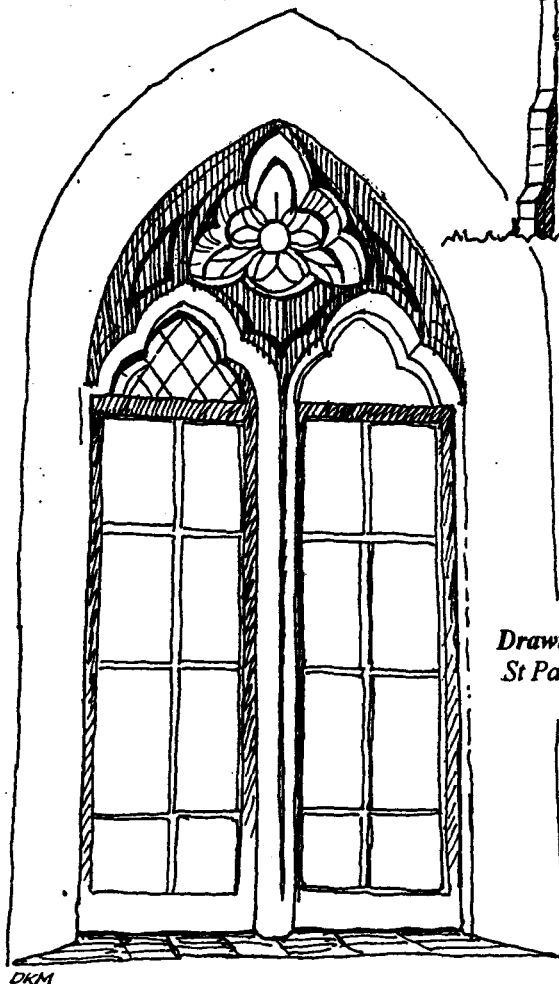
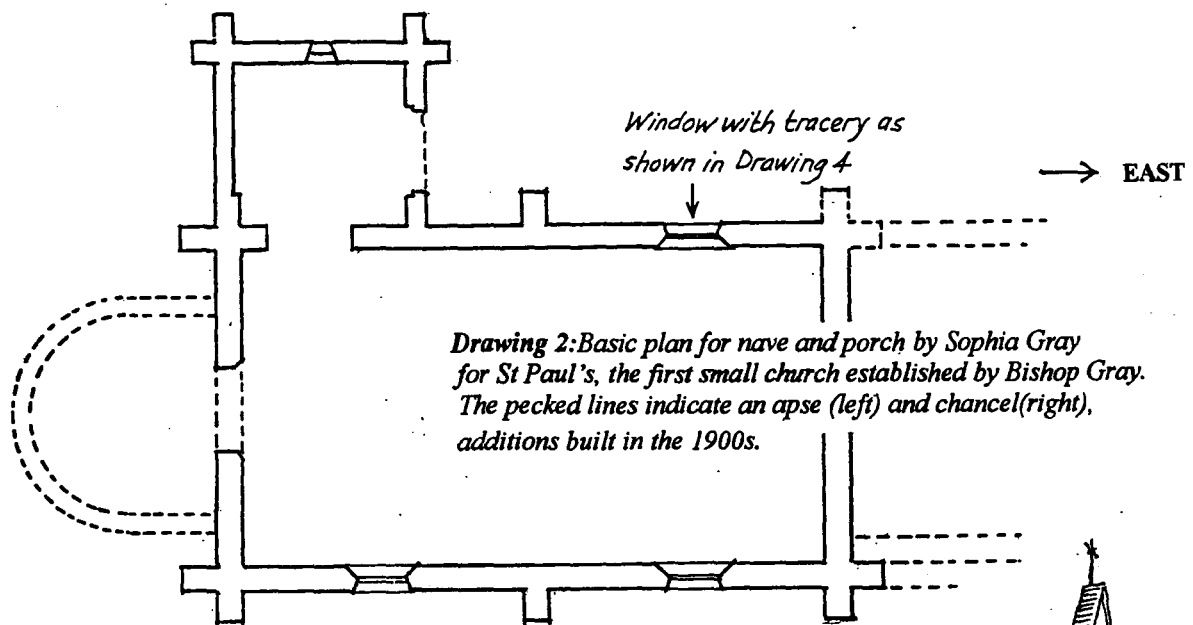
The two primary sources quoted earlier indicate the major role the Grays played in the founding and building of the church. The provision of a plan, either from the portfolio of architects' drawings, or a modified plan by Sophia, gives authorship of the design to the Grays. Stylistically too, the church conforms to the standards of the Ecclesiologists. These include the high-pitched roof, the pointed Decorated windows and the angle buttresses. A number of other researchers have credited Mrs Gray with the design.¹⁰

⁷ This reference to a 'decorated style' could indicate that all the windows were more ornate when built than at present. Only one of the existing three windows has tracery.

⁸ *SA Church Magazine*, Vol. IV, February 1856, p62.

⁹ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools*, 1985 quoting T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p145.

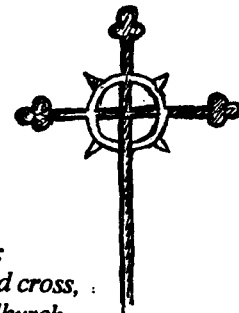
¹⁰ T. Gutsche (1970), Langham-Carter (1974), and Beddy (1985).



*Drawing 3:
St Paul's Church, Eerste Rivier (Faure).*

Chancel for which the Grays were not responsible, has not been depicted

*Drawing 4: Window with tracery,
St Paul's Church.*



*Drawing 5:
Iron budded cross,
St Paul's Church.*

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The Cape Colonial Government drew up plans in 1828 for a village on a portion of George Rex's estate, "Melkhoutkraal". The hamlet known as Melville had started about 1825 and nearby another village, known as Newhaven, was founded in 1846.¹ George Rex had given a site for an Anglican church measuring one morgen in 1828 but no building was contemplated for the next twenty years. On his death on 3 April 1839, all of his estate was sold excepting this one morgen.²

The European settlers that had slowly been moving into the area had appealed to the newly arrived Bishop of Cape Town for a clergyman and a church.³ The petition had been made by the parishioners in the district called "the Knysna" on the basis that the 1 500 people settled there were 100 miles from the church at George and they had two difficult passes and nine dangerous rivers to cross.⁴ Bishop Gray arrived in the Knysna area on his first visitation on 12 September 1848 and spent the next six days discussing the establishment of churches at the western end of the Knysna Lagoon (Belvidere), on the northern shore at Melville and Newhaven and also at Plettenberg Bay. His journal for 16 September 1848 records that he had walked out early over the Residency farm with a Captain Harker. A hall on the farm could hold 200 people so could serve as a temporary church. Gray wrote, "We shall, I trust, ere long have three churches in this parish, one at Belvidere, one at Melville and one at Knysna. The Melville Church, for which I have *furnished the plans*, is to be begun immediately and a further subscription is to be raised for the support of the Clergyman."⁵

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

In late 1849, during the short trip as far as Knysna, the Grays must have seen some progress with the little church as, according to the parish records, the foundation stone had been laid on 21 April 1849.⁶ In a letter to Bishop Gray dated 11 August 1849, the Colonial Secretary, John Montagu, informed the Bishop that in response to Gray's letters of 7 and 17 July 1849 enclosing plans of churches to be erected at George, Graaff-Reinet and Melville, that he was directed to convey the Governor's approval of the plans.⁷ Montagu also informed Gray that as the Governor was unable to bring the matter of ecclesiastical grants before the Legislative Council, the Governor was not bound to contribute a fifth of the costs of erecting the church (This funding principle is discussed in Section 2.3 along with the financing of building projects in general).

¹ Fransen & Cook, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p385. The villages were consolidated in 1882 and named "Knysna".

² M. A. Parkes, *Walking Tour of Knysna*, p14.

³ W. A. Tapson, *History of the George Diocese*, p23.

⁴ Lewis & Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p731.

⁵ Gray's Journal, 1848, p18.

⁶ A.J.R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels and Schools...* The stone was laid by John, the second son of George Rex. The customary coins and documents were placed under the foundation stone at the ceremony but during the night these were stolen and had to be replaced.

⁷ Letters to Bishops 1847 - 1850, CPSA Archives, AB1162/AI.2

When the building project started, stone was found in the immediate neighbourhood, but money was scarce at the time and by the following year (1850) the walls were still only half built.⁸ The three Rex brothers made renewed efforts to raise funds so that the team of stonemasons the Grays had brought from Scotland could complete the church.⁹ Transfer of the land to the Church was apparently accomplished after building commenced as an entry in Mrs Gray's records states that "On the 2nd July [1850] a piece of ground in the village of Newhaven at the Knysna... was transferred from John Sutherland Esq. to the Bishop and his successors for a site for a church."¹⁰

A letter from Newhaven dated 12 November 1850 in the *S A Church Magazine*, commented on the reported lack of suitable "Freestone or Sandstone fit for tracery, mouldings, and other fine ornamental work" for church building. The correspondent, "T W H", wrote, "any quantity [of stone] may be procured on the Banks of the River Knysna, where the vessel may lay within thirty feet of the shore and complete her lading. Two excellent masons, Messrs. Buns [Bern] and Lawrence, who have just finished the new Church at George, (in accordance with the plans furnished by the Bishop) and are now engaged in building one here, give it as their opinion, that it is quite equal to any Stone worked by them either in England or Scotland. A specimen of it may be seen at the stores of Messrs. Deane & Johnson, Merchants, Cape Town."¹¹

During the 1850 Visitation, the Bishop recorded that on 26 November 1850, on his way back to Melville, he was met by a large party of gentlemen from the village. "I rode up immediately to the church, which is half-built. I am happy to say that a very fine stone has been found close at hand in time to use it for the quoins, buttresses, and windows; for which the stone of which the walls are built would not have done. The church is a decorated building *copied from an ancient English church* (author's italics) and is intended to be the chancel of a larger edifice."¹² During the evening he also talked over with the stonemason (either Alexander Bern or Alexander Lawrence) the working drawings of the church at Belvidere. This confirms that the stonemason for St George's was also involved with the Belvidere Church.

The Grays made a visitation as far as Plettenberg Bay in the autumn of 1855. After inspecting the recently completed church at Belvidere on 25 September 1855, they crossed over to Newhaven on 26 September. "After resting awhile," the Bishop wrote, "we went down to inspect the very pretty decorated Church which has been erected at a cost of £800. It is but the chancel of a future Church, for the facilitating of the erection of which the Chancel arch has been inserted, and the west end only bricked up. The rest of the church is built of stone, some portion of which has, unfortunately, proved to be of a perishable nature, which gives to the building an appearance of age. Everything about it is very neat and in good order..."¹³ The Bishop added that the church was happily free of debt. The next day, 27 September, they travelled to Plettenberg Bay, returning to

⁸ J. J. Oberholzer, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, p 127.

⁹ The role played in the building programme by these stonemasons from Scotland, is discussed in Section 3.4.

¹⁰ *Chronicles of the Diocese*, p59.

¹¹ *S A Church Magazine*, December 1850, p372, 373.

¹² Gray's Journal, 1850, p184.

¹³ Gray's Journal, 1855, p48.

Newhaven on 1 October. Bishop Gray recorded on 3 October 1855, "I consecrated the pretty little church at Newhaven, with its ample churchyard, which was neatly fenced and planted."¹⁴ According to Mrs Gray's Consecration Register, the St George's Church was situated in Newhaven, not Melville, as referred to by the Bishop in his earlier journal entries. The *S A Church Magazine*, however, in reporting on the Bishop's 1855 Visitation, records that "At Melville, Oct.3 services were held, and the Bishop consecrated a very prettily decorated church..."¹⁵ There are no direct references to the Knysna church in Gray's 1856 and 1865 journals. Gray was in the George area in early September 1856. He received requests for the enlargement of the two churches at George, for a church to be built at Blanco, and after a service at Newhaven on Sunday 14 September, commented in his journal "...our churches, with the increase of population, will all need enlarging."¹⁶

Nine years later, on Saturday 9 September 1865 when the Bishop and his wife rode into Newhaven during a visitation, they were joyously welcomed by parishioners. In contrast to the positive signs of growth of the churches in 1856, Gray noted in his journal of 1865 that the land was going backwards on account of rust, the wheat disease, and a persistent drought.¹⁷ In reporting Gray's last journey of 1872, *The Mission Field* quoted from the Bishop's diary, "When I was last here it was resolved to enlarge the church by the addition of at least part of a nave. Nothing however has been done beyond laying the foundations. The people plead poverty."¹⁸

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

When Gray "furnished the plans" in September 1848 he made no comment of the architect. In 1850, when the church was half-built he stated that it was "copied from an ancient English church." The plan chosen from the Bishop's file needed to be 'copied' so his wife's role was almost certainly that of tracing and amending an existing plan of some English architect's work. At some stage after the church was finished, Sophia made a pencil sketch of it, an action that could be interpreted as showing some degree of ownership of the design (Refer to Figure W). Mrs Gray's authorship of the plans is thus most convincing. Stylistic features (discussed below) conform to those to which the Grays subscribed as a result of the influences considered in Sections 1.2 and 1.3. As far as other historians are concerned, Langham-Carter, Beddy and Gutsche, all recognize Sophia as having designed the church.¹⁹ Greig says of the church, "It is a little gem... designed by Sophia Gray, the first woman to work as an architect in South Africa, in a scholarly form of 14th century Decorated Gothic; only the chancel of what was intended to be a larger church was completed."²⁰

¹⁴ Ibid, p54. The church originally had a brick-and-iron porch. This was replaced with a stone porch in 1949.

¹⁵ *S A Church Magazine*, December 1855, p352.

¹⁶ Gray's Journal, 1856, p70.

¹⁷ Gray's Journal, 1865, p20.

¹⁸ *The Mission Field*, September 1872, p265.

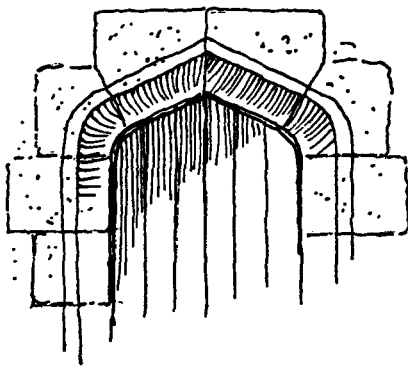
¹⁹ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p119; R. Langham-Carter, *Lists*, 1974 & 1977; A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels and Schools*, 1985.

²⁰ D. Greig, *A Guide to Architecture in South Africa*, p163.

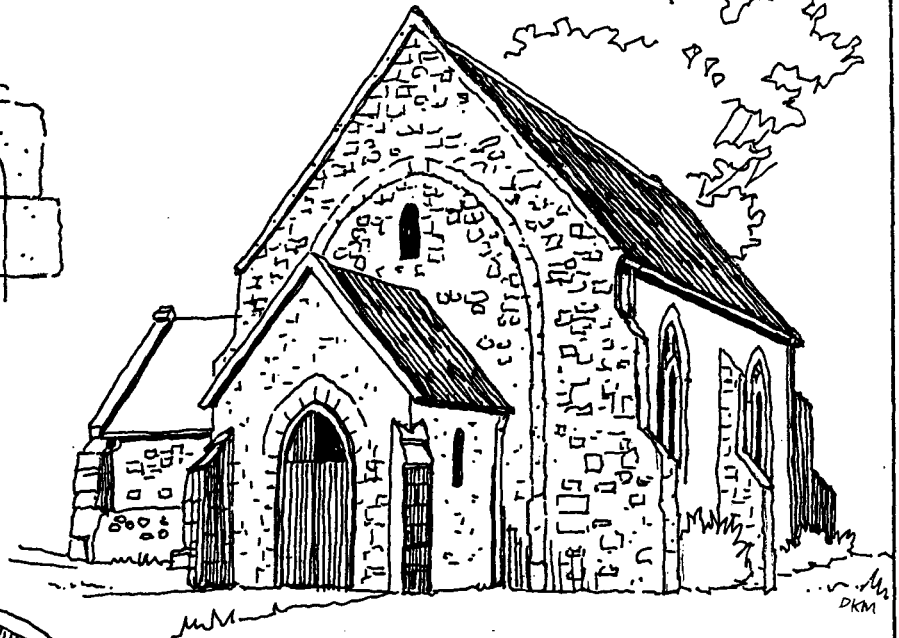
ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The stone church, oriented to the east, comprises a two-bay chancel measuring 11 x 5,3m, with a small vestry on the north-west corner. Diagonal buttresses abut the east end wall with further buttresses at the mid-point and west end of the church. The west end wall shows the filled in chancel arch that was prepared in readiness for a nave (Refer Drawing 7). Four two-light windows with bar tracery are the work of the Scots stonemasons from Brechin and feature label stops in the form of human heads. Usually tracery in Decorated churches has similar or identical designs for all the windows. The traceried designs of the windows in St George's Church, however, are all quite different (Refer to Drawings 8 & 9 and Figure Q). The roof is supported on three arch-braced trusses (Refer Figure N, Truss 4). The lintel of the vestry door has a Tudor arch, cut from four large stones (Refer to Drawing 6).

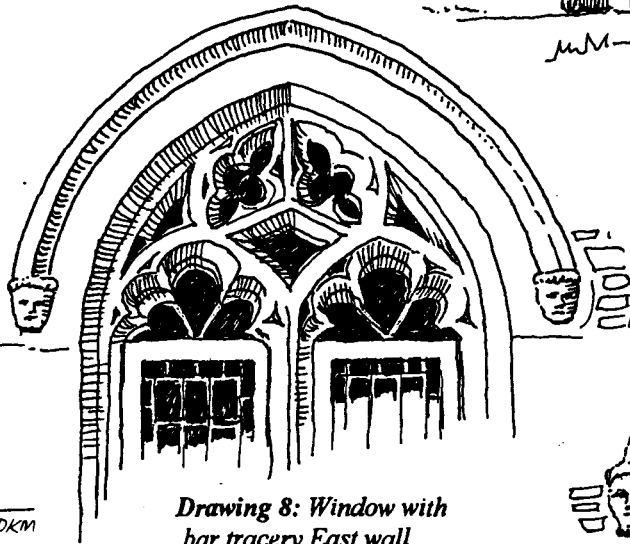
Stone for the walls was coursed squared rubble. To fill up a small space between larger stones on the wall face, the masons often used three or four small, flat stones. This way of filling odd spaces, thought to have been a style used by masons from the North of England and Scotland, is discussed further in Section 2.4 (Refer Drawings 55 and 56).



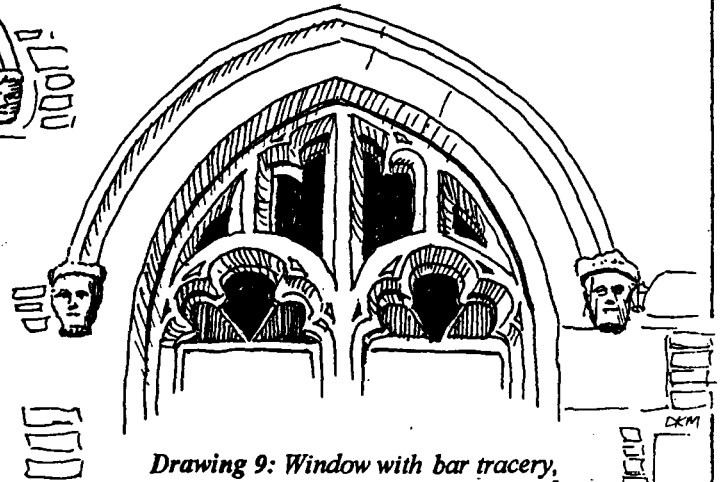
*Drawing 6:
Vestry Door,
St George's Church.*



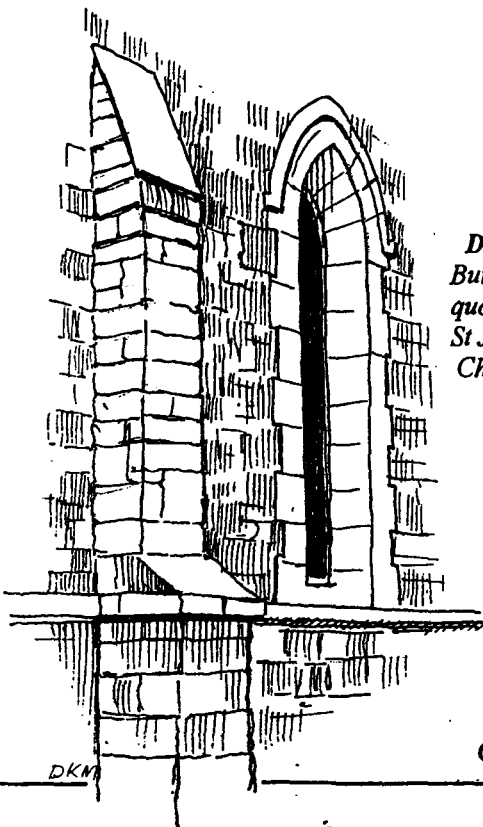
*Drawing 7: St George's Church, Knysna,
vestry on the left and the porch (1949).*



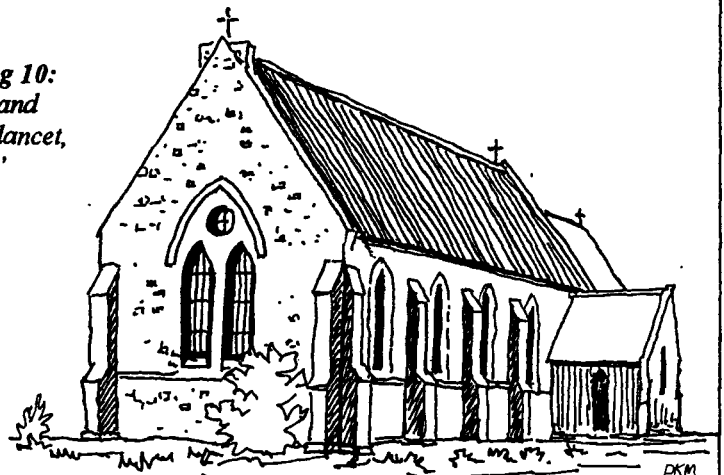
*Drawing 8: Window with
bar tracery, East wall,
St George's Church.*



*Drawing 9: Window with bar tracery,
South nave wall, St George's Church.*



*Drawing 10:
Buttress and
quoined lancet,
St James' Church*



*Drawing 11: St James' Church, Graaff-Reinet.
Church as it was in 1870; from a photograph in St James' files.*

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The church at Graaff-Reinet was one of the few Anglican churches built after 1848 that were contemplated before the arrival of Bishop Gray. The first Anglican congregation dates from 1845 when the Rev William Long was appointed Colonial Chaplain by the Governor of the time, Sir Peregrine Maitland.¹ In August 1847, steps were taken to build a church in Graaff-Reinet, this being some six months prior to Bishop Gray's arrival in Cape Town in February 1848.²

Gray visited Graaff-Reinet during the first visitation, which he began on 24 August 1848. Gray travelled via Port Elizabeth and Kaffraria as far north as Colesberg and arrived at Graaff-Reinet on 16 November. He was impressed with the Dutch Reformed Church which he recorded had "...a very tolerable tower and spire... well situated in the centre of the town."³ The following day, 17 November, he "walked about the town to look at the site of the Church and churchyard." It may be concluded from this entry that as the site of the church had already been chosen, his purpose was to inform himself and to approve what had transpired. The person who selected the site was not named but it is assumed that it was Rev Long.⁴ Mrs Gray's record of the transfer of land from a Government Grant confirms that the site had already been chosen: "On the 18th of July 1848, the Gov. granted to the Bishop in his corporate capacity a piece of ground... situated at Graaff-Reinet for the site of a church."⁵ On Saturday, 18 November, Gray recorded that after a confirmation service he "held a meeting of the parishioners *when a plan for a church was decided upon* (author's italics), a fresh subscription entered into in support of their Minister; memorials drawn up to the Governor applying for land for Churchyard and Glebe⁶..." He concluded the entry for that day, "I trust the Church here will soon be begun."⁷

The Bishop took the opportunity on the Sunday (19 November 1848) at the evening service to preach "... on the spirit in which we should enter upon the erection of the House of God" and in his journal Gray praised the actions of "Some Jews" who had sent a contribution to the church, "having heard the sermon yesterday in which I endeavoured to stir up our people to take part in the erection of the house of God, as a high privilege, by showing the spirit in which God's ancient people engaged in the erection of the tabernacle and the rearing and restoring of the temple."⁸

¹ Rev G. Buisman, *St James' Pamphlet*, 1986 & 1997. According to J. A. Hewitt, *Sketches of English Church History*, p93, Rev William Long was appointed on the 1 August 1845 as Minister of the English Episcopal Church. Long had been sent out by the SPG.

² J. A. Hewitt, *Sketches of English Church History*, p93.

³ Gray's Journal, 1848, p60.

⁴ Rev Long was described by T. Gutsche (*The Bishop's Lady*, p84.), as "an Orange Protestant whose drive and enthusiasm verged on aggressiveness."

⁵ *Chronicles of the Diocese*, p13.

⁶ A glebe is a piece of land that is part of the church property over which the priest had ownership. He could farm it himself or hire it out to supplement his stipend.

⁷ Gray's Journal, 1848, p61.

⁸ *Ibid*, p62.

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

Reference to the actual building operation is found in a letter to Bishop Gray, dated 11 August 1849 from John Montagu, Colonial Secretary, (Gray had written to him twice, on 7 and 17 July 1849). Montagu wrote, "In reply to your letters... *submitting plans of churches* to be erected at George, Graaff-Reinet and Melville [Knysna], I am directed by his Excellency, the Governor to signify to you his approval of the plans... therein named."⁹ Bishop Gray had apparently reminded the Governor that "...a fifth of the estimated expense of the Church at Graaff-Reinet has been promised by the Government..." Montagu in turn reminded Gray that this promise was conditional upon the payment by the congregation of half the minister's stipend and £50 for a house.¹⁰ Evidence of the building project is found in a collection of invoices in the church files for building materials, dating from 1849 and 1850 when the church was under construction. It includes a receipt "for 101 loads of Stone" and 17900 "gebrande Steene" (burnt or baked bricks) delivered between 1 October 1849 and 26 February 1850.

The Bishop visited Graaff-Reinet the second time in 1850 when en route to Natal. The five days he spent in the town occurred early in the journey, that is between Thursday 18 and Tuesday 23 April 1850. On arriving late on the Thursday, Gray wrote, "We found Mr & Mrs Long¹¹ quite well... we walked out after tea to look at the new church by moonlight. It is a very correct Early English building, though they have not been able to carry out exactly *the plans which I sent them*. It nevertheless is exceedingly well built; and it is, I think, at present, the best church in the diocese."¹² In his entry for Sunday 21 April 1850, Gray wrote a note to himself: "I must endeavour, if I can, to take [visit] Graaff-Reinet again, on my return from Kaffraria, and consecrate the church."

After leaving Graaff-Reinet, Gray headed for Bloemfontein, arriving at Colesberg about 27 April where he stayed until early on 30 April 1850. In May, Bishop Gray wrote from Colesberg to Dr Richard Williamson, (his brother-in-law), married to his sister Anne in England in which he commented, "the progress of the Church is very cheering wherever Clergy have been sent. At Beaufort the congregations were very good and the Church will I think ere long be begun. At Graaff-Reinet there is really a very handsome, correct stone church nearly finished."¹³ Gray added that the congregations there were very large during his stay and full services were being held every evening and prayers in the morning. For Gray, this was encouraging confirmation of the investment in the costly building project. Gray was able to visit Graaff-Reinet on his return from Natal and he consecrated the church on 29 October 1850¹⁴ though the event had been

⁹ Letters to Bishops, 1847-1850, CPSA Archives, AB1162.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Gray does not hint at any animosity between him and Rev Long. As the Minister of St Peter's Church, Mowbray, Cape Town, after leaving Graaff-Reinet in 1854, Long refused with four other parishes to respond to Bishop Gray's call to send delegates to the Synod of 21 January 1857. Gray was accused of seceding from the English Church by Long when Gray called another Synod in October 1860 and he was subsequently suspended by Bishop Gray (C. Lewis and G. E. Edwards, 'Long v. The Bishop of Cape Town,' *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, pp147 – 158).

¹² Journal, 1850, p8.

¹³ Letters from the Grays, CPSA Archives, AB1161.

¹⁴ *Chronicles of the Diocese*, p68; and *Consecration of Churches List*, 1827-1919.

planned for a week earlier.¹⁵ Gray recorded on the day, without any reference to the delay of the previous week, "I consecrated the church this morning... There was a full congregation." He continued, "The building has cost nearly £1600 and is not quite finished. I think it might have been completed for one-half the amount in England. It will hold about 250 persons, and is very neat and ecclesiastically correct. All are much delighted with it, but there is a debt between £300 and £400 still due upon it."¹⁶ Bishop Gray never returned to Graaff-Reinet again.

THE ARCHITECT OF ST JAMES

According to a typed note in the parish records in the St James' Church, "no less than three plans for a church are extant; *all are dated 1846*; none of these plans were used. One of these seems to be the plan sent by Bishop Gray, mentioned by him in 1850; this plan shows a church with a nave, side aisle and bellcote." The accuracy of these statements is questionable as in 1846 Gray was in England and had not even been offered the bishopric of the Cape of Good Hope.

Also in the church files is a 16-page document entitled "*Specifications and Conditions for the Erection of a new Episcopal Church at Graaff-Reinet according to plans made by Saml Earl.*" The entry on the last page states, "Estimated Value 1500 pounds, Plans dated April 31[?] /46 Saml Earl." As the document carries the date "46", one can assume that a set of the 1846 plans had been drawn by a Samuel Earl as the specifications in the document do not relate to the building operation of some four years later.

During Gray's visit of 1848, it is probable that the "plan decided upon" on 18 November 1848 was a design in the Bishop's collection of plans by English architects, *possibly modified for the Bishop's first visitation by his wife*. Another mention of plans occurs in Montagu's letter of August 1849. By then Sophia may well have been able to adapt the 1848 "plan decided upon" and prepare the final drawings for submission to the Governor (Refer Section 2.3, Funding Church Building). These could have been the Bishop's plans that he had sent and which were then approved and used to build the church that Gray inspected by moonlight in April 1850. What is certain is that the church was built to plans sent by Gray, even if they were not followed 'exactly' and Mrs Gray may be regarded as author of the design. Her role in the project is reinforced by a simple site plan in the St James' Church files, which is lettered in the unmistakeable script of Mrs Gray (Refer overleaf). Though the site plan shows little detail, it indicates Somerset Street and a compass rose, essential information for orienting the church. The features of the structure itself are also evidence of Sophia Gray's influence with the design as most of the architectural characteristics of her smaller churches are noted in the building. These are discussed overleaf.

Comments by contemporary researchers are worth noting: The source of Doreen Greig's information is unknown but she states, "St James' Anglican Church is another of Sophie Gray's Early English churches, built about 1849 by Scots masons and furnished with the woodwork of

¹⁵ The Bishop had then just experienced one of his more serious setbacks. The party had left Cradock for Graaff-Reinet on 23 October and lost their way and passed the night in a farmer's house. The next day, 24 October, the iron axle of Gray's cart broke and oxen had to be obtained to tow the wagon. In the meanwhile the Bishop had to ride alone to Graaff-Reinet to delay the plans for the consecration of the church. Two days later a blacksmith, in attempting to repair the axle, damaged it further. By Monday 28 October, three days had been lost and the Bishop's cart eventually arrived in the town tied to the top of an ox wagon (Gray's Journal, 1850, pp167, 168).

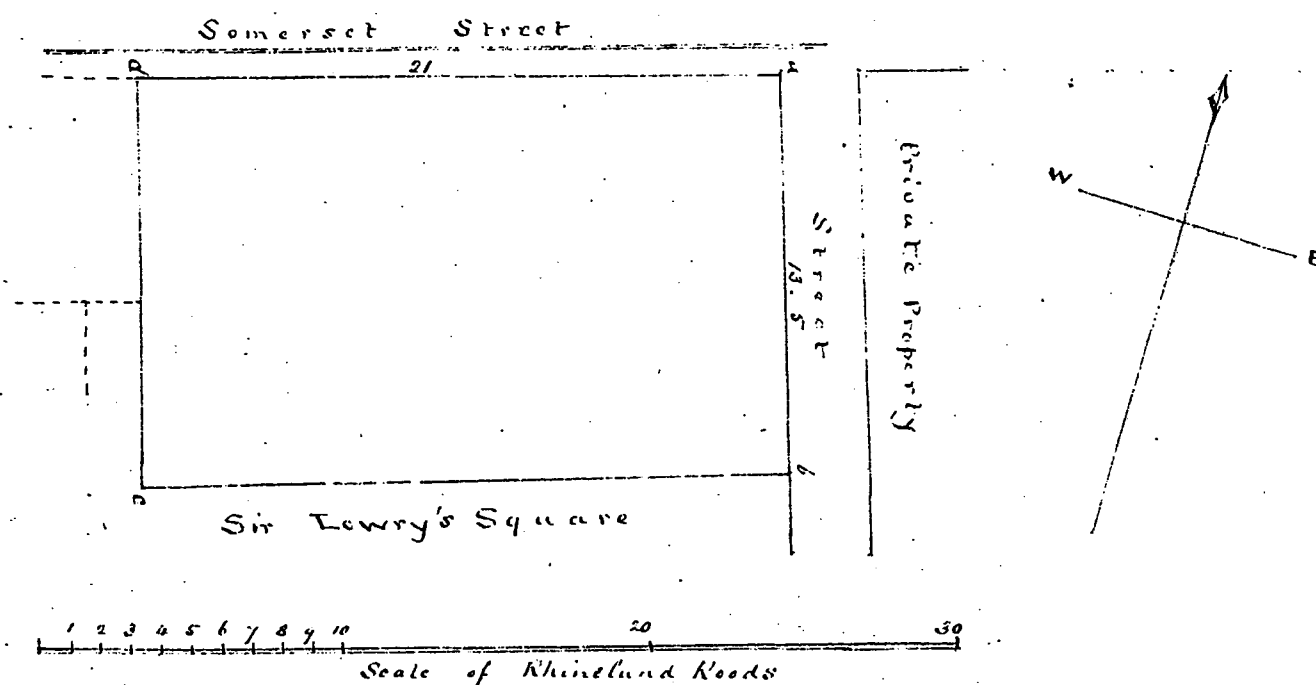
¹⁶ Journal, 1850, p169. Dividing the cost of the church by the number of 'sittings' gives a useful cost per seat figure. In this instance, Graaff-Reinet is £6,4 per seat.

the fine craftsman, William Page."¹⁷ Gutsche, in sketching certain events in 1849, writes, "Long at Graaff-Reinet had actually succeeded in having the foundation stone laid of the church Sophy had drawn."¹⁸ Other researchers crediting Sophia as architect are Langham-Carter and Beddy.¹⁹

THE CHURCH

This was one of Sophia Gray's larger churches in the Early English style (Refer Drawings 10 & 11). It consisted of a five-bay stone nave measuring about 20 x 7 metres, correctly sited towards the east. Angle buttresses were built at the four corners of the nave and two-step buttresses placed between window bays. There is a distinct difference in the steep angle of the upper set-off of the buttress in Drawing 10, and the flatter angle of the lower set-off (as highlighted in Figure K). The elegant lancet windows in the nave walls had plain hood moulds and were quoined in a lighter stone than the finely dressed stone used for the walls.

Windows and buttresses were linked at cill level by a prominent stringcourse, identical to the stringcourse drawn by Underwood on his Littlemore plan (Refer Figure Y). The St James' west wall carried large twin lancets under a shared hood mould and quatrefoiled circular window, also similar to the Littlemore west wall, but on a larger scale (Refer Drawings 14 and 15). The east wall had a traditional triplet lancet. The fine quality of the stonework on the building is attributed to the Scots stonemasons employed by Bishop Gray (Refer Section 2.4). The high-pitched roof (55 degrees) was supported by four tall arch-braced trusses with collar beams.



Site plan for St James' Church, Graaff-Reinet by Sophia Gray (Source: St James' Church Records).

¹⁷ D. Greig, *A Guide to Architecture in South Africa*, p120.

¹⁸ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p98.

¹⁹ Langham-Carter's List, 26 April 1977; A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapel and Schools...*, 1985.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The town of Colesberg was laid out on an abandoned London Missionary Society station in 1830 at the time that Sir Galbraith Cole was the Governor of the Cape Colony and the new hamlet was named in his honour. In 1844, a later Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Napier, considered establishing a Church of England in Colesberg but the small Anglican community felt unable to undertake the expense of a resident priest.¹ Four years later, however, the Anglican Church officials in Cape Town decided to appoint Dr Charles E H Orpen as the Rector.

Dr Orpen arrived in Cape Town on 11 March 1848, three weeks after the arrival of the Grays at the Cape. The Bishop had appointed him catechist at Colesberg prior to ordaining him as a priest later in the year.² Dr Orpen had "...come out to work as a missionary in that remote place [Colesberg] after a life of crowded activity in Ireland. There he had been one of the pioneers in the work among the deaf and had made an honourable name for himself."³

Colesberg was on Bishop Gray's itinerary on his first visitation in 1848. After traveling to the Eastern Cape, Gray journeyed north to Cradock and then to Colesberg, the most northerly point of his journey. Gray arrived at Colesberg on 8 November and stayed with Dr and Mrs Orpen. The next day Gray received a letter from the Dutch Minister wherein he offered, in the name of his church, the only remaining unsold erf, as a site for an English church.⁴ The offer was accepted immediately by Gray as some time later Mrs Gray recorded in her *Chronicles*, the land transfer of the site: "On the 9th November [1848] a piece of ground at Colesberg... was transferred by the Dutch Church to the Bishop of Cape Town and his successors."⁵ On 10 November 1848, Gray visited the Orange River and also examined Dr Orpen for the office of priest. The following day, after conducting a Confirmation service, Gray met with the church leaders. He wrote, "We... commenced subscriptions for a church and a clergyman. Memorialised Government for assistance. Founded Church Society and passed resolutions thanking Dutch for their gift of a site for a church."⁶ The following day, Sunday 12 November 1848, Gray admitted Dr Orpen to the Ministry. While still at Colesberg, according to Gutsche, "Orpen had written Miss Coutts⁷... for a donation toward building a church and Robert had written similarly to Miss Cole... In due course, she collected and contributed £75."⁸ A church building committee was formed immediately, which committee

¹ Barnes-Webb & Collier, *History of Christ Church, Colesberg*, p1.

² T.Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p61.

³ A. Brooke, *Robert Gray*, p42. Brooke continues in this reference to praise Orpen as a hard-working middle-aged missionary who made "an honorable contribution to a developing land."

⁴ Gray's Journal, 1848, p58.

⁵ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p39.

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ Miss Burdett-Coutts was a rich, generous supporter of the SPG

⁸ T.Gutsche, *op cit.*, p83.

included the local carpenter-builder James Campbell. There is no record in the Bishop's Journal about plans being handed to Campbell as stated by Gutsche: "He [Gray] gave them one of Sophy's plans and Campbell would write to him when money had been collected and building could begin."⁹ Gray wrote in detail to Campbell in August the following year about his building ideas (discussed below), thus it is likely that a plan was given at the conclusion of Gray's visit to Colesberg in November 1848.

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

The memorials written by the church leaders at Colesberg on 11 November apparently did not carry the Bishop's signature as on 11 December 1848, Montagu, the Colonial Secretary, wrote to Gray on the matter. He mentioned that "I... transmit for your Lordship's consideration the accompanying Memorial from certain inhabitants of Colesberg in reference to the proposed erection of a Church at that village, ...the Governor having received it direct from the applicants."¹⁰ Montagu possibly received a second approach directly from Campbell as on 29 March 1849 he wrote to Campbell informing him, "...that all communications connected with the Ecclesiastical and secular affairs of the Church of England... which have heretofore been made to the Government, are to be addressed to... the Bishop of Cape Town."¹¹

Montagu also wrote on 18 August 1849 to J C Davidson, the Bishop's Registrar, regarding the piece of ground transferred from the Dutch Reformed Church, No. 213 Church Street, for which the Governor had suspended transfer dues so long as the building was always used as a church.¹²

A few days later, on 24 August 1849, Bishop Gray wrote to Campbell. He expressed his disappointment that stone as a building material was not being considered: "I enclose you a very simple, yet architecturally correct plan for a little church at Colesberg to hold about 80 souls. I trust it may be within your means. It would not cost £300 in England even if built of stone. I suppose you must build of brick, though I greatly regret it, for it never will be satisfactory."¹³ Next Gray gives explicit instructions on aspects of the building: "The belfry end ought to face the upper part of the Town, and the Church ought to stand as near as possible to the lower part of the site, that there may be room thereafter to add a nave if required, the present building serving for a chancel."

Gray turned next to the vexing question of finance: "Dr Orpen writes me word that his rents cannot be collected in Ireland. This is I fear almost universally the case. Upon hearing this I have applied to Govt. to allocate him to draw the £100 a year which was put in the estimates, but not voted, in consequence of the breaking up of Council." Campbell was told that permission would probably be granted by the Government in which case the Bishop would authorize Orpen to draw £50 from the Bishop's fund but would endeavour to raise another £50 from the parishioners to match the Government contribution of £100. Gray admitted, "I can only afford £50 in all, & indeed I know not how I shall be able to pay this." He concluded with a request to Campbell that

⁹ *Ibid*, p84. Gutsche's source for this is presumed to be correct.

¹⁰ Letters to Bishops, CPSA Archives, AB 1162/A1.2.

¹¹ State Archives CO 5103, p305.

¹² State Archives, CO 5103, p355.

¹³ Letterbook Vol.1, p83. The letter written by Gray does not specifically mention his wife as the architect but the copy of this plan in the State Archives is a tracing of her work.

he should discuss the raising of the church's £50 with Orpen and send their "joint views on the matter" as the Government "...will insist upon a bona fide £100 from us to meet theirs."¹⁴

In the eight months that followed the writing of the Campbell letter of 24 August 1849, good progress was made with the construction of the church. The Bishop noted in his 1850 Journal, while *en route* to Natal, "We arrived in Colesberg a little after ten o'clock [probably on Saturday 27 April 1850]. After getting thoroughly washed, and having partaken of some breakfast, I went to look at the church which is about breast high. The plan which I gave has been followed more accurately than I could have wished, indeed, that it had been all of stone, instead of brick plastered, but the great expense of working stone, and the scanty means of the small English community precluded the idea."¹⁵ Gray left Colesberg for Bloemfontein on the morning of 30 April 1850. It was during these few days in the village that he wrote his letter dated "April/May 1850" to his brother-in-law in England, Dr Williamson. He informed him of the "very cheering" support the church work was receiving at Beaufort [West], Graaff-Reinet and Richmond from where he had recently come. Of Colesberg, Gray was less optimistic: "The Church here, is about breast high. We have not a great work going on here..."¹⁶

Two months later on 26 June 1850, Davidson wrote to Montagu, on behalf of the Bishop. Headed "Plans of Church at Colesberg", the letter submitted for approval "...the ground plans of the English Church proposed to be erected at Colesberg upon the site given by the Dutch Reformed Churchwardens as mentioned in my letter of which His excellency was... pleased to remit transfer dues etc. and which site has been duly transferred..."¹⁷ Montagu replied three days later on 29 June 1850: "In reply to your letter... submitting plans and elevations of the Church to be erected at Colesberg I am directed by His Excellency... to signify to you his approval thereof." He added that as the Governor was unable to bring the subject of ecclesiastical grants before the Legislative Council, he was not in any way pledged to contribute to the cost of the church.¹⁸ (The attitude of the Colonial Government to ecclesiastical grants is covered in Section 3.3). As Gray had noted considerable progress with the church building in April 1850, construction work must have commenced well before approval was received.

Over the next three years the building of the Colesberg church was painfully slow owing largely to the lack of funds. During this time too, 1852-1853, the Grays were in England so any appeal to the Bishop for help would have surely had to wait. The poor progress of the church is confirmed in the journals of Archdeacon Nathaniel Merriman.¹⁹ He recorded that on 5 November 1850 he set off from Grahamstown on foot with his pack-horse "...and English servant, Jethro, to walk to Bloemfontein and visit the Orange River Sovereignty." They reached Colesberg on 15 November 1850. Merriman remarked, "I remained at Colesberg till Monday, 18th November, and was much

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Gray's Journal, 1850, p15.

¹⁶ Letters from Grays, CPSA Archives, AB 1161

¹⁷ State Archives, CO 593.

¹⁸ Letters to Bishops 1847-1850, CPSA Archives, AB 1162/A1.2

¹⁹ Merriman had arrived at the Cape on 28 August 1848 with his wife and family and two servants.

cheered to see there a very neat little church already built as high as the eaves, though at present going on slowly for want of adequate funds. I could not but be cheered both here and at Cradock... they have a priest at each place, a church nearly built at one, and in serious contemplation at the other..."²⁰

Two years later, in 1852, Merriman, returning from visiting Bloemfontein, wrote "I... walked on to Colesberg, where I remained Sunday, November 14th. I found their church as I had left it two years before, unfinished, and just as the church at Bloemfontein is, waiting in "statu quo", roofless for want of timber, the costly carriage of which from the Bay [Port Elizabeth], at war prices, prevents the completion of the work."²¹

The church was possibly completed in late 1854.²² A letter in the SPG files,²³ however, gives an accurate status report of the building in October 1854 when building operations were resumed after the long delay. Dr Orpen reported to Rev Hawkins:

"It will be... well to mention that the Building of our Church which was interrupted as everything else was by the ... War, will now shortly be resumed. The walls gables buttresses, door frames & window frames were all finished; except about two layers of bricks on side walls and a few feet of gables and gable buttresses. The plan is gothic with gothic windows, the walls & gables and buttresses necessarily of Brick. We do not owe anything for it and have I believe just enough money to finish the walls & buttresses and to roof it, thatch it (slates are out of the question and corrugated iron or zinc would cost too much, by weight & carriage so many hundred miles and as we have so much lightening (sic), iron would be objectionable) and to put in the doors and windows."

Orpen added that the Bishop had promised £50 as soon as the roof was on. Orpen had also managed "by letters" to collect additional funds from England, one lady sending £100. Whether the builders could have completed the above work by the end of 1854 is not improbable.

Although Gray considered the drawings he gave to Campbell on 24 August 1849 as the plan of a chancel to which he hoped a nave would be added, the first structure on the site was built as the nave. Some 30 years later a brief report in the *Church Chronicle* states that, "The Bishop of Grahamstown visited Colesberg on May 4th [1880]... On Ascension Day the Bishop consecrated the new Chancel, which has lately been added to Christ Church..."²⁴ It was thought "at one stage... that Colesberg might become the Cathedral City (an honour... bestowed on Kimberley)... the nave would be added where the Library now stands as the church owned that plot."²⁵

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

There is a tracing by Rev Dr Orpen of Mrs Gray's drawing of the original church in the State Archives (Refer to Figures J and P). It is believed that "Although this copy is not well drawn, it

²⁰ *The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N J Merriman*, pp133, 134.

²¹ *Ibid*, p200. The war referred to was the Eighth Frontier War of 1850-1853.

²² A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools*. 1854 is also given in the history by Barnes-Webb and Collier.

²³ Letter dated 18 October 1854, USPG Records, Cape Town E.PRE/J 1854-1900.

²⁴ *Church Chronicle*, Vol.1, June 1880, p59.

²⁵ Barnes-Webb & Collier, *History of Christ Church, Colesberg*, p2.

reflects the fact that the original must have been very vague in detail.”²⁶ It is probable that when Davidson submitted the church plans to the Government for approval in June 1850, the tracings of Orpen were those that were enclosed, as the originals would have been retained for the builder. The drawings, copied onto three flimsy sheets, comprise a ground plan, east elevation and cross section, and a south elevation. When Bishop Gray sent the plans with his letter of August 1849, he was quite specific about where the church should be sited and referred to a belfry, which was drawn on the west end wall (Refer Figure P) but never built. All the features of the building are what Gray himself termed, “*a very simple, yet architecturally correct plan for a little church*”. It is suggested that the first plan Gray handed out in November 1848 was causing the Colesberg committee too many problems, judging by Gray’s 1849 letter to Campbell. The simple plan, drawn by his wife, was Gray’s solution.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Mrs Gray’s church was a simple rectangular nave, 42 feet by 21 feet (12,5 x 6,25 metres) (Refer to Drawing 12). Diagonal buttresses stood at the corners of the original church and a vestry was built on the north-east wall. The west end wall has two elongated pointed windows; the east end wall had three lancets. Windows in the nave walls are long and deeply set under pointed arches and are used singly and in pairs on both walls. When the chancel was added at the east end, diagonal buttresses were again built at the corners of the new structure and the three lancet windows were reinstated in the east wall.

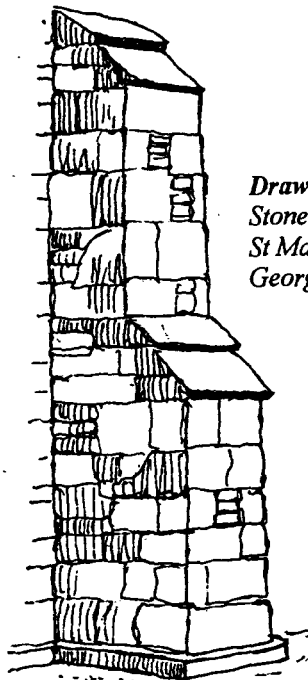
The roof trusses are not visible in the existing building. The splayed ceiling is of fibreboard, possibly overlaid in recent years on existing matchboard. The church has a roof of corrugated iron with a pitch of approximately 52 degrees. The chancel is under its own roof. The vestry was extended in 1880 in line with the original vestry and a small porch was built facing the street. This has a pedimented gable with pilasters that are typical of the neo-Gothic of the late 19th century.

External finish is rough plaster over brick with smooth plaster on the window surrounds. Internally the walls are finished in smooth plaster. The plain chancel arch, cut out of the 1854 east wall, is supported on square columns with minimal ornamentation. An ornate hexagonal baptismal font stands in front of a niche on the west wall on a cement plinth overlaid with Minton tiles.

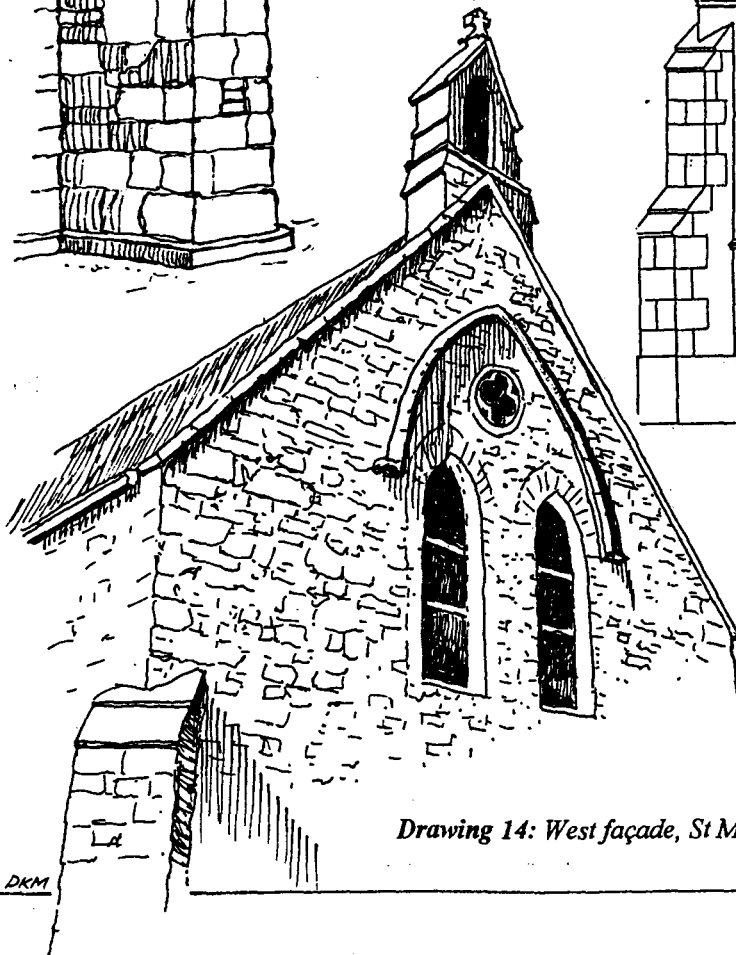
²⁶ D. J. Radford, *The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901*, p185.



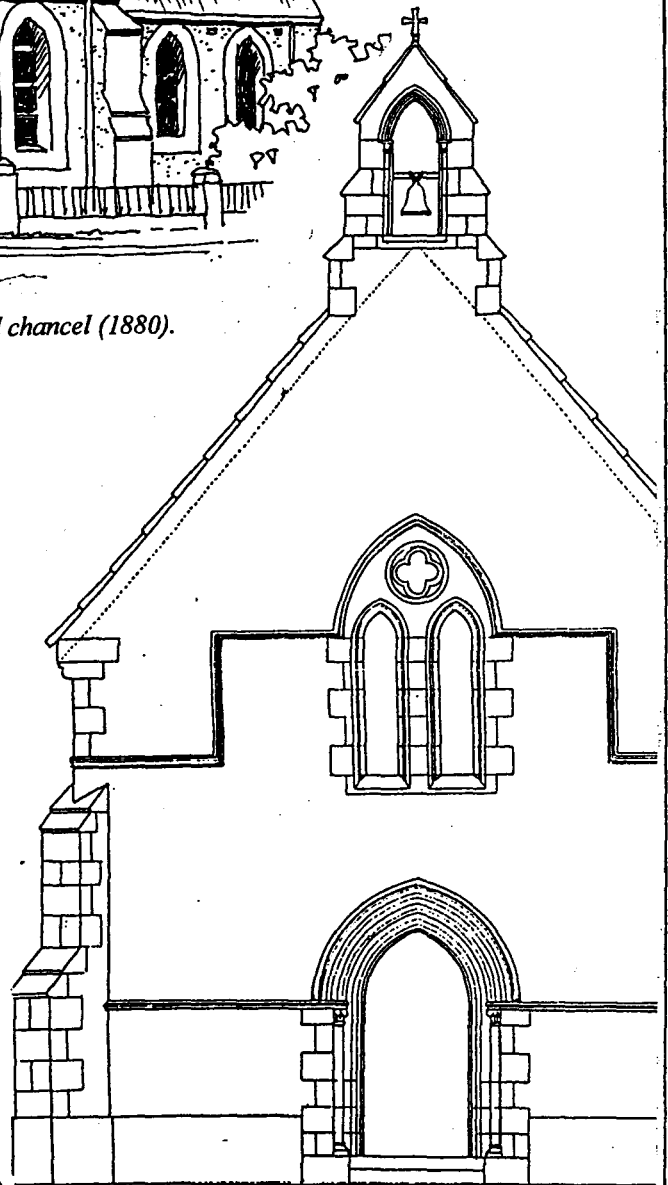
Drawing 12:
Christ Church, Colesberg, with porch and chancel (1880).



Drawing 13:
Stone buttress,
St Mark's Church,
George.



Drawing 14: West façade, St Mark's Church, George.



*Drawing 15: Elevation by Underwood (1840)
for Littlemore Church, near Oxford,
copied for St Mark's.*

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

"George Town" was proclaimed a separate district on 23 April 1811, and named after the reigning monarch, King George III, and was one of the few villages in which the Colonial Government had placed a Colonial Chaplain to serve the English Community.¹ Rev E T Scott was appointed to the post in May 1845 and he "...conducted services, by permission of the Kerkraad, in the Dutch Reformed Church..."² On 4 February 1845, at an inaugural vestry meeting in George, it was decided to open subscription lists for collecting funds for the building of a church. This action preceded the arrival of the Grays in Cape Town from England by three years thus initial motivation to build cannot in this instance be attributed to Bishop Gray. The input to the project by the Grays was nevertheless significant and George was one of the few towns where the building programme was completed with no serious setbacks. .

Bishop Gray arrived in George on his first visitation on 8 September 1848. The following day he met Rev Scott and a confirmation service was held at the Dutch church. The Bishop wrote, "After service was over we held a meeting in the Court-house about our new church. It was well attended and *a plan for the Church was adopted*, though funds as yet contributed are not sufficient for its erection (author's italics)."³ On the return leg of the visitation, Gray was in George between the evening of 2 December and the morning of 6 December 1848. During this time talks with the church officers on the subject of the building were without doubt held again. On an unhappier note, the Bishop was obliged on 3 December to ask Rev Scott to resign following "some serious indiscretions."⁴ Rev T E Welby, Colonial Chaplain, Scott's replacement in April 1849, thereafter became the first resident minister of the church.

The site for the church was transferred on the 30 July 1849. Mrs Gray recorded on the day that "a piece of ground at George containing one morgen with the Church *in the course of erection thereon* (author's italics) was granted... to the Bishop of Cape Town and his successors..."⁵ The Bishop had in the meantime been active with furthering the plan's approval by the Governor although it seems that building had begun prior to approval. On 11 August 1849, Montagu, the Colonial Secretary, wrote to Bishop Gray advising him of the Governor's approval of the plans for the George church (also Graaff-Reinet and Melville). Montagu went on to say that as the Governor was unable to table the subject of ecclesiastical grants before the Legislative Council, the Government could not contribute its fifth of the building costs of the George church.⁶ (Government's principles and attitude to funding church building is covered in Section 3.3).

The Bishop and Mrs Gray undertook a two months' visit to George and Knysna in late 1849,

¹ Welcome Pamphlet to George Cathedral, undated.

² C. Gardiner, *St Marks, George*, p11.

³ Gray's Journal, 1848, p13.

⁴ G. Neseemann, *A Brief History of St Mark's Cathedral, George*, p4.

⁵ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Capetown*, p35.

⁶ Letters to Bishops 1847-1850, CPSA Archives.

calling as usual at church communities en route. This trip afforded Mrs Gray the opportunity to see sites of churches for which she would or was already providing plans. "She was thus able to lay the foundation stone of the church [at George]."⁷ The ceremony was scheduled for Sunday 22 October but owing to a day of exceptionally heavy rain, the event was postponed to the following day, 23 October 1849. The cost of the church was estimated to be in the vicinity of £1200. As at January 1850, only £660 had been collected towards the full cost.⁸

The builders of St Mark's were Scottish stonemasons whom the Grays had recruited to come to South Africa to spearhead their building programme (Refer Section 3.4). These men were Alexander Bern, Alexander Lawrence and his brother, Colin Gibb Lawrence. Their skills with the building operation were complemented by the talents of the carpenter, William Page, who was in the employ of William Newdigate.⁹ The building stones for the church were quarried "from the farm "Kraaibosch", then owned by Mr E Edmeades who had authorised the stonemasons to take as much stone as they needed, free of charge."¹⁰

On the Bishop's return journey from Natal in 1850 and precisely two years after his first visit to George in 1848, he arrived in the town on 3 December with the prospect of consecrating the church four days later. He recorded that, "Before breakfast, I went out with Mr Welby to inspect the new church which is to be consecrated on Saturday. It is a well-built English structure. The cost has been £1200 and it has been with great difficulty that the necessary funds have been raised."¹¹

It was at George that the Bishop revealed another aspect of his approach to church planting and church building, covered in some detail in Section 2.1. This related to the poverty of the parishes, the lack of building skills of the coloured workmen, "and the scarcity of good stone." He nevertheless stated in his journal that "... this church [St Mark's] is, I think, a credit to the diocese. It is delightful to see our old English churches repeated in this land. I am glad to find that it is generally admired and appreciated; for this encourages me to persevere in my efforts to get correct churches built."¹² Gray condemned builders in general who confined themselves to "ordinary shapeless brick building[s], plastered and whitewashed." Gray claimed that despite poor materials and workmanship, no 'incorrect' building had been commenced by him. After a further three days in George handling various church matters, Bishop Gray performed the final act in the building project. He wrote on Saturday 7 December 1850, "This morning our new church was consecrated. It was crowded to excess, there being 250 present in a building calculated to contain only 200."¹³

⁷ G. Neseemann, *A Brief History of St Mark's Cathedral*, p5.

⁸ G. Neseemann, *The Stones of St Mark's*.

⁹ Refer histories of Holy Trinity (C12) and St Andrew's, Redbourne (C9).

¹⁰ G. Neseemann, *The Stones of St Mark's*.

¹¹ Gray's Journal, 1850, p189.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Gray's Journal, 1850, p191.

By comparison with other churches of similar size such as Holy Trinity at King William's Town, the undertaking at George was a well-organized project, taking about 18 months to complete, from the setting out of the foundations in about July 1849 to the consecration of the church in December 1850.

Within five years, however, the accommodation provided in the church was proving inadequate. During the Bishop's brief visit to George in 1856 on his way back from the Grahamstown Diocese, he was met on 8 September by Archdeacon Welby. Gray was told after examining the Mission School that £25 was wanted to enlarge the [Mission's] chapel with a chancel. On 10 September 1856, he noted, "The Archdeacon tells me too, that his church needs enlargement, and proposes to build a chancel, if I can help him. It is the same everywhere..."¹⁴ Gray's comment in his journal on 11 September 1856 underlines the frustration he experienced through insufficient funding for his building programme: "At George, the Missionary Stipend requires to be increased - the Mission Chapel to be enlarged - a chancel to be added to the parish church; all three I am urged to help forward."¹⁵

AN UNDERWOOD-GRAY CHURCH

The church plan provided by Mrs Gray, and consisting at that stage of a simple nave, was based on Henry Jones Underwood's plan for the Littlemore Church in Oxfordshire which had been built in 1835/36 (Refer to Figures Y and Z). Reference to the architectural drawings in the St Mark's Parish Office provides clear evidence that the church, as built, was very close to the drawings of Underwood. These drawings were published in 1840 by the Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Oxford and offered for purchase through architectural publications such as *Introduction to Gothic Architecture* and Rickman's *Gothic Architecture* (Refer Figure C). It is probable that Bishop Gray purchased or was donated plans by the Oxford Society, prior to his departure for Cape Town in 1847 (Refer 'The Ecclesiologists' Section 1.2). Credit should therefore be given to Underwood for the original design, but ultimately to Mrs Gray as author of the project in which she was probably responsible for the modifications as highlighted below.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF LITTLEMORE AND ST MARK'S

Figures Y and Z show that the Littlemore Church was a very simple plan comprising a four-bay rectangular nave measuring 60 x 25 feet (18 x 7,5 metres) with diagonal buttresses at the four corners. St Mark's Church, as a replica of Littlemore in its basic dimensions comprises a four-bay nave (approximately 19,6 x 7,7 metres)¹⁶ oriented to the east, also with diagonal buttresses at the four corners with three buttresses, all of the two-tier design, between the four pointed nave windows (Refer Drawing 13). There was no porch or vestry on the original plans. The east wall of the Littlemore Church carried three tall lancets. In the absence of photographic evidence, it must be presumed St Mark's east end was similar on the basis that the west façades of the churches are comparable. A comparison of Drawing 14 with Drawing 15 highlights the finer detailing of the English model: A prominent upper string course (visible in Figure Y), links the pointed heads of all the windows on the sides of the nave, continues onto the west wall where it is stepped and becomes the hood mould over the lancet couplet. A lower stringcourse at cill level runs around the building, broken only at the front door where it becomes part of the elaborate

¹⁴ Gray's Journal, 1856, p67. In 1861 the chancel was added but this was demolished and rebuilt in 1924/1925.

¹⁵ Ibid, p69.

¹⁶ The dimensions of St Mark's Church were taken during fieldwork. The small differences between the Littlemore dimensions which were converted into metric and the survey figures are not significant.

mouldings of the pointed arch. St Mark's has no stringcourses, merely a drip mould above the west windows. The west gable in both churches has a pedimented bellcote (Refer Drawings 14 & 15), the Littlemore version showing two prominent set-offs, and shafts and moulding in the bell opening whereas St Mark's bellcote has been simplified. According to Underwood's drawings, his church was built throughout in ashlar. Mrs Gray's church is built with coarse, squared rubble and there is no quoining on the windows and buttresses. Both churches are finished internally with plastered walls. In the George church, three impressive double hammerbeam roof trusses support the timber roof on two purlins and common rafters. These trusses are not as elegant as Underwood's trusses though the ends of the six hammerbeams are decorated with heraldic shields as drawn in Underwood's perspective of the interior. The pitch of the roof in both churches is identical - 50 degrees.

From the above comparisons, it is obvious that Mrs Gray was forced by financial constraints to introduce economies in the ornamentation. The elimination of the stringcourses alone would have saved the dressing of a more workable stone than the hammer dressed rubble arriving from the Edmeades quarry. The three stonemasons, the competent Scots from Brechin, were quite able to build St Mark's according to the Underwood plan. Their skills had probably not yet been fully realised because the richly ornamented Norman church at Belvidere was only begun late in 1851 and they were also working on a tandem project at Graaff-Reinet that was completed in late 1850, as was the George church. Work on their first church, St George's at Knysna, had also been interrupted. In any event, Mrs Gray stripped the Littlemore model of its finer decorative elements and utilised a squared rubble, the end result which reflects the more rustic appearance of so many of her Early English churches.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The *Historical Records of the CPSA* refer to the Bishop's first visit to King William's Town in October 1848 but say nothing of his engaging in discussion about a church building.¹ Gray's visit is described as if meeting with the Black chiefs at "Kingwilliamstown" was his only mission. His own journal, however, reveals that on 6 October 1848 "the officers presented a memorial to the Governor about a church" and also that Gray talked to the "officers about the Church, and some grants of land" for which he would apply.² Gray remained in the town on 7 and 8 October when he met the Black chieftains Sandili, Macomo and Umhala and conducted services on the Sunday, returning to Grahamstown on Monday 9 October 1848. The officers referred to in Gray's journal were from the Imperial Regiments stationed in the area following the Seventh Frontier War, or "War of the Axe" (1846 - 1847), a war that had dragged on longer than any other previous war on the frontier. The Governor, Sir Harry Smith, annexed the land between the Keiskamma and Kei rivers as the Crown Colony of British Kaffraria and declared King William's Town the capital on 23 December 1847. British Kaffraria was to be maintained as a separate dependency hence the significant number of military personnel involved with the early history of Holy Trinity Church.

The visit of Bishop Gray in 1848 encouraged the military leaders with their ideas for an Anglican church in the town although until 1856 Anglican services were held in the Garrison Chapel. The Bishop wrote on 9 October 1848, "... a church to hold 400 has been decided upon."³ During the next two years the church building project was in the hands of the Military Chaplain, the Rev Francis Fleming. A building fund was begun and "donations poured in from many of the surrounding forts. Fort White, Fort Murray, Fort Glamorgan, Fort Waterloo, Fort Grey and Fort Hare all did their share."⁴

The account of how the church began can also be read in the journals of Archdeacon Nathaniel Merriman. He had been personally recruited in England by Gray in 1847 and invited to be the Bishop's archdeacon in the Eastern Province. In November 1848, Merriman and his family arrived in Cape Town along with a number of other clergy to join Gray. In early 1849, five months after Gray's visit to King William's Town, Merriman took up residence in Grahamstown as Archdeacon where he soon acquired a reputation for travelling around his large archdeaconry on foot as well as on horseback. Merriman wrote in his journal on 15 March 1849, "I rode on the following day to King William's Town... The occasion for my going there was this - just before leaving England Rev Jas. Anderson had called on me telling me that a lady... had lost a son in the... war who was buried within the ruined walls of the chapel at Wesleyville. She was anxious about the decent and orderly disposal of her son's remains, and was willing to devote a sum of money to church purposes in connection with his memory. I therefore thought it right to visit... and I hope my doing so will prove the means of forwarding what I am much interested in - the building of the church at King William's Town."⁵

¹ Lewis & Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p40.

² Gray's Journal, 6 October 1848, p31.

³ Gray's Journal, 9 October 1848, p37.

⁴ P. De Blocq van Scheltinga, *The History of Holy Trinity Church*, p1.

⁵ Archdeacon Merriman's Cape Journals, p40.

While in the town staying at the house of Major Bisset, Merriman "found several married officers of the Rifle Brigade... and one officer of Engineers, who together with Col. McKinnon [Mackinnon], the Commander General of Kaffraria, seemed desirous to have the Church settled among them. I held service every afternoon during my stay in a newly erected hospital... It was a grief to me indeed to leave this congregation without our having any clergyman to send among them..."⁶ Merriman left the town on 20 March 1849. There was not too much progress with the project during the balance of 1849 except that Mrs Gray recorded that "on the 1st of September [1849], a piece of ground at King William's Town in British Kaffraria, was granted by the High Commissioner to the Bishop of Cape Town and his successors, as a site for a church."⁷

The Bishop wrote to Col. Mackinnon on 8 September 1849 to thank him for the readiness with which he acceded to the Bishop's request "respecting the alteration of the site of the Church..." Gray wrote, "I have submitted both the *diagram* and your formal appropriation of the site to the Govt." He informed Mackinnon that both the documents had been signed. "The only alteration I cd. have wished wd. have been to have placed the street at the East End of the Church a few feet further off. It is just possible that a few years hence it might be desirable to lengthen the Church, by the addition of a chancel, for wh. I apprehend at present there wd. be scarcely sufficient room."⁸ Gray concluded, "I am unwilling however to give any further trouble on the subject..." hinting possibly at some earlier queries Gray had raised. These comments by Gray indicate *that a plan, possibly only showing a nave, had been submitted by Col Mackinnon* and its position plotted onto a site plan. It is contended had a plan been submitted *by Gray to Mackinnon*, Gray would have ensured that the church's position was plotted on the site as he or Sophia thought correct. The reverse being the case, gives support for the view that Mackinnon had obtained a plan.

A detailed account of the laying of the foundation stone ceremony on Wednesday 16 January 1850 was reported.⁹ On the previous Friday, 11 January 1850, the remains of Lt. William Nash of the 73d Regiment were removed from where they were buried at Wesleyville Mission Station and taken by wagon under military escort to King William's Town for final interment in what was to be the chancel of the new church. "This was according to the wishes of Mrs Nash, who contributed £800 towards the cost of the chancel, as a memorial to her son."¹⁰ The interment preceded the foundation stone laying ceremony that was conducted by Archdeacon N Merriman, assisted by the military chaplains Fleming and Buckner (the latter from East London). The stone was laid by Colonel George Mackinnon.

In mid-1850 Gray was in the town again on his long return journey from Natal. He records on 24 July 1850 that he had arrived at King William's Town. Obviously exhausted from his ride through southern Natal and British Kaffraria, there are no entries for the next three days. On Sunday 28 July he preached to the troops and civilians and he went on to say "the foundations of the church,

⁶ Ibid, p41.

⁷ *Chronicles of the Diocese*, p35.

⁸ Letterbook Vol I, p91.

⁹ *SA Church Magazine*, Vol I, March 1850, p91.

¹⁰ P. De Blocq van Scheltinga, *The History of Holy Trinity Church*, p2.

which is calculated to hold 300 and for which about £1,500 is already raised, are being laid. [The *Historical Records* use the past tense: 'the foundations of a church *were* built']. The plan is Early English. It will be, perhaps, the nicest and most correct little church in the Diocese when finished, and is to be entirely of stone, of which there is an abundance, of a good quality, in the immediate neighbour-hood."¹¹ Gray does not explicitly lay claim to the design as his wife's work and there is no reference to plans, which he may have given out.

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

In the account of the stone-laying ceremony, the *SA Church Magazine* gave a brief description of the church style: "The Church is a plain early English structure, with nave, chancel, and (transepts when complete) with a square tower and steeple standing in the centre, and is capable of containing nearly 300 without the transepts, which are not at present contemplated. *It is designed by Mr Barry, of London*, (author's italics) and the estimate is £2000, of this about £1,450 are now in the Treasurer's hands..."¹² Rev Fleming also asserted in his history of the region that the church was "built from plans drawn by Sir C [Charles] Barry, of London..."¹³ Of the design he says: "It is a solid and substantial building, in the Gothic style of early English architecture - consisting of nave, chancel, western tower and steeple, south porch and vestry - and will, when completed, accommodate three hundred people."¹⁴ (The 1850 lithograph by W Dickes, drawn from a perspective by Barry, shows a centrally placed square tower and broach spire, which was never built, a nave with two-light Decorated windows, and a two-bay chancel. A castellated square tower was erected against the south wall of the nave in 1932).

De Bloq writes that Barry's plans "must have proved unsuitable to local conditions, as the plans now in Holy Trinity's files bear the signature of S Trill, a government engineer, who probably redrew the original plans to adapt them to available materials. It is reputed that, during building, the plans were modified by Mrs Sophie Gray... a church designer of no mean talent."¹⁵ Other researchers name another architect as the originator of church plans: J Powell of Whitefriars, London¹⁶ and two prints of "Trinity Church" in the Africana Museum are said to *appear* to be the work of J Powell.¹⁷ The most reliable source for establishing the architect of the church, however, is considered to be the priest in the parish at the time, Rev Francis Fleming. His book, *Kaffraria and its Inhabitants*, written in 1852 and dedicated to Bishop Robert Gray "as a mark of esteem for his Lordship's unwearied zeal and energy, in behalf of his present extensive

¹¹ Gray's Journal, 1850, p108.

¹² *SA Church Magazine*, Vol. I, March 1850, p92.

¹³ F. Fleming, *Kaffraria and its Inhabitants*, p42.

¹⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁵ P. De Blocq van Scheltinga, *The History of Holy Trinity Church*, p2.

¹⁶ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p138, states that many English churches at the time had been completed in Mrs Gray's absence overseas, "some from her own plans, some from plans of English architects which she had offered, and some from designs obtained by building committees on their own account... Holy Trinity at King William's Town was built to a design of J. Powell of London." Others naming Powell are R. Langham-Carter (Lists 16.10.1974 and 26.4.1977), D. Picton-Seymour (*Victorian Buildings in South Africa*, pp225, 226).

¹⁷ R. Kennedy, *Catalogue of Prints in the Africana Museum*, F56, M42.

diocese..."¹⁸ would possibly have acknowledged Mrs Gray's architectural contribution had she been involved. Comparison of the Barry perspective of the church and the early photographs of the church as built show some changes but the basic scale and proportions remain as Barry designed it. The existing evidence of signed plans by Trill, the government engineer, confirms that modifications were made to the Barry plan but as far as Mrs Gray's 'reputed' alterations are concerned, it is thought unlikely that between September 1849, when Bishop Gray wrote to Colonel Mackinnon, and the start of 1850, when the foundation stone was laid, that Sophia would have submitted *her* changes, particularly after the Bishop had told Mackinnon, "*I am unwilling however to give any further trouble on the subject.*" For the above reasons, Mrs Gray's involvement with the design is considered unlikely. The source used by Gutsche for attributing J Powell as the architect, could not be traced. Other historians may well have used Gutsche as their source as has been noted in the course of this research.¹⁹

Charles Barry was "the leading architect in England in the years 1830-60,"²⁰ his greatest architectural contribution being the *Palace of Westminster*, built between 1836 and 1865. In the 1820s he designed a number of churches for the Church Commissioners (Refer Section 1.2). As Commandant of British Kaffraria, Mackinnon may have found it easy to acquire a church plan for his frontier town from England's top architect, at the time working with the Parliamentary Committee on the new parliamentary buildings, London.

THE BUILDING PROJECT

The foundations and preliminary work on the walls had been completed by soldiers of the four regiments stationed in the town. With the outbreak of the Eighth Frontier War in December 1850, however, building operations had to be postponed apart from the fact that funds had already been depleted. The war continued until March 1853 although during the years 1852 to 1853 the Grays were in England for the primary reason of raising funds. There was a printed appeal in England for building funds in May 1852.²¹

Building was resumed in early 1853. Soldiers refused at that stage to work as masons and other masons were recruited from the Cape Colony.²² There were ongoing financial difficulties and the Bishop was appealed to for financial support. On 23 November 1853, the Diocese of Grahamstown had come into being and Bishop John Armstrong was consecrated as its first bishop. He conducted the first service in the unfinished church in King William's Town on 14 February 1856, some six years after the laying of the foundation stone in 1850. Three months later, on 16 May 1856, Bishop Armstrong passed away. The Grays had not visited King William's Town since their return from England in January 1854 but on the death of Bishop Armstrong, they left Cape Town by sea on 12 July 1856 for a tour of the Eastern Cape. On reaching King William's Town, they noted that the walls of the church had been completed but

¹⁸ F. Fleming, *op cit.*, Preface.

¹⁹ Gutsche's book crediting Powell was published in 1970, R. F. Kennedy's *Catalogue of Prints* appeared in 1975, Langham- Carter's lists in 1974 and 1977, Beddy's list (1985) quotes Picton-Seymour's book (1977).

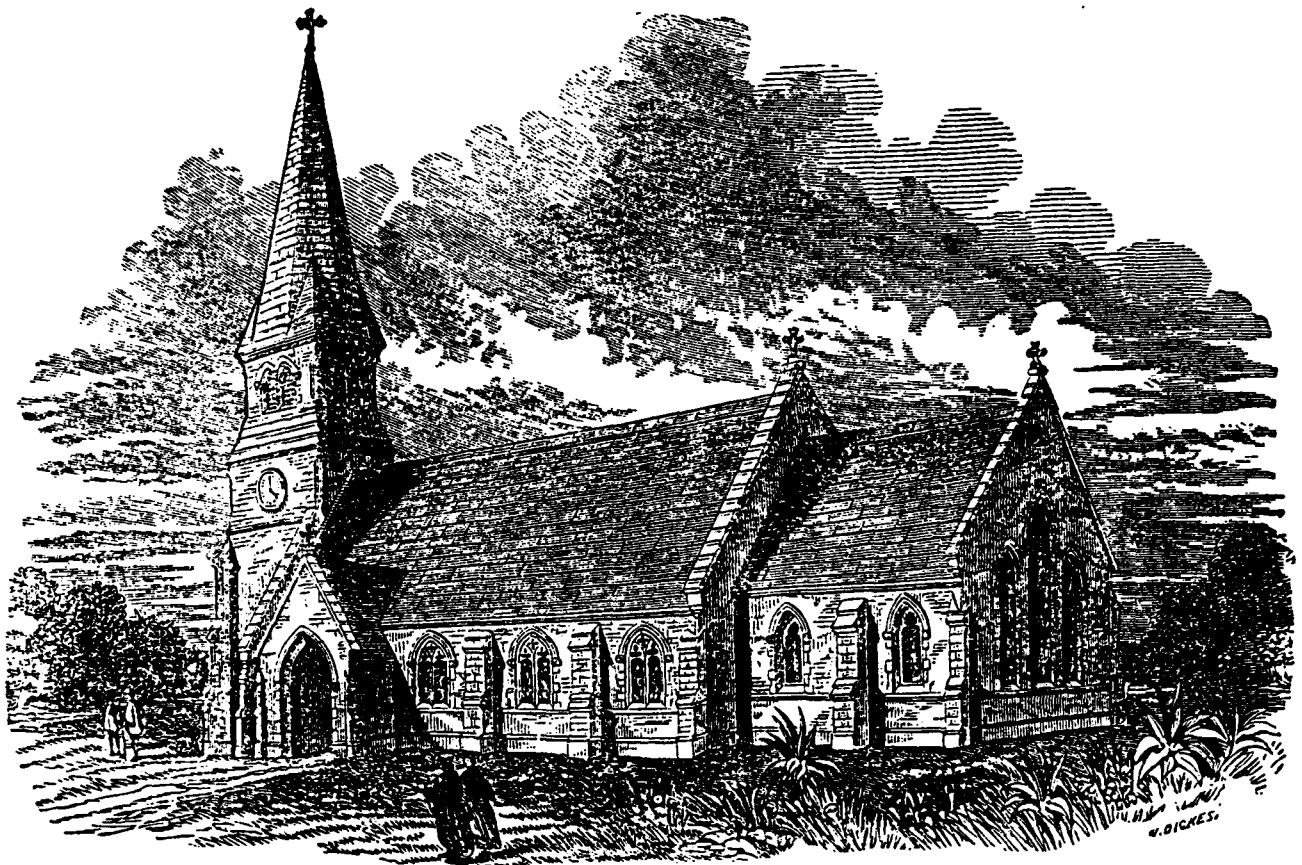
²⁰ D. Yarwood, *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*, p47.

²¹ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools*.

²² P. De Blocq van Scheltinga, *The History of Holy Trinity Church*, p6.

the roof was still of canvas. Gray wrote in his journal on 9 August 1856, "King William's Town has, I think, doubled itself since I was here six years ago. Our church, which has cost £4000, still, alas! remains unfinished, though used for service. It is in debt, and it will require, I think, £1500 to complete it."²³ In 1858, the Rev Henry Kitton was appointed rector of Holy Trinity and he made determined efforts to complete the building. By 1861 a zinc roof had been installed and all debts cleared. On 21 February 1861 the church was consecrated by the second Bishop of Grahamstown, Henry Cotterill.²⁴

Although Bishop Gray was partially instrumental in establishing the church (and therefore the church is seen as part of the Bishop's building programme), the greater impetus to build had come from the military leaders in British Kaffraria. Considering further that Colonel Mackinnon probably acquired his own plan from Charles Barry, subsequently prepared for building by the engineer, S Trill, and that Sophia Gray's involvement could not be established at all, Holy Trinity is regarded as one of four churches designed by other architects.²⁵ Architectural features have therefore not been reviewed.



TRINITY CHURCH, KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.

Page 42.

Barry's perspective

Source: Rev F. Fleming, *Kaffraria and its Inhabitants*, (1854).

²³ Gray's Journal, 1856, p27.

²⁴ P. De Blocq van Scheltinga, *The History of Holy Trinity Church*, p8.

²⁵ The four churches considered to have been built without any influence at all from Sophia Gray, were built at King William's Town, Redbourn, Bloemfontein and Stellenbosch.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

After Bishop Gray's overnight stay at Eerste Rivier on his 1848 visitation, he continued eastward to the settlement of Caledon on 25 August where he spent the night at Captain William Mackay's house.¹ He recorded, "After breakfast [on the 26th] I walked round the village [accompanied by Rev Green, later Dean of Pietermaritzburg] to look for a site for a proposed church. The Municipality offer land, also Captain Mackay. I fixed upon sites and requested them to have the consent of the Municipality given formally in time for our meeting on Tuesday [29 August 1848]."² The following day, 27 August, Gray spent at Captain Rainier's home in the Riviersonderend area, where he wrote, "I hope we shall be able to get two Churches and a Clergyman". The second church, which Gray had in mind, was at "Zonder-Ende". Gray's journal continues, "we have already £700 for our two churches and hope to raise £1000 which will be the least amount for which they can be built".

On 29 August Gray recorded the outcome of his meeting with local parishioners at Caledon: "We had, I think, more than 50 persons present, nearly £120 was raised in the room for a Church". The Bishop's plans were accepted as he states, "*It was decided to adopt one of the designs I had with me* (author's italics), likely to cost £600, and calculated to hold 200 souls."³ There were offers from the meeting to write to England to generate funds while others offered timber and reeds and other materials. The Bishop also drafted a memorandum to the Government requesting financial assistance. Gray was elated with the result of the meeting commenting, "an excellent spirit prevailed throughout..." He returned to Captain Rainier at 'Nethercourt' in the Riviersonderend area, thankful that he would "...shortly see the Two churches springing up so as to become a blessing to this desolate land..."⁴

After a day's detour to Genadendal on 30 August 1848, he proceeded "...to fix a site for the Zonder Einde Church." This was to be "...upon a spot on Linders Farm where there are 150 coloured people and at no great distance from about the same number of English people."⁵ The Bishop clearly had no intention to build separate worship facilities for the two groups. He ordered wood to be cut for the church, once he was convinced of the commitment of English labourers and Dutch farmers in the area.

Bishop Gray had addressed a letter on 16 January 1849 to the Governor with regard to the assistance he hoped the Church could expect from Colonial funds. In a reply from John Montagu, Colonial Secretary, dated 13 February 1849, Gray was informed that sites for churches and stipends for appointed ministers (equal to the amount raised by private contributions) would be granted in all places in which Gray could certify to the sufficiency of the congregation. The letter stated that one fifth of the expense of erecting churches at five named villages including Caledon

¹ Mackay was Caledon's second paid magistrate who served from 1846 to 1855 (E. H. Burrows, *Overberg Odyssey*, p94).

² Gray's Journal, 26 August 1848, p3.

³ Gray's Journal, 29 August 1848, p4.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Gray's Journal, 31 August 1848, p6.

would also be granted.⁶ During the spring of 1849, the Grays made the short journey to the George District that included a stay with Colonel Dutton outside Caledon. This journey presented Mrs Gray with her first opportunity to see the sites selected by her husband for churches and to talk to building committees and builders. According to her biography, she discussed the plan for Holy Trinity with a Mr Martin, the selected building contractor, who undertook to prepare an estimate.⁷ The response by the Bishop on 27 December 1849, to the receipt of the building quotation from Mr Martin is transcribed in full below. It gives the facts of the technical and financial problems confronting the little group of Anglicans at Caledon at the time and reveals the depth of understanding Gray had for the project in particular and his knowledge in general of building in the Early English architectural style. Judging too from the clipped tone of the letter, Gray was deeply distressed at what was happening at Caledon. Victorian letter writing as observed in Mrs Gray's letterbooks tended to be verbose. Whether this letter was dictated by Robert and written by Sophia, or whether it was her letter, signed by the Bishop, is not known. Gutsche states in Sophia's biography, "...she wrote in Robert's name to Captain MacKay at Caledon".⁸

"Mr Martin's valuations and estimates do not appear to me to be worth much. He has quite mistaken the character of the building. There is very little hammer dressed stone except in the quoins & Belfry. At Pt. Beaufort⁹ a stone church [?] nearly as large as that for Caledon is being built at a cost of £300. At Swellendam they hope to build one for £500. At George a much larger and more expensive one for less than £1000. It is calculated to hold 200. At G. Reinett [Graaff-Reinett] one to hold 250 for £1500. Here there is a long land carriage, as I believe the timber comes from England. At Colesberg a church about the size of yours is about to be commenced with smaller means. Building at Caledon will be as cheap I think as in any part of the Diocese, if the work be vigilantly watched. In no place that I know of is stone to be found so close at hand.

"Mr Martin seems to suppose that there are to be wooden windows. There will be no wood either about them or the doorway. You cannot afford teak I fear for your roof. It is a mistake to suppose a tie beam is needed for the roof. They have long been exploded in Church Building. If you will be good enough to return me the plans Mrs Gray will endeavour to prepare written specifications, & I will try to get an estimate through Mr C. Bell, the Surveyor-general, who has made one or two for me. I shd. however know at what price stone can be laid down on the spot - whether you are content with a thatched roof & whether you have any stone in the neighbourhood that will bear dressing - So far as I remember your blue stone will not bear cutting very well. Perhaps you will be good enough to give me information upon these points. Mr Borchard's house is evidence that building is not very expensive at Caledon.

Dr. Sir very truly yours

R. Capetown.

"[PS] Mr M's remark about examining the stone is worth attending to."

⁶ CPSA Archives, AB1162/A1.2, Letters received June 1847 - July 1850.

⁷ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p99. It is assumed that the contractor was working according to the plan that Bishop Gray had given to Captain Mackay and which had been accepted during his first visit in August 1848.

⁸ *Ibid*, p106. E. Burrows also writes: "...she complained to MacKay by letter in the Bishop's name" (*Overberg Odyssey*, p94).

⁹ Mrs Gray's comment about Port Beaufort indicates that she was involved with the project there (Refer C58). The church was, however, not in stone but built of brick and plastered.

It is contended that Mr Martin had been given details of windows that involved stone cutting. This could have been done on site as the local stone was not too hard and costs would have been reasonable. When the Grays' plans had been returned, Mrs Gray together with Charles Bell resolved the remainder of the problems. Telling Martin that he was incapable of giving an accurate estimate, Mrs Gray dismissed him and the church was later completed to her satisfaction.¹⁰

On 1 April 1850, the Bishop set out on his third visitation. While he was still in Natal, the foundation stone of Holy Trinity was laid with much ceremony by Captain Mackay on Friday 31 May 1850. Rev W A Newman officiated in the Bishop's absence. It was reported, "The interesting ceremony of laying the corner stone of the English Episcopal Church, took place at Caledon... before an assembly of 230 persons... The Members of the Building Committee were invited by the Minister of the Parish, the Rev S Sandberg, to meet at breakfast the Rev W A Newman, Rural Dean, who had kindly come from Cape Town, to officiate... the Committee... walked in procession to the spot chosen by the Bishop, as the site of the Church, which faces on the east side, the main-street, and when finished, promises an ornament to the Village."¹¹

Six months later while *en route* from Natal, the Bishop stopped at Colonel Dutton's residence outside Caledon on 19 December 1850. He wrote, "The next day [20 December] I proceeded to Major Shaw's, stopping a few hours at Caledon on my way ... to inspect the church which is now remaining in an unfinished state from want of funds."¹² Gray realised that he would need to confront the Building Committee. He contended, considering that a full year had nearly passed since the dispatch of his harsh response to the receipt of the builder's estimates, that money had been wasted on the building. With judicious handling of the funds, he believed the church could have been completed "...or nearly so." He had declined to draw on the SPCK funds until he was more certain that the church was reaching completion. On the following day, 21 December 1850, the Bishop met with parishioners at the Court House. The status of the building project was discussed and despite the gravity of the subject matter, "a very good and kindly spirit prevailed."¹³ The Bishop pointed out the necessity of members doing more towards completing the church and maintaining the ministry. Promises of support were given and £80 was collected at the meeting.

The year 1851 must have begun with the Anglicans freshly inspired to complete what they had begun in 1848 but the following year, on 25 May 1852, a fierce storm tore most of the roof off. A report in the church publication described the event as "a violent hurricane" that "carried away the roof of the New Church, under course of erection... The parishioners have long been exerting every effort to complete this sacred edifice... this damage is a very serious one, and cannot be repaired at a cost of less than £200."¹⁴

¹⁰ This account of how Mrs Gray reputedly resolved the situation with the builder is quoted from J. Edwards, *Our Heritage - A History of Caledon* (1979) who was quoting from D. Picton-Seymour, *Boland Towns and Villages*.

¹¹ *SA Church Magazine*, February 1850, p219.

¹² Gray's Journal, 1850, p199.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ *SA Church Magazine*, July 1852, p223.

Building operations must have continued in 1852 and 1853 as the same publication carried the following account of the first service: "On the first Sunday in Lent [1854], divine service was held for the first time in Holy Trinity Church, Caledon, - the Rev. W Andrews, of St George's Church, Knysna, and the minister of the parish officiating on the occasion. It is expected that the church will be consecrated later in the year, when it is said the Lord Bishop of the Diocese purposes to hold a visitation."¹⁵ The planned visitation by Gray during late 1854, however, never materialised. The *Cape Monitor* covered the financial aspect of the project at the time of the opening: "The new English Church at Caledon... was opened for divine service last month... To provide the necessary funds, two amounts of £200 each were borrowed, several gentlemen rendering themselves personally responsible for the repayment of same, and thus the church was left in debt to the extent of £400. But the parishioners having furnished large annual subscriptions for three years, these..., with the assistance promised by the Lord Bishop... will liquidate the... debt..."¹⁶

The Bishop's next visit to Caledon was during a visitation, which began on 22 August 1855. On 25 August, the Grays drove into Caledon after breakfast at Colonel Shaw's farm "and were delighted to see our little church, which is a neat little early English building, standing up in the best situation in the village and the most conspicuous object in it."¹⁷ Despite being without porch or chancel, the Bishop consecrated Holy Trinity the same day at an impressive ceremony. The report of the event said of the church "It is very neat, and quite complete inside except the painting of the seats. There is an excellent feeling towards the object, and they are preparing to erect a porch..."¹⁸ The *List of Consecrations* confirms 25 August 1855 as the consecration date for both church and burial ground.

The following year the Grays visited Caledon on their way back from a visit to Port Elizabeth having travelled the outward leg of the journey by sea in July. The Bishop recorded on 1 October 1856 that "the little porch of the church is now being built and a good stone wall round the churchyard at a cost of £100."¹⁹ The work of erecting the porch and enclosing the churchyard was done by Messrs Robb and Wallis.²⁰

The Bishop's ideal for all his churches was that ultimately a chancel should be added to the nave; alternatively, a nave added to a chancel. The Caledon church, he recorded in his journal on 18 August 1865, was now complete, as "since I was last here, a very nice Early English chancel has been added to the Church, and scarcely suffices, even now, for the increasing congregation". He added, probably with some relief and satisfaction, "All the Ecclesiastical buildings needed for the village are now completed."²¹ This last comment referred to the fact that on the same day, Gray

¹⁵ *S A Church Magazine*, May 1854, p163.

¹⁶ 22 April 1854.

¹⁷ Gray's Journal, 1855, p9.

¹⁸ *S A Church Magazine*, Vol.III, October 1855, p319.

¹⁹ Gray's Journal, 1856, p83.

²⁰ J. Edwards, *Our Heritage - A History of Caledon*.

²¹ Gray's Journal, 1865, p5.

inspected Rev Wilshire's school and that the parsonage had been completed in 1861.²²

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

On the Bishop's first visit in August 1848, when he gave "one of the plans I had", this was probably a plan from the portfolio of drawings by English architects or one of Sophia's own designs based on plans of other architects. Rev Charles Green's unpublished notes on the *History of Holy Trinity Church* (1952), states that "it is believed that plans were drawn up by Mrs Gray and these may well have been delivered when she visited the place with Bishop Gray in October 1849." Proof of Mrs Gray's authorship of the plans, however, even if this was modelled on an English architect's drawing, is inherent in the letter of 27 December 1849 that was quoted in full earlier in this history. The letter reveals Sophia's intimate knowledge of the plans and her vested interest in all facets of the building project. It indicates her determination to achieve the correct result. After seeing the completed church on the short tour of 1855, Sophia commented, "very nice on the whole though there are some considerable faults but it is of stone and a nice belfry and looks nice altogether,"²³ further indication of her personal involvement with the building.

Various researchers attribute the design to Mrs Gray. These are Gutsche (1970), Langham-Carter (1974) and (1977)²⁴, Fransen and Cook (1980) and Beddy (1985). Radford (1979) was not convinced and stated in his thesis that "Holy Trinity... is another church which, when compared to the other [Gray] churches, appears to be too sophisticated in detail to be her original design. A remark by Bishop Gray as to its likely cost in England would also seem to indicate an as yet unknown English architect as its designer."²⁵ In terms of attributing authorship to Mrs Gray as set forth in the Introduction to this thesis, however, it is not contended that the drawings must be entirely Sophia Gray's work for her to be regarded as the architect of the church.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

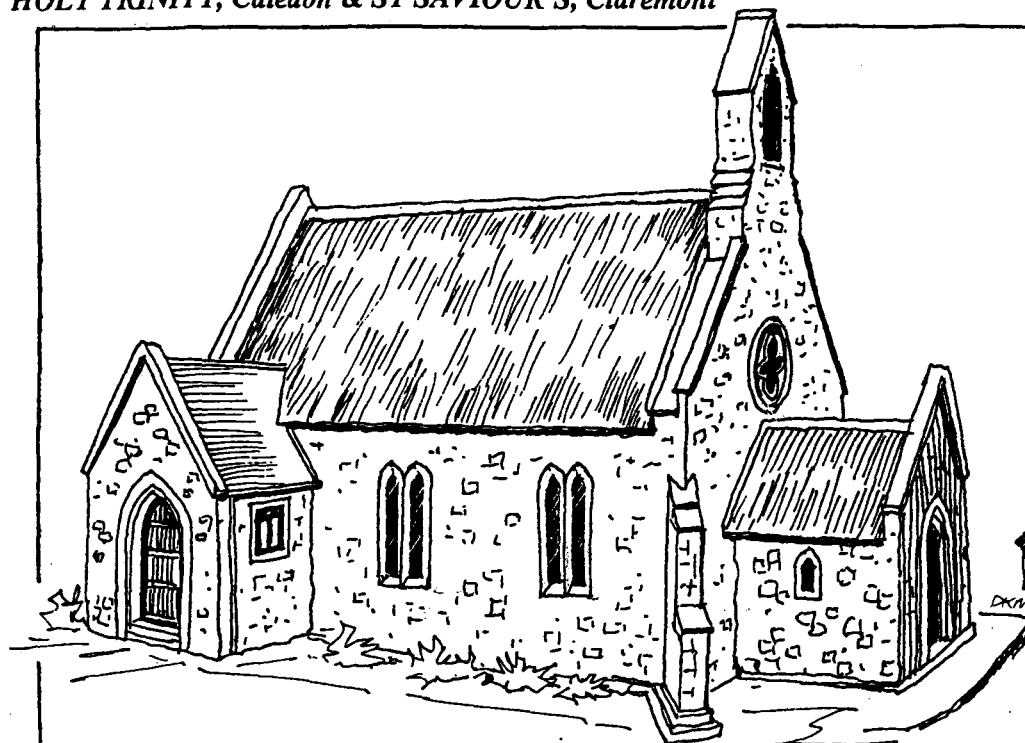
The church as originally built comprised a three-bay nave measuring 12,4 x 6,6 metres, and a vestry on the north-east corner (Refer Drawings 16, 17 and 18). Windows in the nave were lancet couplets with plaster surrounds. The west wall carried a bellcote with a trefoiled opening and there was a quatrefoiled circular window above the entrance. The east wall had a triplet lancet. The walls are of coursed rubble and diagonal buttresses were built at the four corners but not in between the bays. The trussed rafter roof is set at a pitch of 55 degrees. The porch was added in 1856 and a chancel in 1865. The addition of the porch on the west end wall instead of the traditional position against the nave wall (south-west corner) as shown Figure A4 in Section 1.1, was probably due to the lack of space between the nave and the road and also owing to the southward sloping site. The quatrefoiled window in the west wall is not unusual; a number of the Gray churches had circular windows or some decorative device in the upper area of the west wall below the apex, viz Drawings 36, 43, 64, 68, 69.

²² C. G. Green, *History of Holy Trinity Church*, p9. During the 1855 Visitation, Gray had commented that there was "no prospect of raising funds for a parsonage" (Journal, 24 August 1855, p10).

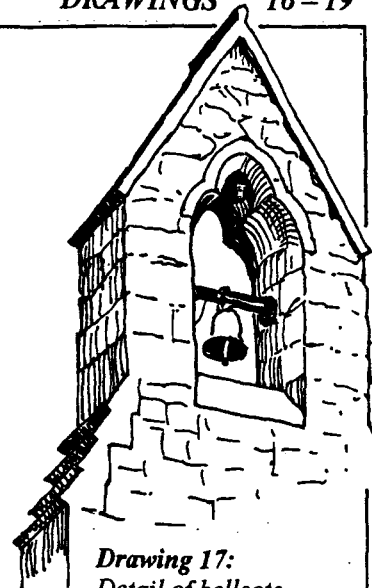
²³ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p146. The source of Gutsche's quotation could not be traced but it was probably from one of Mrs Gray's personal letters.

²⁴ In Langham-Carter's 1977 list, Sophia Gray is credited with designing the church but the builder Inglesby is stated to have designed the chancel.

²⁵ D. J. Radford, *The Architecture of the Western Cape*, p188.

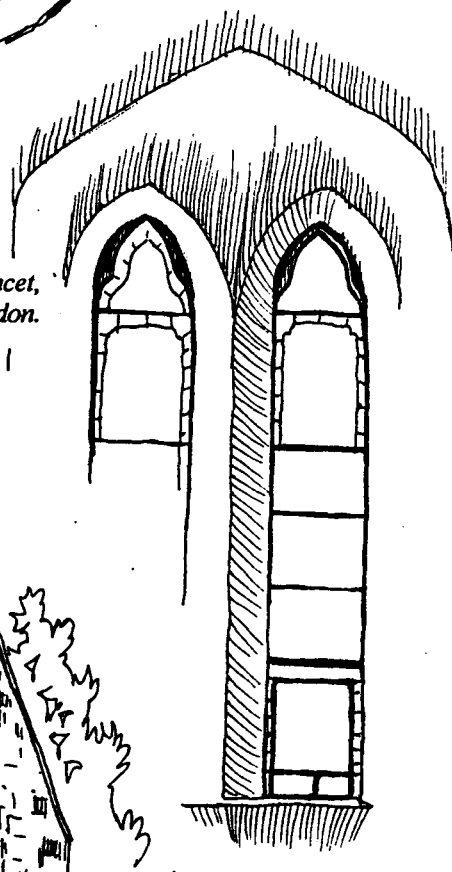


Drawing 16: Holy Trinity Church, Caledon (1854), with vestry (1854) on left and porch (1856). Chancel of 1865 not depicted.

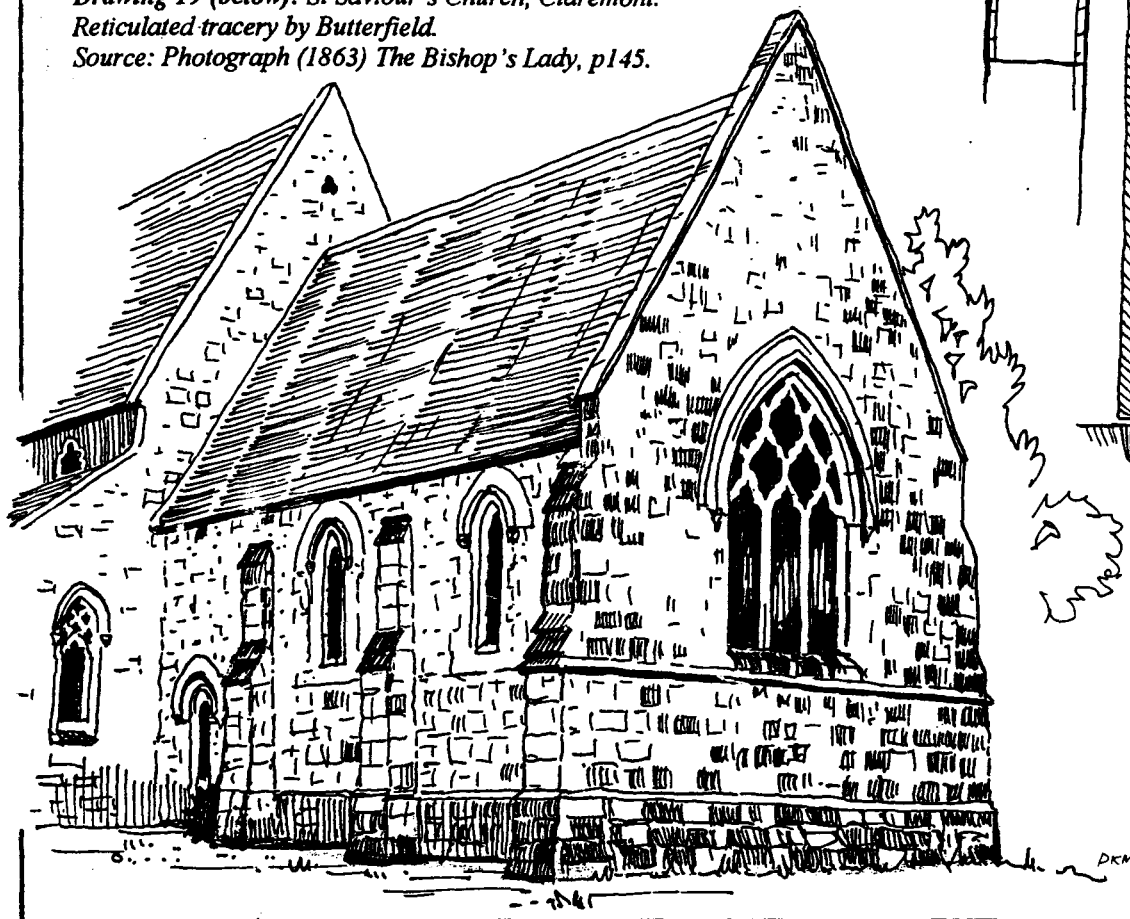


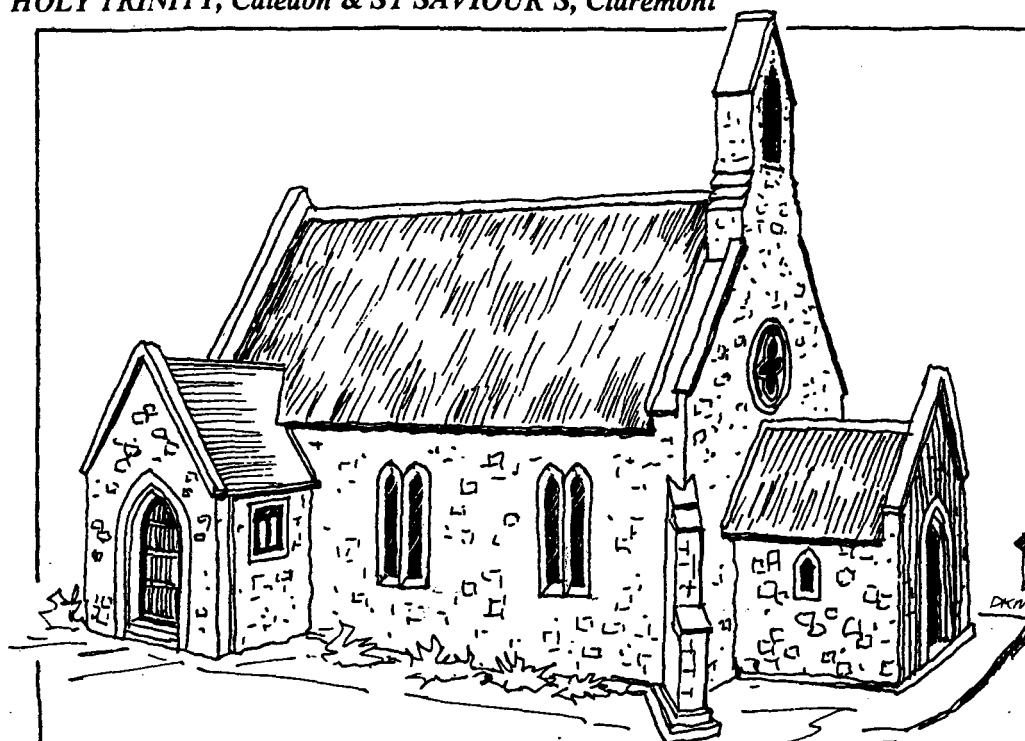
Drawing 17: Detail of bellcote, Holy Trinity, Caledon.

Drawing 18: Internal view of twin lancet, set within splayed arch, Holy Trinity, Caledon.

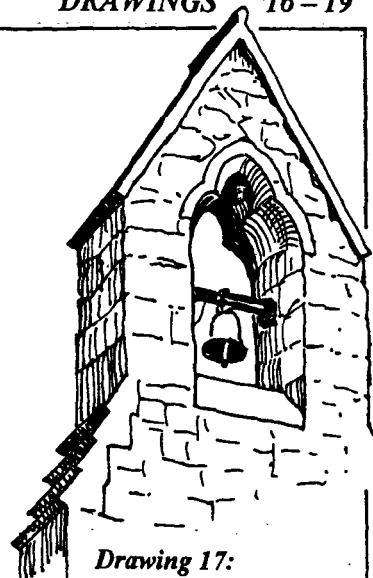


Drawing 19 (below): St Saviour's Church, Claremont. Reticulated tracery by Butterfield. Source: Photograph (1863) *The Bishop's Lady*, p145.



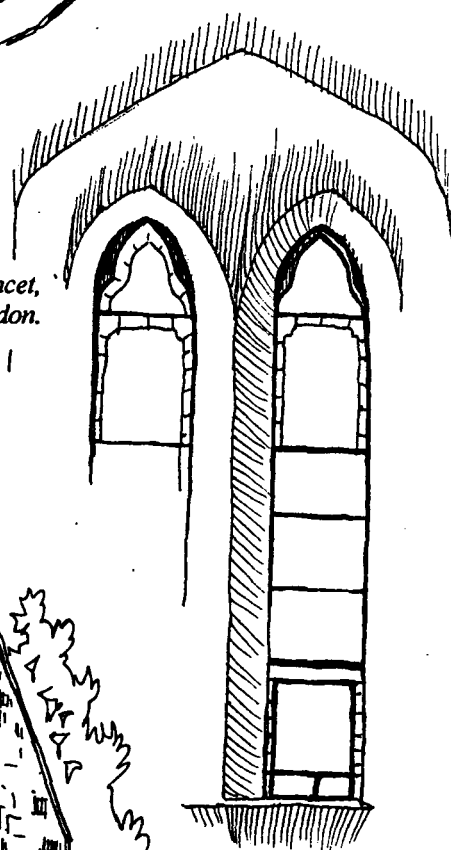


Drawing 16: Holy Trinity Church, Caledon (1854), with vestry (1854) on left and porch (1856). Chancel of 1865 not depicted.

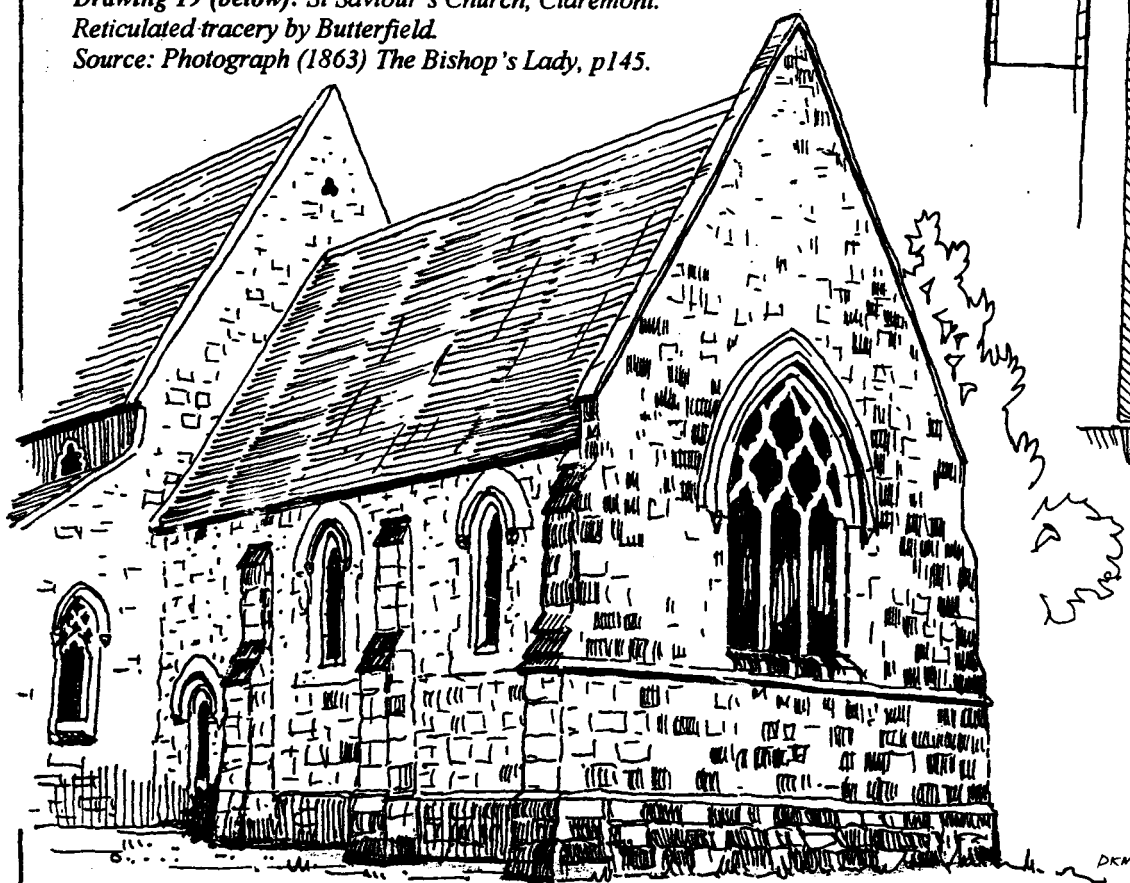


Drawing 17: Detail of bellcote, Holy Trinity, Caledon.

Drawing 18: Internal view of twin lancet, set within splayed arch, Holy Trinity, Caledon.



Drawing 19 (below): St Saviour's Church, Claremont. Reticulated tracery by Butterfield. Source: Photograph (1863) The Bishop's Lady, p145.



HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The two churches of St Andrew's, Redbourn in the Piesang River Valley and St Peter's, Plettenberg Bay (C50), situated within five kilometres of each other, have their origins within the same English community that settled in the vicinity of Plettenberg Bay in the mid-nineteenth century though St Peter's was erected some 25 years after St Andrew's. In 1846, William Newdigate, third son of Francis Newdigate, bought the farm "Roodefontein", at Plettenberg Bay. In England the following year, Francis Newdigate was invited to join a committee of the SPG "which had for its special object the establishment of a Diocese of the Church of England at the Cape."¹ Apart from his dedication to the work of the SPG, Newdigate Snr. was also concerned that there was no church of any kind close to his son's farm in South Africa. Other English families in the Knysna and Plettenberg Bay area, such as the Duthies and the Barringtons were equally worried about the spiritual starvation of their communities. When the news was received in 1847 that a Bishop had been appointed to the Cape of Good Hope, William Newdigate and Thomas Duthie (from Belvidere) determined to ride to Cape Town to meet Bishop Gray "to urge in person the claims of Plettenberg Bay and Knysna for special attention."² A most satisfactory interview was held with the Bishop on 13 April 1848, hardly two months after the arrival of the Grays in Cape Town. A week later Newdigate and Duthie had looked over the collection of plans of various churches held by the Grays. They left, elated that the work of the Church in their respective districts could get under way.

Five months later, on Gray's first visitation to his diocese, he spent time in both Knysna and Plettenberg Bay where he was enthusiastically received by the wealthy English families of the area. Gray recorded on 15 September 1848, that he started out for Plettenberg Bay "where I am to hold two services [in the home of William Newdigate at Redbourn] and fix upon a site for a church [at Plettenberg Bay]."³

In 1850, in the course of the Bishop's return to Cape Town from Natal, he reached Plettenberg Bay on 27 November. He arrived at the old Residency, home of Mr Bull, the catechist, after a 27-mile ride from Knysna. Gray recorded that "just as we arrived... a party of twenty newly baptised coloured people, quite out of their own accord, came out to meet me. They sang a hymn, and then welcomed me to the Bay..."⁴ The following day Gray rode to Redbourn. "This village has been much increased since I was here, two years ago." Gray then explained the origin of the little church of Redbourn: "As the funds for the erection of a stone church are not yet sufficient, Mr Newdigate is building, at his sole cost, a *wooden church* which will serve for a few years, and when the [permanent] church shall be built, can afterwards be used for a school. He has agreed to transfer it immediately to the See."⁵ Storrar adds to Gray's account of 28 November 1850: "Mrs Gray had already drawn up the working drawings for the proposed stone church [that was to

¹ P. Storrar, *Portrait of Plettenberg Bay*, p137.

² *Ibid.*

³ Gray's Journal, 1848, p17.

⁴ Gray's Journal, 1850, p184.

⁵ Gray's Journal, 1850, p186.

eventually replace the wooden church Newdigate was building]. It was to have lancet windows, a bell turret and a high-pitched roof."⁶ Of the [wooden] church, it is stated that it was "a little more than 10 by four metres on the inside" and "*being built to William's own simple design* (author's italics), the foundations of stone quarried and the thatch for the roof gathered on his own lands, the brick within the walls burned in his kiln, the yellowwood which formed the outer walls and the stinkwood for the furniture planed from trees felled on his own estate. He dug deep into his own resources both of money and labour to complete this little church. And he was only 26."⁷

Entries in the Newdigate farm journals for 1850 and 1851 show the pressure William was putting on his workmen to get the church completed expeditiously. Newdigate sent William Page, a carpenter of great skill, and George Shaw to cut wood for the church. Another entry says: "William Starbuck and Thomas Noble thatching church all the week." By the end of 1851, St Andrew's Church must have been virtually complete. During that year, Newdigate's interests began to focus on his father-in-law's church, Holy Trinity at Belvidere.⁸

St Andrew's, Redbourn, was consecrated by Bishop Gray during his 1855 visitation. After seeing the churches at Belvidere and Knysna on 24 and 25 September, the Grays arrived at Mr Newdigate's home on 27 September 1855. "The morning [Friday] after our arrival in Plettenberg Bay... we visited the site of the church, and the neat temporary School-chapel (St Andrew's), and the burial ground which commands a view of the beautiful valley beneath it..."⁹ On the Saturday, the Bishop held a confirmation "in the little wooden School-chapel." On Sunday 30 September, Gray first consecrated the churchyard then after a service he licensed the church "for ecclesiastical purposes only until a proper Church shall be completed and consecrated."¹⁰

THE DESIGNER OF THE CHURCH

Although Bishop Gray encouraged and approved the founding of the church, credit must be given to the young William Newdigate for being the driving force behind the project at Redbourn. He not only designed the church, he funded it, he supplied the building materials and the skilled labour, he acted as clerk-of-works and then continued to maintain it. It was erected to serve "for a few years" yet stands today, 150 years later. A stone church was never built at Redbourn as it was inevitably overshadowed by St Peter's, Plettenberg Bay, once the latter was built in stone in the village. St Andrew's consists of a large room with a saddleback roof of corrugated iron, with an inner wall of whitewashed brick and the outside wall covered in yellowwood planking. There are two timber lancet windows in each side wall, a triplet lancet at the east end, also constructed in timber, and a pointed door in the west wall. As Redbourn is one of the churches where it is virtually certain that Sophia Gray did not provide any drawings, no detailed architectural review of the building was made.

⁶ P. Storrar, *Portrait of Plettenberg Bay*, p140.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ "He lent his skilled carpenter and cabinet-maker, William Page, to put the roof on and fabricate much of the beautiful stinkwood joinery inside the church. He sent his man, Thomas Noble, over to Belvidere to help with the iron work" (P. Storrar, *Portrait of Plettenberg Bay*, p144).

⁹ Gray's Journal, 1855, p49.

¹⁰ P. Storrar, *Portrait of Plettenberg Bay*, p144.

THE CHOICE OF CLAREMONT AS A SITE FOR A CHURCH

By the middle of the 19th century, Cape Town's more affluent families were moving to larger residences built on portions of the old farms to the south of the city beyond Mowbray and Rondebosch. South of these lay Newlands and the estates of wealthy Capetonians, *Sans Souci* (Hamilton Ross), *Mariedahl* (Letterstedt), *The Grove* (R J Jones), *Stanhope* (Watsons), *Claremont House* (John Molteno), and a few others.¹ The Anglican Church at Rondebosch, St Paul's, was being built in 1832 and was opened for Divine service on 17 February 1834. The Wynberg church, St John's, would also have opened in 1834 but before the roof was completed, most of the structure was washed away in heavy rains. St George's in Cape Town also opened in 1834 (21 December) and three years later, on 30 July, a church was opened in Simon's Town, replacing the old church that had fallen into ruin.² After further setbacks, the Wynberg church eventually was ready for use after Easter, 1839. The latter two churches were only consecrated in 1843 when the Bishop of Tasmania, Dr Nixon, spent a few days at the Cape. A second English church, Holy Trinity in Harrington Street, Cape Town, was opened for service on 12 July 1845. About the same time, Green Point Chapel began to care for the spiritual needs of Anglicans in that area so that when Bishop Gray arrived in Cape Town in 1848, there were two churches in the city and churches at Green Point, Rondebosch, Wynberg and Simon's Town. Persons living between Wynberg and Rondebosch wishing to attend an Anglican church had to choose between St John's and St Paul's respectively.

Gray found the spiritual ardour of the Church at a low ebb. "In Capetown itself Church matters were in a very bad state. The Senior Chaplain [Rev G Hough] had been absent in England for nearly two years, and had just resigned. The only two clergy of Capetown - who both resided at Green Point, fully three miles from their churches - were extreme Low Churchmen..."³ It was to this "heritage of woe" that Bishop Gray succeeded. By August 1848, Gray had rented a cottage at the corner of Main and Protea Roads, Claremont. With his chaplain, Rev Hopkins Badnall in charge, this accommodation served as a school during the week and a church on Sundays.⁴ It was the forerunner of many such school-cum-chapels that Gray built in his Diocese.

On 21 January 1849 Gray wrote to his brother Charles, "We are going to have a meeting on Thursday to take steps towards the erection of a small church in Claremont, which is Badnall's parish. He has now a very nice congregation in a school-room."⁵ The meeting was duly held in the Gray's rented home, *Protea*, "...where Gray's party and a few neighbouring Anglicans who attended decided to build a small church. For a site Rice Jones [of *The Grove*] gave some of his farm land which bordered on the main road."⁶

¹ R. Langham-Carter, *Under the Mountain*, 1973, p5.

² J. A. Hewitt, *Sketches of English Church History* (1887), p73.

³ *Ibid*, p101.

⁴ R. Langham-Carter, *Under the Mountain*, p5. Also Note AB 1949f, CPSA Archives: Badnall was licensed to the Claremont area on 4 August 1848. He returned to England after his resignation on 21 April 1854.

⁵ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.1, p215.

⁶ R. Langham-Carter, *Under the Mountain*, p7.

THE SITE AND BUILDING PROJECT

Mrs Gray recorded the land transfer as follows: "On 2nd September [1850] a piece of ground at Claremont... was transferred to the See of Cape Town by Rice J. Jones Esq. for ecclesiastical purposes, on condition of a church being erected upon it within twenty years."⁷ On 14 November 1850 Mr Hamilton Ross laid the foundation stone of the new church. This task would probably have fallen to the Bishop but for the greater part of 1850, Gray was away on his visitation to Natal. A full account of the stone-laying event was published in the *South African Church Magazine*.⁸ Those officiating were the Revds H Badnall, the Curate of the church, and W A Newman, the Rural Dean. Both addressed the assembled audience. Badnall's sermon was "...on the motives which should influence us to such works as building a Church to God's name and glory." He stated that the "site of the Church is a valuable and very eligible one, and was the handsome gift of R Jones, Esq... The Church when erected is to be called St Saviour's..."⁹

Progress with the building was fairly rapid considering that stone had to be quarried, dressed and laid. Most of this work was in the hands of the Scots stonemasons, Alexander Bern and Alexander and Colin Gibb Lawrence who lived at *Bishopscourt*. "They put up a small chancel in Table Mountain sandstone while Butterfield sent out from England the stone for the windows, the teak beams for the ceiling, ready carved to the right shape, and some basic furnishings."¹⁰ Building operations were followed by Mrs Gray with interest and it "... was commonly believed that she had not only drawn the plans for Claremont, their Parish Church, but had seen every stone in its place, occasionally lending a hand."¹¹ Langham-Carter writes, "It is usually assumed that Mrs Gray designed the church. But a note in the church records [no reference given], apparently written by Canon Le Mesurier, reads: *Butterfield architect. Mrs Gray superintended the work.*"¹² The building took approximately two and a half years to complete, that is from late 1850 to early 1853 and the church was first used on Easter Day, 27 March 1853.¹³ On Easter Tuesday 18 April 1854, three months following the Gray's two years in England between January 1852 and January 1854, Bishop Gray consecrated the church.¹⁴

The *S A Church Magazine* again covered this important event in the life of St Saviour's. A large number of clergy participated in the proceedings, the sermon being given by Rev H Badnall. The meaning of the solemn service of consecration was "earnestly explained" under two points:

- "1. The solemn giving of the building and all its furniture to God, so that it could not ever after, without profaneness, be turned to common uses.
2. The invocation of God's blessing on the act; that the building now given to His service might

⁷ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Capetown*, p62.

⁸ The magazine was another of Gray's innovations that had made its appearance in January 1850 under the editorship of J H Newman.

⁹ *S A Church Magazine*, December 1850, p381.

¹⁰ R. Langham-Carter, *Under the Mountain*, p7.

¹¹ A. E. M. Anderson-Morshead, *Reminiscences of Robert Gray*, p63.

¹² Note AB 1949f in CPSA Archives probably written by Langham-Carter.

¹³ Document in CPSA Archives, AB 1949f.

¹⁴ *List of Consecrations, 1827-1919* and *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p139.

promote the true end of its erection, the building up of spiritual stones in the body of Christ.”¹⁵

The report of the consecration continued: “The present church is only meant to be the chancel of a larger church, hereafter to be built, and consequently has somewhat of an unfinished look externally; but in its internal fittings and arrangement it is certainly the best specimen of an English church in this part of the colony...” The church furniture and fittings such as the altar rails were all “of English oak and English workmanship; ...evident tokens of the great progress of ecclesiastical art in England during the last few years.”¹⁶

On 27 January 1855, the Bishop wrote to his sister, Mrs Annie Williamson, in England: “We are already beginning to think of enlarging Sophy’s little church (Claremont) which is quite full, but I fear some time must elapse before we can begin with bricks and mortar...”¹⁷ During the two years that followed the completion of the church, the building stood “...at a lonely spot with no buildings within sight and scoffers said no one would ever make their way to it and called it ‘Badnall’s Folly’. In fact, however, its seating for about eighty worshippers was uncomfortably crowded from the outset.”¹⁸

THE BUILDING OF THE NAVE – BAYS 1 TO 4

The limited seating in the little church led to a decision being taken some time in early 1856 to make a start with the balance of the original plan which obviously allowed for a nave, porch and vestry. It is assumed that aisles on both sides of the nave were included in the original concept for the church though only the aisle on the south side is shown in Mrs Gray’s sketch of 1857 (Refer Figure X). In May 1856, a report by Rev C W Molony, minister of the church between 1854 and 1859, stated that the “...inconvenience felt by the parishioners generally from the crowded state of the church at Claremont, will have convinced all of the necessity of a speedy enlargement of it...” The report mentioned that it had been resolved “...that the church shall be enlarged, by adding at best a portion of the nave to the present chancel, so soon as sufficient funds shall be obtained...”¹⁹

Exactly when building operations commenced is not known but in a personal letter Mrs Gray wrote to her children on 29 August 1856, her brief but candid comments indicate she was not fully informed about the Claremont church. The letter was written from Port Elizabeth while the Grays were on their 1856 visitation to the Eastern Cape. She wrote, “The Riversdale church is not quite finished yet and the masons will probably not be ready to go to Claremont before we get back ourselves. No one tells me what is doing at the church except I heard from Mr Eedes who arrived at Grahamstown before we left that they were breaking stones.”²⁰ Mrs Gray recorded on 9

¹⁵ *SA Church Magazine*, May 1854, p164. The symbolism referred to is that every believer is a ‘living stone’ in the building, which is God’s kingdom, with “Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone” (Ephesians 2.20). Another reference states, “Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house...” (1 Peter 2.5).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.1, p386.

¹⁸ R. Langham-Carter, *Under the Mountain*, p7.

¹⁹ *SA Church Magazine*, May 1856, p158.

²⁰ Letter, CPSA File AB1161. Gutsche interprets these comments differently in *The Bishop’s Lady*: “When the Riversdale church was finished, the masons would go to Claremont and get to work on *her* plans”. There are no references to *her* plans in Claremont church records.

April 1857 that a site for a parsonage had been bought from R J Jones for £100.²¹ Construction of the first two bays of the nave must have been progressing steadily at the same time as in an article in September 1857, the arrival from England of "...stone-work for arches and windows, to the value of nearly £300, prepared under the superintendence of Mr Butterfield..." was reported to have been received "...without any serious injury, although some of them are of fine workmanship."²²

Completion of the first section of the nave including (bays 1 and 2) took about two years as may be inferred in a letter by the Bishop to Annie, his daughter, dated 14 September 1859. He wrote concerning the progress of a number of churches including those at Green Point and Papendorp and added that "Our nave at Claremont is now used, and the church is already full."²³ A further two bays (3 and 4) were added in 1865 by the local builder, George Wallis. This addition plus the two bays built in 1857/1858 raised the seating capacity to about two hundred and seventy.²⁴ On 17 June 1866, Bishop Gray formally opened the new extension.

THE BUILDING OF THE NAVE – FINAL PHASE

After Mrs Gray's death on 27 April 1871, it was reported²⁵ that "As Mrs Gray had always taken a great interest in this [Claremont], her own parish, a vestry meeting was held to consult on the most suitable method of evincing their sense of the Bishop's loss, and giving some lasting testimony of their respect and esteem for her; and it was resolved that the feelings of the Bishop should be ascertained as to the shape which this memorial should take. The Bishop having named that Mrs Gray had felt greatest interest in seeing the church brought to completion – for it requires one more arch or bay, and a tower to complete it, besides the porch – it was resolved that the church should be completed as a fitting memorial to Mrs Gray." It was suggested further that the tower and spire, "... with if possible a peal of eight bells, should be an object open to any other persons out of the parish to contribute to..." Readers were reminded of the significant contribution Mrs Gray had made to the church, in particular, "...having laid out a considerable sum upon it from first to last – not to mention having designed the plans, and even laid some of the encaustic tiles with her own hands."

Immediately after Sophia's death, the Bishop wrote of his wife's role in the design of St Saviour's to his son Charles. The poignant letter of 30 April 1871 commences, "We buried your dear mother yesterday in Claremont Cemetery, under the shadow of our unfinished parish church, of which she was architect, and in which she took so deep an interest."²⁶ In the CPSA Archives there is a curious extract from a letter dated 15 July 1872 from Robert Gray to an unknown person, written shortly before his death on 1 September 1872. He wrote: "I have got the plans of Claremont Church at length all fully measured and drawn out and sent off to Butterfield. I do hope that he will be able to let us have them soon. I propose asking the Children to take with me, the Spire, (if without us there is enough for the Nave and Tower)

²¹ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p174.

²² *S A Church Magazine*, September 1857, p335.

²³ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. I, p448.

²⁴ R. Langham-Carter, *Under the Mountain*, p7.

²⁵ *The Mission Field*, August 1871, p240.

²⁶ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. II, p518.

and I would fain add, which I fear I cannot, a peal of Bells. I mean that if before my death I have not paid the whole debt which I should incur, that the Children should be willing to bear the loss."²⁷ It would appear that Gray was prepared to fund the cost of spire and bells as a memorial to his wife and that such memorial was to be included in the final stage of the Butterfield plan for St Saviour's. Gray's reference to his death in his note of 15 July 1872 is fairly conclusive evidence that he was anticipating his end for within seven weeks he had died peacefully at *Bishopscourt*.

The two final bays (5 and 6), a north-west porch and an impressive bell turret with three bells were completed in 1880 some eight years later as a memorial to the Grays. Butterfield had sent out the plans and acted as adviser to the resident architects, A W Ackerman and Thwaites and to Thomas H Sanderson, the building contractor.²⁸ Greig attributes the design of the final bays and west end to Butterfield: "William Butterfield, the prominent English architect, prepared the plans, retaining the *old building* (author's italics) as a chancel. The new structure was formed of an aisled nave of *six bays*²⁹ with pointed arches carried on quatrefoil piers, and a steeply pitched, arch-braced, collar timber roof and dark boarded ceiling, covered with brosely tiles."³⁰ The additions were dedicated by Bishop William West Jones on 22 December 1880. In the full account of the ceremony, mention is made that "The plans of the completion of the Nave were drawn by W. Butterfield, Esq., and generously presented to the Parish. They were carried out under the supervision of Mr Ackerman, a local architect. The contractor, Mr T H Sanderson, has put in excellent work, and the church is now the handsomest in the Diocese."³¹

SUBSEQUENT ENLARGEMENT OF 1904

At the end of the 19th century it was decided to make significant changes to the church. These included the enlargement yet again of the nave by a further two bays, this time extending towards the east end. The plan submitted by Herbert Baker unfortunately meant that Mrs Gray's original chancel had to be demolished to make room for bays 7 and 8.³² All that remains of the chapel of 1853 are encaustic flooring tiles that were re-laid when the new chancel was built in 1904. The Baker enlargements included two new bays, a chancel, two transepts, a side chapel, two vestries and an organ chamber (Refer lower diagram in Figure X). The foundation stone was laid by Bishop Gibson on 5 April 1903 and Archbishop West Jones consecrated the completed project on 17 April 1904.³³

²⁷ Envelope marked 'Bromley College Kent' in CPSA File AB 1161/Bb.

²⁸ R. R. Langham-Carter, *Under the Mountain*, p9.

²⁹ The 'new' structure was not 'formed of six bays' as four bays were already in existence by 1865.

³⁰ D. Greig, *A Guide to Architecture in South Africa*, p103. Greig credits Sophia earlier with the design of the original church, "built...to a design by Sophia Gray as a small, rectangular, thatched building..." The impression is created by Greig that Butterfield's design of the 'new structure' was architecturally different to the 'old building' which Greig states he retained as a chancel whereas it had been Bishop and Mrs Gray's intention *ab initio* to build a chancel and, using an integrated design, to develop the nave later.

³¹ *The Church Chronicle*, February 1881, p54.

³² D. K. Martin, *The Cape Town Church Building Boom, 1880-1909*, Catalogue, page A-57a.

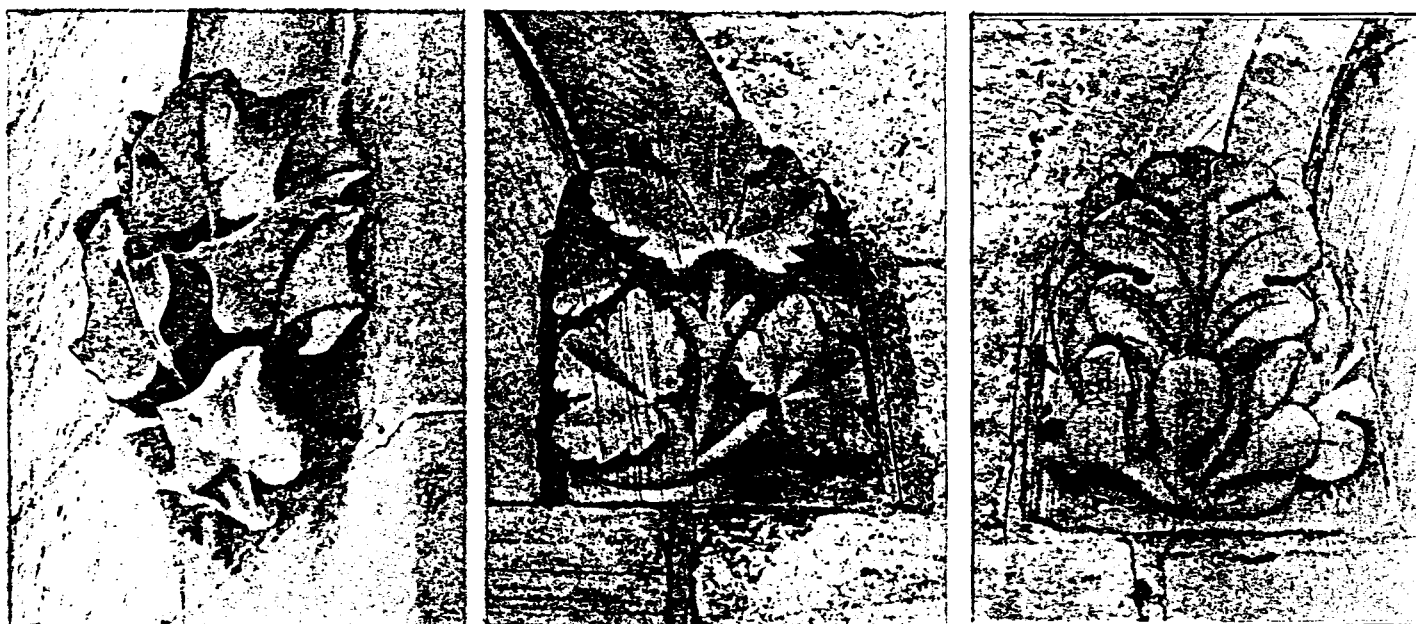
³³ R. Langham-Carter, *Under the Mountain*, p9.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE ORIGINAL CHANCEL OF 1853

The original church comprised a three-bay rectangular chancel, oriented to the east. The design of the west window(s) is unknown as these were removed in 1857 when the first bays of the nave were started. There were six two-step buttresses on the north and south walls. The church stood on a prominent stone plinth of a darker colour than the colour of the stone walls (Refer Drawing 19). The roof was of Welsh slate and had a pitch of 58 degrees that was repeated in the nave. External walls were of Table Mountain sandstone.

The large east window comprised three lights with reticulated tracery of the Decorated Gothic style.³⁴ Sophia Gray's sketch (Figure X) made after 1857 features bar tracery with three quatrefoils in the window head³⁵ whereas the photograph taken in 1863 of the reticulated tracery of the east end window proves that her record of the design was inaccurate (Refer Drawing 19). A Butterfield east window (1844) in the church at Coalpit Heath, England is virtually identical to the window in Sophia's drawing³⁶ thus giving support to the church being a Butterfield design.

The five windows, two on the south side and presumably three on the north, were narrow pointed windows with trefoil heads under drip moulds. The east window also had a hood mould with ornamental bosses. Aids in assessing the architectural features of the demolished chancel are the first two bays (now bays 3 and 4) of the nave built in 1857-59. The richly carved label stops of oak leaf and other floral motifs that were begun in 1857 and continued by Wallis in 1865 and Butterfield in 1880,³⁷ could well have matched those on the original chancel. Gray or Butterfield possibly envisaged these label stops on the original plan for the whole church (Refer photographs below).



³⁴ The detailing of the tracery in the window head in Sophia's drawing is more akin to plate tracery.

³⁵ Reproduced in *Under the Mountain*, p6.

³⁶ It is possible that the plan for Coalpit Heath was in the Grays' portfolio of English architects' drawings particularly as it is dated three years prior to their 1847 departure for Cape Town.

³⁷ Hood moulds above windows invariably ended with an ornamental or figural boss termed a 'label stop'.

The church under review is confined to the first structure on the site. The second church built in 1864-1866, after further enlargement became the Cathedral of St Andrew and St Michael.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND TO THE BUILDING PROJECT

In 1850, when Bishop Gray visited Natal, he travelled into the territory beyond the Orange River that had been settled mainly by Dutch farmers who began to migrate from the Cape Colony between 1835 and 1837. The Governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith had proclaimed the territory in 1848 as the British Orange River Sovereignty with Major Henry Warden as British Resident in Bloemfontein.¹ Governor Smith was replaced at the beginning of 1852 by Sir George Cathcart, who, following ongoing disputes in the Sovereignty, favoured Britain's withdrawal. Other factors such as the Eighth Frontier War of 1851-1853 caused Britain to question colonial possessions as to their real value to the home country. On 23 February 1854, the Bloemfontein Convention was signed which granted independence to the white inhabitants of the Orange River Sovereignty, an act which forced the British military forces to pull out from the area. This event was also to influence the Anglican Church in its early years and in the building of the St Andrew's Church.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

On about 3 May 1850 Bishop Gray arrived in Bloemfontein where a deputation from both the military and civilians awaited him. Gray recognised that the meeting "...might lead to the establishment of a church... in this village." Gray recorded: "About five I met the Church Building Committee and we decided upon sites for Church, Burial Ground, Parsonage, School and upon the erection of a church to hold 200 for which I undertook to furnish plans."² On the Sunday, 5 May 1850, Gray conducted a service in the school-house when, he says, "our collection at the offertory was for the new church, and amounted to £15." Earlier Gray had established that subscriptions for a church had already raised £200 and that these were expected to increase to £300. In retrospect, Gray did not need to generate too much enthusiasm for a church considering that there was already fervour for church matters in the straggling military and trading village.³ The Church Building Committee formed under the energetic leadership of Charles Barber, included M Hopkins who was shortly to submit a plan for the church.⁴ Mrs Gray managed to send plans to Bloemfontein in less than three months of the Bishop's promise to provide drawings as by August of 1850 plans had been drawn up and considered by the local building committee.

The Committee's chairman, Barber, wrote to Bishop Gray: "The plans forwarded by your Lordship did not receive the attention due to them, they being considered as too massive a style for Bloemfontein, the heat of which during the Summer months causing great lassitude, the Committee considered that every place set apart for Divine Worship should be made as cool as possible to prevent their thoughts wandering from things higher to their own discomfit (sic)."⁵

¹ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, p391.

² Gray's Journal, 1850, p21.

³ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p112.

⁴ C. T. Wood, *A Short History of Bloemfontein Cathedral*, p8.

⁵ *Ibid*. If by using the words 'too massive a style', Barber meant airy and large, this is puzzling as such a style would actually have been appropriate for the hot highveld climate.

Included in the letter from Barber was a plan drawn by Hopkins. Bishop Gray received this letter while he was still on his 1850 Visitation on his way back to Cape Town. His comprehensive reply to Barber of 27 August 1850 from Port Elizabeth, is quoted in full as it gives insight into the commitment Gray had to English architectural styles as propagated by the Cambridge Camden Society, publishers of "The Ecclesiologist":

"Your letter accompanied by the plans of a Church prepared at Bloemfontein overtook me on my way to this place. It is with much regret that I am constrained to say I cannot altogether approve of this plan with which you say all the Building Committee were pleased. The Church however & the Ch. Know Soc. [SPCK] which contributes liberally to the erection of the churches in the Diocese, both look to me to see that the buildings which we erect are architecturally correct. Unhappily this is not the case with the plan which you have forwarded to me.

"Though neat and pleasing to the eye it is in several aspects incorrect as an Ecclesiastical Building. There are certain and definite rules & laws in Church Architecture. To understand these requires much study... The faults to which I chiefly allude in this proposed plan, are in the Tower and in the windows. Mr Steabler who has studied Ecclesiastical Architecture, & who is... a member of our chief Architectural Society in England (the Camden) can easily point out the details to which I allude. Were however the plan ever so correct, I fear it is beyond your means. I observe the probable estimate is £100 of this however I feel assured that a substantial well built edifice of this size cannot be created for much less than double that sum. I have had now some experience of the Cost of Church Building in this Colony, & I fear that if you attempt a building with a tower with your limited funds you will be soon in difficulties. I would recommend you to lay the foundation of a tower only (for I would gladly see one hereafter) and complete it as funds may be forthcoming.

"I am sorry to... cause some disappointment... and some... delay, but I am sure you will readily bear with this... my only object is to see as correct a building erected as may be possible. I trust that Mr Hopkins will excuse my criticizing a plan which in spite of such faults as I have alluded to, does much credit to his zeal and taste. There are some points in the internal arrangements of the Church which appear also to call for remark. The position of the pulpit & reading desk does not quite satisfy me. And there should be no distinction in the sittings. All should be alike.

"Having made these remarks freely, I would suggest that your committee should go over the whole subject with Mr Steabler and make such alterations... as might tend to correct the errors... *for I think the general outline need not be much altered* (author's italics). Should there be any difficulty in the matter, I am sure that Mrs Gray would willingly revise it if forwarded to her. She has made Church Architecture her study for some years. Indeed any future reference to me had better be made through Cape Town, as it will reach me probably quite soon in that way as by the Cross Posts of the country. If you are anxious to proceed with your building, I see no objection whatever to your *laying the foundation of the building in accordance with the plan you have sent me* (author's italics)- 55 by 25 [feet]. Regretting that I have not been able thoroughly to approve of the plan sent to me. I remain etc."⁶

⁶ Letterbook Vol. 1, 1848 - 1850, pp221, 222.

On 24 September 1850 Gray was pleased to write again to Barber to inform him that the SPCK had, at Gray's recommendation, "voted a sum of £150 towards the erection of a church at Bloemfontein..." payable after the church had been roofed. The grant was also conditional "that the site... be duly conveyed to the See and that the design for the building be approved by the Bishop [!]" Gray's own contribution, he wrote, "will be ready at an earlier period."⁷ As Gray did not remind Barber in the letter to resubmit the amended plan, it could be assumed that Gray regarded his vague approval of the Hopkins drawing of 27 August as final.

THE BUILDING PROJECT BEGINS

Between the end of August and early November 1850, the Building Committee must have worked quickly to finalise the plans, call and award tenders and set out the site because on 25 November 1850, the foundation stone was laid. The event is briefly referred to by Archdeacon N. Merriman in his journal of 1850. He wrote, "It was a great pleasure to me to see my old friend, Mr Steabler again. He was catechist at Southwell,... had subsequently been to Natal, where the Bishop ordained him Deacon, and sent him to Bloemfontein. On the whole, Church matters were proceeding very satisfactorily... They were zealously determined on pushing forward the building of a new church; and the following day I had the great pleasure of assisting in laying the foundation-stone of a church, to be dedicated to St Andrew.... The people... seemed to be much in earnest in their under-taking."⁸ As the territory was still under the control of the British Military, the stone was laid by the British Resident, Major Henry Warden (1799-1856).⁹ Warden had "personally recommended the Legislative Council of the Sovereignty to make a grant not exceeding £250 for the erection of an English Church, and in 1851 he advanced the money for the purchase of a site... as a residence for the curate."¹⁰

The association of the military with the church was very close in the early years. Subscription lists among the 45th Regiment raised nearly £10. Military offenders, as part of their sentences, assisted in clearing the site after a letter written by an officer of the Queen's Fort had sanctioned this in June 1850. Construction of the church went ahead over the next year or more "until the walls were completed by the close of 1852. Timber for the roof was the next necessity, and it was ordered from Port Elizabeth. This, however, proved the end of the venture." The project begun with great determination by the civilians and the military in Bloemfontein as well as the pastoral zeal of Robert Gray came to a dismal end after three years of planning, fund-raising and building. The reasons given for this were the lack of suitable wagons, delays with materials caused by the Frontier War, the British military withdrawal and general abandonment by the Sovereignty. Finally Rev Steabler left in 1854, and the roofless building gradually became a ruin. Loop-holes were made in the walls in 1858 "when the site was a refuge for women and children during the Native troubles. It subsequently became a sheep-kraal."¹¹

The work of the 1850s remained unfinished until the arrival of Bishop Edward Twells on the 1st

⁷ Letterbook Vol. 1, 1848 – 1850, p281.

⁸ Archbishop Merriman's Cape Journals, p137.

⁹ Ibid. Warden left the town on account of ill health and died in 1856.

¹⁰ C.T. Wood, *A Short History of Bloemfontein Cathedral*, p8.

¹¹ Ibid, p9.

THE PEOPLE OF KNYSNA

The name "Belvidere" arose in 1830 when an extensive piece of land adjoining the Knysna lagoon was purchased by George Rex, a retired lawyer and timber merchant and founder of the town of Knysna.¹ Before Rex died in 1839, he had sold the land in October 1834 for £750 to his son-in-law, Thomas Henry Duthie, an ex-officer of the 72nd Highlanders.² The Duthie family moved to the Belvidere estate where Duthie had built a cottage in April 1835. In the years that followed, Duthie continued the timber business and developed the area of Belvidere as a farm, building Belvidere House and laying plans for a village on the edge of the lagoon. In the 1840s, English-speaking settlers were arriving in the Knysna area, many of whom were upper class "congenial" company for the landed gentry already there.

Thomas Duthie, from his youth a genuinely religious man, expressed the need of a clergyman at Belvidere "to minister to the family and to provide spiritual guidance for the whole community."³ Henry Barrington, Duthie's neighbour at the nearby Portland estate was of the same mind. William Newdigate's father, a secretary of the SPG in England, "thought the Society should settle three clergymen in the [Cape] Colony... and was prepared to add £100 a year for their salaries to any amount raised by the inhabitants."⁴ These sentiments express the depth of concern for the Church held by the upper class English-speaking settlers who had immigrated to the Cape.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

In early 1848, Newdigate and Duthie travelled on horseback and by ship to meet with Bishop Gray soon after his arrival in Cape Town, their sole mission to impress on the Bishop the urgent need of clergymen in the Knysna area. Knysna was thus on Gray's itinerary when he set out on his first visitation. He recorded that on 12 September 1848 he rode from Oakhurst some 30 miles to Mr Duthie at Belvidere. Gray conducted services on the next day and after breakfast on 14 September, "...walked out with Mr Duthie to determine upon the site of the Belvidere Church." He added, "We fixed upon a beautiful spot, commanding a very fine view of the lake... We decided upon one of Butterfield's plans for the Church, which is to hold 100; *but is capable of enlargement* (author's italics – this phrase has bearing on the authorship aspect and is discussed later)."⁵

Mrs Gray recorded in her "Chronicles" that "on 14 March 1849, a piece of ground at Belvidere, the Knysna... was transferred by T H Duthie, Esq. to the Bishop of Capetown and his successors for a site for a church."⁶ The land held by Duthie for the local church he happily gave to his Bishop for use by the wider Church. Duthie wasted little time to commence operations. The main stumbling block of other church communities, that of finance, was in the case of Holy Trinity not

¹ P. Storrar, *George Rex: Death of a Legend*, Preface.

² P. Storrar, *A Vista and a Vision*, p14.

³ *Ibid*, Chapter 3

⁴ *Ibid*. p43.

⁵ Gray's Journal, 1848, p17.

⁶ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p49.

an issue. The Belvidere Church Building Committee was formed in March 1849, some six months after the Bishop's visit. They resolved at their first meeting to meet every Monday "For the purpose of carrying through the resolutions of the general meeting of the Committee" which met monthly.⁷ On 30 July 1849, the Committee recorded that 3,000 roofing slates had arrived on the vessel *Apame* and that these would be purchased for the church for just over £25.⁸ On 8 October 1849, the Committee passed a resolution "that the plan sent by Mrs Gray be adopted and that the thanks of the committee be tendered to Mrs Gray for having forwarded them so beautiful a design."⁹ At the time, the Bishop and his wife were making their short 1849 journey to the Southern Cape. Gray was at Belvidere on 1 November 1849 when, after attending a Building Committee meeting, he inspected the Church site in the rain with members of the church-to-be.¹⁰

An essential requirement for the building was an abundant supply of suitable stone. The Committee accordingly passed a resolution on 15 May 1850 "that labourers be engaged from the next emigrant ship for the purpose of quarrying stone at Belvidere and other work at 12 shillings a week, and also that the necessary tools be obtained from Capetown for the work."¹¹ On the return leg of the Bishop's 1850 Visitation, he called briefly on 25 November at Oakhurst and then rode on to Belvidere where he spent the night. He travelled to Melville (Knysna) where he inspected the half-built St George's Church. That night, 26 November 1850, he stayed at the home of Rev William Andrews, "...and passed a quiet evening, a portion of which was spent in talking over with the mason the working drawings of the plans of a proposed plain Norman church at Belvidere..."¹² The unnamed mason with whom Gray talked "...was probably Alexander Bern, who, with his friends, Alexander and Colin Lawrence, was brought to South Africa by Gray and who built seven churches [at least] for him throughout the Diocese..."¹³ (The contribution of these Scots stonemasons to Belvidere and other Gray churches is discussed in Section 3.4). Another skilled artisan who contributed to the building of Holy Trinity was William Page who was in the employ of William Newdigate. He was seconded by his employer to Duthie to handle all the carpentry work in the church, in particular, the roof trusses. Thomas Noble, also one of Newdigate's men, did most of the ironwork. Duthie's records of the building project list all the names of the other craftsmen and labourers who worked on the Belvidere project.¹⁴

HOW THE CHURCH WAS BUILT

Tuesday 27 May 1851 is documented as the day that the three stonemasons set out the building. For the next five to six months, stone was blasted at the quarry and "as many as sixteen loads of

⁷ A. Hart & R. C. H. Hart, *A Memoir of the Rev A. G. Duthie*, p26.

⁸ *Ibid*, p31. The *Apame* had been chartered by Barrington to bring his household goods from England.

⁹ *Ibid*, p28. The words 'having forwarded... so beautiful a design', do not infer that Sophia drew the plan herself.

¹⁰ Hart & Hart, *A Memoir of the Rev A G Duthie*, p27.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p28.

¹² Gray's Journal, 26 November 1850, p184.

¹³ Hart & Hart, *A Memoir of the Rev A. G. Duthie*, p28.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p29. These were Roberts, Butler, Smith, Titus, Africa, Chindongo, Cupido and Louis.

stone were brought from the quarry in the weeks ending August 30 and September 30."¹⁵ A 'monster stone' was quarried on 22 October 1851 and the entire pulpit with the exception of the parapet was carved out of this single stone. The chancel arch was begun on 13 October 1851; the foundation stone was laid on 15 October 1851; the first chancel window was being arched in February 1852 and on 27 February 1852 the centre chancel window was arched and by the middle of 1852 all the stonework was complete. Caroline Newdigate¹⁶ noted in a letter of 1852, "William is quite taken up with the Belvidere Church. He draws all the working drawings for the masons, who declare they could never get on without him..."¹⁷ Newdigate also wrote in a letter dated 8 June 1852, "My carpenter Page is coming here this week to see if he can put on the roof of the church. The stone work is the most beautiful of its kind in the Colony."¹⁸

The church was opened for service in 1853.¹⁹ The consecration of the church, however, had to wait another two years until Bishop Gray was in Knysna again during his 1855 visitation. The Bishop wrote on 24 September 1855 that they were proceeding on horseback to Knysna. The next day after reaching Duthie's residence, Gray recorded, "After lunch we went to inspect the beautiful little Norman Church, which has been erected chiefly at the cost of Mr Duthie, and which, by general consent, is the most perfect church as yet in the Diocese. It is of a beautiful stone, and the masonry is excellent, having been built by the same steady masons who have been employed for the last six years, building one church after another. The cost has been about £900."²⁰ Gray added, "I had heard a great deal of the church but it exceeded my expectations." After a few days in Plettenberg Bay, Gray accompanied by Archdeacon Welby and Sophia, returned to Knysna on 1 October for the consecration of St George's Church on 3 October. He wrote on 5 October 1855, "After breakfast, we rode down to Belvidere for the consecration of its beautiful little Norman Church. We arrived about twelve o'clock and soon joined the parishioners... white and coloured, gathered around the church..."²¹ The consecration of Holy Trinity concludes the inspiring story of Duthie's dream for a church for his family and community. In retrospect, Bishop Gray's involvement to motivate the planting of a church was not as essential at this site as it was at others.

HOLY TRINITY'S UNIQUE STYLE AND COST

The Belvidere church is unique among the churches reviewed in this thesis in that it is the only one of at least 58 that can be classified as truly Norman. The Harts contended that the design was based on the best-known examples of Norman work and it incorporated details and features of actual churches. "The apse and the capitals of the internal piers of Dalmeny Church resemble those of Belvidere so closely that one is almost forced to conclude that the similarity is not mere accident; ...comparisons with Kilpeck Church in Herefordshire also seem to indicate a close

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p30.

¹⁶ Caroline, Duthie's eldest daughter was married to William Newdigate.

¹⁷ P. Storrar, *A Vista and a Vision*, p46.

¹⁸ Hart & Hart, *A Memoir of the Rev A. G. Duthie*, pp 32, 33.

¹⁹ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p286.

²⁰ Gray's Journal, 1855, p46.

²¹ Gray's Journal, 1855, p59.

relationship of detail."²²

The cost of Holy Trinity was high when the cost per "sitting" is considered. Bishop Gray had stated that the 100-seater church had cost £900, giving a unit cost per sitting of £9. The final cost would have been even higher if all the donations of materials and labour had been included. Unit costs of churches in the Early English style were lower, for example £6.4 at Graaff-Reinet and £6.6 at Somerset East. The church at George (C6), based as it was on a fairly Spartan design by probably the same architect, Underwood, (to be addressed later), cost only £1200²³ and seated 200, thus giving a cost per seat of £6. These few unit costs underline the fact that a correct Norman church in stone was probably twice as costly as an Early English church. At Mossel Bay, in 1861, Bishop Gray discouraged the parishioners there from building a Norman church in brick on account of the cost and a poor choice of building material (Refer Case Study in Section 2.5).

It could be contended that Thomas Duthie, who was not short of private funds, insisted on a quality stone church where there was to be no skimping of costly decorative elements such as the five-arch arcade, the double shafts on the doorway and hexafoiled circular window (Refer Drawings 20 – 23). Duthie would have been familiar too with the Norman-styled Dalmeny Church, near Edinburgh (where he had attended the Military Academy), thus as a Scot he may have had a preference of Norman over the Early English style.

THE ARCHITECT OF HOLY TRINITY

The Bishop recorded in September 1848 on his first visit to Belvidere that they "decided upon one of Butterfield's plans for the church which is to hold 100; *but is capable of enlargement*."²⁴ A year later, Mrs Gray was thanked (on 8 October 1849) for providing the Building Committee with "so beautiful a design", (an action that will be discussed later in this paragraph). In the Harts' history of the Church, they state, "The plan ultimately chosen was that of a small Norman church, very true to type, in proportions and detail, and just as effective in its South African setting as the twelfth-century churches of the crusaders were in that of the Holy Land". After considering Mrs Gray's or Butterfield's claims to the design, the Harts concluded that "...though Mrs Gray undoubtedly had much to do with the actual building of churches, there is no proof that she did more than adapt the plans which... the Bishop had brought from England. A search through Butterfield's plans has revealed none similar to that of Belvidere. So the identity of the architect remains unknown."²⁵ Greig claims that the church "is one of Sophia Gray's most scholarly and consistent designs..." but concedes that "it is possible that William Butterfield who had an interest in early medieval architecture, provided advice."²⁶

²² Hart & Hart, *A Memoir of the Rev A. G. Duthie*, p25. Storrar suggests a third church, Holy Trinity, Kidderminster, as a possible original from which plans were copied: "possibly, the fact that the name of the last-mentioned edifice was adopted, points to its being the building from which Mrs Gray drew her inspiration" (*A Vista and a Vision*, p45).

²³ Gray's Journal, 1850, p89

²⁴ Gray's Journal, 1848, p17.

²⁵ A. Hart & R. C. H. Hart, *A Memoir of the Rev. Alfred George Duthie of Belvidere, together with a short history of Holy Trinity Church*, pp24, 25.

²⁶ D. Greig, *A Guide to Architecture in South Africa*, p78.

Radford states, "there are no major changes or developments in her [Sophia's] churches over the twenty-two years that she was active... With regard to the planning of a church... she always had an ideal type in mind."²⁷ Considering the usual style of church Mrs Gray designed and preferred, Early English and Decorated, it is unlikely that she would have *originated* a Norman church for one site only in the whole of the Diocese. In referring to the Harts' history of the church, Radford notes that although Holy Trinity "...is usually attributed to Butterfield, *nothing can be found to substantiate this* (author's italics), and on stylistic grounds alone, it is highly unlikely. The likely architect is... Underwood, as it is very similar, especially in details, to his 'Norman' Oxford burial chapel."²⁸ The plans of Underwood's burial chapel were available for purchase through the Oxford Society (Refer Figure C). As already stated, an Underwood plan for the Littlemore Church (Refer Figures Y and Z) was used by Mrs Gray for St Mark's Church, George.

Mrs Gray's action in providing the Building Committee with a plan in 1849, suggests that the Butterfield plan selected by the Bishop in 1848, was superseded by the Underwood plan. This is further supported by the fact that the Butterfield plan was said to be *capable of enlargement*. The Norman church *as built* cannot be enlarged without radical alterations entailing either the demolition of the rounded apse or the total loss of the west gable wall with its arcade, bell turret and Norman doorway. Plans for Gothic churches, on the other hand, can be readily enlarged by extending the nave with additional bays or by adding a chancel or aisles. It is thus thought that the original Butterfield plan was for a Gothic Revival church.

Considering the above evidence and argument, it is concluded that the most probable architect of the church on which Holy Trinity was *based*, is Henry Jones Underwood. However, irrespective of her contribution to the final design, Sophia Gray's involvement in providing the *second* plan, attributes authorship of the design to her.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The reproduced plan of the church overleaf shows the basic difference between the Norman churches and the later Gothic styles. The plan comprises a nave that is linked via an arch to the apse, an architectural feature of the Roman basilica²⁹ and common to Norman architecture.³⁰ The two-bay nave measures about 6,6 x 5,3 metres, the apse also being the same width. A small square vestry (2,5 x 2,5 metres) abuts the nave at the north-west corner. There are no buttresses (not a feature of Norman churches); walls are of dressed coarse stone except for the west façade, which is of ashlar (the only Gray church where ashlar appears). Internal walling is of random rubble, a feature that adds dramatically to the ruggedness of the design. Shafts built against the internal wall of the apse wall carry scalloped capitals (Refer Drawing 21).

Windows are small, round-headed, without mullions and have carved shafts. The west wall

²⁷ D. J. C. Radford, *The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901* (unpublished thesis), p185.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p188.

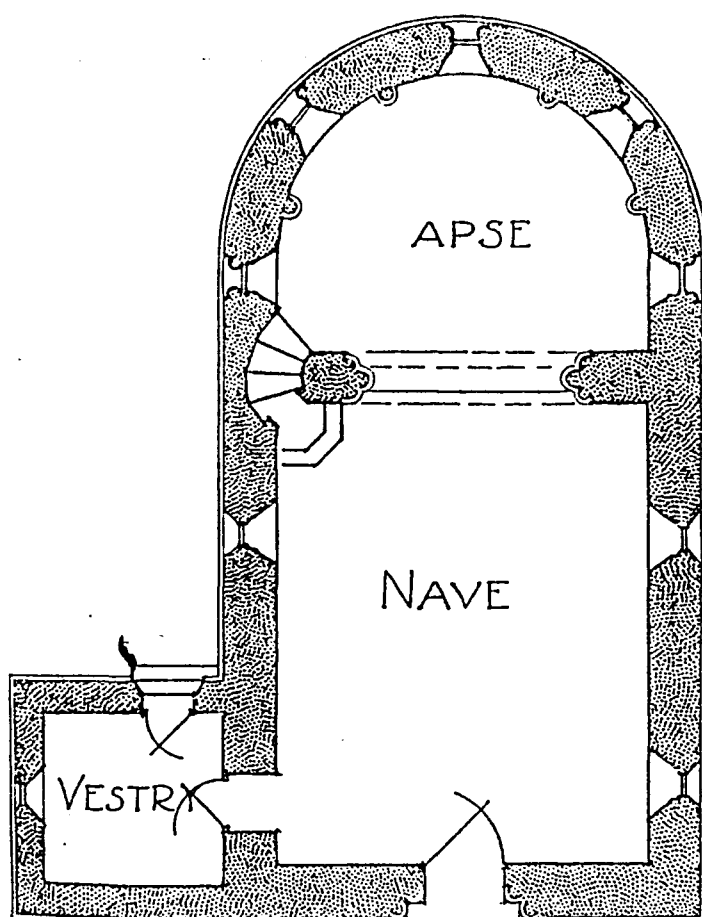
²⁹ The basilica was a hall of justice, the plan of which comprised a rectangular space with a semi-circular recess on one (or both) of the shorter sides, termed an apse.

³⁰ 'Norman' is the term given to describe Romanesque architecture in Britain from the mid-11th to the 12th centuries. The style is characterized by the round arch, massively thick walling, small windows and the clear division of the interior spaces by vertical shafts extending from floor to ceiling beams.

carries a typical Norman circular (wheel) window above the recessed doorway, which is flanked by double shafts (Refer Drawing 22). A five-arch blind arcade, also typical of Norman work and similar to the arcade at the Kirk of Dalmeny, near Edinburgh, decorates the wall above the entrance (Refer Drawing 23). The roof has a pitch of 52 degrees and is supported over the nave by a single arch-braced truss with a kingpost, and over the apsidal end by 12 rafters radiating from the apex. A bellcote with shafts stands on the west wall. No other church in the Grays' programme has finer stone detailing than that found at Holy Trinity, the work of Alexander Bern, Alexander Lawrence and Colin Gibb Lawrence (or James Lawrence³¹).

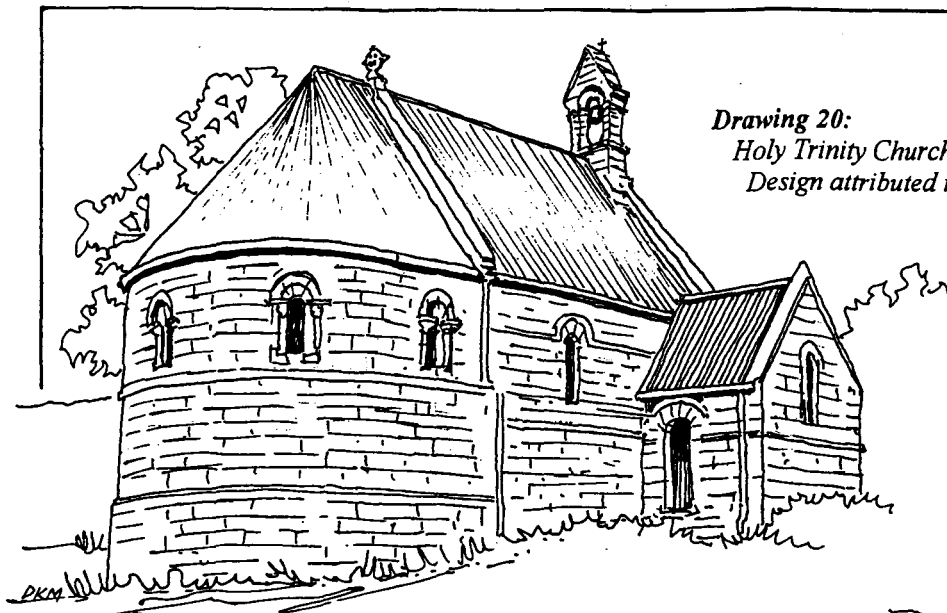
PLAN OF THE CHURCH

Source: A Hart & R C Hart, *A Memoir of Rev A G Duthie*, Oxford University Press, 1934, p49.

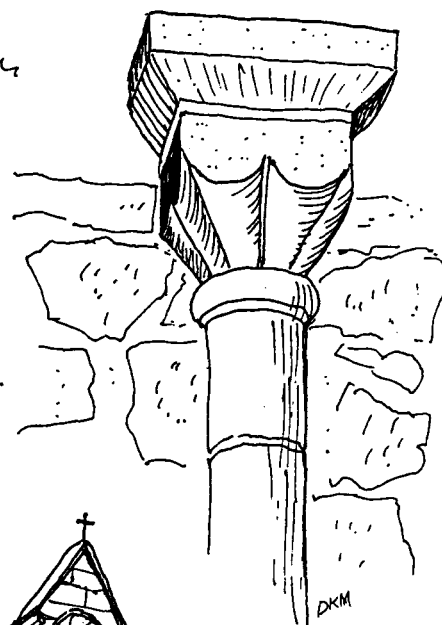


PLAN OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, BELVIDERE
by Gurth H. Cox, M.I.A.

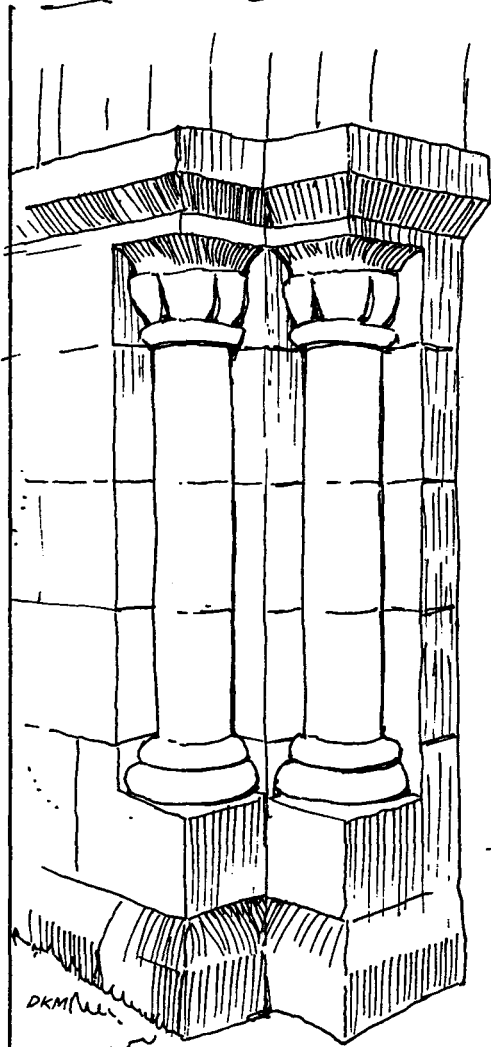
³¹ The probability that James Lawrence was the third mason and not his brother, Colin Gibb, arises from a record stating that Colin only arrived in Cape Town in 1856 whereas James, elder brother of Alexander, arrived with his brother in the late 1840s (M. Bull & J. Denfield, *Secure the Shadow*, pp202, 203). Refer Section 2.4.



*Drawing 20:
Holy Trinity Church, Belvidere,
Design attributed to Underwood.*



*Drawing 21:
Detail of
scalloped
capital in
the apse.*



*Drawing 22: Detail of shafts
flanking Norman doorway.*



Drawing 23: West façade of Holy Trinity, Belvidere.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first Anglican service in Natal where the public was admitted was conducted at Fort Napier in 1846.¹ Natal had been proclaimed a British Colony in 1843 and after the annexing of the territory, security was in the hands of the 45th Regiment which was stationed at Fort Napier, Pietermaritzburg.² Settlers began arriving in Natal on 26 December 1848 and between 1849 and 1851 about 4000 emigrants reached Port Natal, the majority from Britain. A letter from Earl Grey, Whitehall, dated 30 November 1848, to the Governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith, reflects the tone of British policy in the Colony. He agreed with the view of Sir Theophilus Shepstone "...that the present state of Natal and of the black population... affords a noble opportunity for the diffusion of Christianity and civilisation which it would be a disgrace to this country to neglect."³

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Bishop Gray was painfully aware of how spiritually neglected were the "kinsmen according to the flesh - of the same household of faith..." as himself.⁴ He reported to the SPG in June 1849 that he had appointed Rev J Green to Pietermaritzburg, the capital, Rev W H C Lloyd to Durban, and Mr Steabler to the Mission to the Zulus. Gray added that, up to the period of his sending Mr Green, "there was no clergyman of our Church" in Natal but a sum of "£500 had already been raised for two churches and there are excellent congregations [and] Mr Green officiates four times every Sunday"⁵ James Green, "a man of deep and earnest piety, unwearied zeal, and soundness of faith", had been recruited by Gray in England in 1847 prior to Gray's departure for Cape Town. Green initially declined the Bishop's call to Africa but accepted early in 1848 and sailed for the Cape in May. Green arrived in Cape Town the day after the Bishop had begun his first visitation to the diocese but he joined Gray at Swellendam on 2 September 1848 and accompanied him on the balance of the journey.⁶ Following their return to Cape Town on 21 December 1848, Green prepared himself for his move to Natal following his appointment as "Vicar of Pietermaritzburg" and "Rural Dean of the whole dependency of Natal."⁷ Green arrived in Durban on 12 February 1849, the beginning of Anglican Church ministry in the colony. Though begun with the slenderest of financial support, Green set to work at once in Pietermaritzburg to raise money for a church and school. Bishop Gray promised £50 from SPG funds and £20 from his own purse for the building of churches in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg.⁸ It was Green's energy while in

¹ T. B. Frost, *A Brief History of St Peter's Church*, p1.

² B. B. Burnett, *Anglicans in Natal*, p22.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Substance of a speech" - London, 1858, CPSA Archives.

⁵ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p328.

⁶ C. Lewis and G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, p39.

⁷ B. B. Burnett, *Anglicans in Natal*, p23.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Pietermaritzburg, and determination that had galvanised the laity into action, not only in his town but also in Durban where he had appointed a committee to collect funds for the building of a church.

Bishop Gray reached Pietermaritzburg during his third visitation on 18 May 1850. The next day being Whit Sunday, Gray preached in the Government schoolroom and was moved by the spirit of the 25 persons attending. Gray wrote, "the devout and reverential manner of the congregation... gathered by the zeal... of my dear friend [Green]... contributed to make me feel very deeply [about] the services of this day."⁹ After a week in the town he travelled to Durban where on 3 June 1850 he attended a meeting of the parishioners to consider the subject of the building of a church.¹⁰ Later, on 12 June, Gray recorded that he "...attended a meeting of the parishioners of D'Urban called... to promote the erection of the new church. It was decided that a church, for which I should furnish the plans, should be as soon as possible erected, to hold 250 persons."¹¹ On 20 June [1850] three pieces of ground at Durban were granted to the Bishop for ecclesiastical purposes.¹²

Gray returned to Pietermaritzburg on 13 June where he wrote two letters to the Lieutenant Governor on 17 and 19 June 1850. On 17 June, "a piece of ground in the village of Pietermaritzburg... was granted by the Lieutenant Gov. to the Bishop and his successors for ecclesiastical purposes."¹³ Gray consecrated a burial ground on 22 June and "At one o'clock... held a public meeting to take into consideration the subject of the erection of the church. A church to hold 250, of the simplest character... would cost £1500. Some were anxious that... the church [be] immediately begun... it was decided that the windows, which would take the longest time to complete, should be immediately begun and that the foundation of the building should be laid, but that the remainder of the church should not be contracted for until the churchwardens had £900 actually in hand."¹⁴

On 29 June 1850, the third anniversary of his consecration, the Bishop reflected on his three years in South Africa: "In every village and town is to be found an English population, a large proportion of whom have adhered with unshaken loyalty to the Church... For these, ... a ministry has to be supplied, and churches erected and... doors appear to open out for the conversion of the heathen."¹⁵ Gray left for Grahamstown on 2 July 1850.

⁹ Gray's Journal, 1850, p42.

¹⁰ Gray's Journal, 1850, p52.

¹¹ Gray's Journal, 1850, p61.

¹² *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p52.

¹³ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p52. Mrs. Gray had also recorded that two pieces of ground had been transferred to the Church in March (p49). Later, on 23 December 1850, "a piece of ground in Church St. PMB... was transferred... being purchased from D. W. Hertzog for £250," (p72).

¹⁴ Gray's Journal, 1850, p65.

¹⁵ Gray's Journal, 1850, p69.

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

Over a year later, on 20 November 1851, the foundation stone of St Peter's Church was laid amidst much pomp by the Lieut. Governor, Sir Benjamin Pine.¹⁶ The service was lead by the Revs. W Lloyd and J Green. After laying the stone with the traditional silver trowel, Governor Pine addressed the congregation, declaring that stone for the church would be quarried from the vicinity and that timber for the building would be cut from local forests.¹⁷

The *S A Church Magazine's* account of the stonelaying described St Peter's as "the future Parish Church of Pieter-maritzburg and the first edifice which the English Church has yet been able to attempt to erect to the glory of God in this district."¹⁸ The report continued: "...the [foundation] stone... is the centre-stone of the east end, immediately behind where the Altar, it is hoped, may yet be placed... After the ceremony, the Lieut. Governor inspected the building, the plinth of which to the height of 2 feet 8 inches is complete. except the small portion at the east end for the Governor to lay the Foundation stone." St Peter's made slow progress. The foundations were of freestone while the next four feet were of dressed shale, backed with brick. The dressed shale proved too expensive to continue, so higher up, the walls were built of undressed shale

Bishop Colenso arrived in Natal in January 1854 and lost little time becoming acquainted with his diocese in the following ten weeks after which he returned to England to bring out to Natal (in 1855) his family and clergy.¹⁹ It is reasonable to assume that Bishop Gray's close involvement with the church planting operations in Natal lessened with the coming of Colenso whom he was instrumental in drawing to South Africa. On 18 February 1854, a meeting "presided over by Bishop Colenso resolved 'to place the original drawings in the hands of some competent architect in England' in order that 'correct designs may be furnished for the proposed additions'." It was felt that the original design [Gray's plan] would not suffice as a cathedral and the committee decided to add a choir [large chancel] and two transepts".²⁰ Five days later, a report appeared in the *Natal Independent*, criticising this decision taken in "midstream" when the church was possibly one third complete. No record exists of this 'competent architect' but eventually the idea of the transepts was dropped and a small vestry was built against the north side of the church.²¹

When St Peter's eventually opened on 25 March 1857, over five years after the stonelaying ceremony, credit was given in the press to the local cleric for his role in the project: "On Wednesday, the new Episcopal Church was opened. This neat building is a monument, in a great measure, of the zeal of our very worthy Dean, the Rev J. Green."²² In the same issue of

¹⁶ *Natal Witness*, 21 November 1851.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *S A Church Magazine*, January 1852, pp29, 30.

¹⁹ Colenso had been consecrated in England as Bishop of Natal on 30 November 1853.

²⁰ B. Kearney, *Architecture in Natal*, p21. Kearney's quotation is from the *Natal Independent*, 23 February 1854.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Natal Witness*, 27 March 1857.

the newspaper, however, there was both adverse comment and high praise: "The new English Church in this city which, for six years in its slow progress has contrasted remarkably with the rapidity with which buildings in this colony are erected, has at length been brought to completion; and now stands prominently out as being probably the most beautiful church in South Africa."

CHURCH BECOMES CATHEDRAL

During the four-hour opening service of the church on 25 March 18, Bishop Colenso declared it "...to be his Cathedral Church and announced his intention to constitute a Dean and Chapter."²³ Thereafter Rev Green was instituted as Dean. After the service, in addition to the afternoon dinner for the clergy, the "Dean gave a dinner to the principal workmen employed in the work," thus acknowledging the expertise of the real builders of the church.²⁴ On St Peter's Day, 29 July 1857, Bishop Colenso consecrated the cathedral church. During the years that followed, the teachings and writings of Bishop Colenso gave rise to a very sad schism in the Anglican Church. Though this was an unhappy clash based on theological interpretations, it had a significant effect on the building of churches in Natal, ownership rights and, in particular, the development of St Peter's. In short, had the split in the congregation not occurred, the Cathedral would probably have been extensively enlarged.

Before considering the plans that Bishop Gray put forward in 1864 for the enlargement of St Peter's, the architectural features and the architect are discussed in the following paragraphs:

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE CHURCH

The original St Peter's comprised a 3½-bay nave measuring 16,5 x 6,5 metres, with quoined angle buttresses and buttresses between the three windows in each of the long walls. The west wall has a two-light decorated window with bar tracery above an Early English doorway with flanking shafts while the nave has two-light windows with flowing tracery (Refer Figure Q). Window design in the east wall when built could not be established but is presumed to have been a triplet lancet, subsequently repositioned in the chancel wall. The slate roof of 57 degrees is supported by 8 intersecting arch-braced trusses (Refer Figure N7). The flèche on the roof ridge is a ventilator that was added in 1930.

Walls consist of three textures, dressed stone, dressed shale and rough shale that contrast strongly with the light sandstone of the windows and buttress quoins (Refer to Drawings 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28). Hattersley also comments on the local stone: "Sandstone on the hills above Pietermaritzburg shaped well under the chisel. Nor was the local shale without its charm, as it weathered to a pleasant shade of blue-grey."²⁵ The free-stone for the building was quarried by the Yorkshireman, David Garbutt while work on the site was supervised by Gabriel Eaglestone and William Eaglestone, the latter regarded as the best stone-cutter and for many years the only sculptor in Natal.²⁶

²³ C. F. Shuter, *Englishman's Inn*, p62.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p63.

²⁵ A. F. Hattersley, *The British Settlement of Natal*, p319.

²⁶ A.F. Hattersley, *The British Settlement of Natal*, p319.

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

The account in the *Natal Journal* of the church's opening on 25 March 1857, refers to the plans of St Peter's as "having been fully given by the Lord Bishop of Cape Town, then and at that time our Bishop and Ordinary"²⁷ This is the only written record of the source of the St Peter's plans. As these original 1851 plans for the church without chancel or vestry have been lost, there is no means of naming the architect of the original design. It is likely that, as in the case of St Mark's, George, a number of suitable plans from the Grays' portfolio of drawings, had already been modified by Sophia for presentation by the Bishop, not only for Pietermaritzburg, but at all towns where building was proposed during the Natal visitation.

When the 'subject of the erection of the church' was discussed in Pietermaritzburg on 22 June 1850, it would have been most unusual for the Bishop not to have had the much-used portfolio of drawings. Some of the parishioners were anxious for an immediate start to be made. Gray recorded, "*In the end it was decided that the windows, which would take the longest time to complete, should be immediately begun and that the foundation should be laid...*"²⁸ This implies that the plans were available at the meeting as a start with the foundations and windows would have been impossible without drawings.

Stylistic features of the original St Peter's support the above evidence that Sophia Gray was author of its design. As will be discussed in Section 3.1, this church presented the Grays with one of the few opportunities to construct a Decorated church of which only five were built in their time. The architectural elements in St Peter's that are common to most Sophia Gray designs include two-step angle buttresses, stone walls, pointed doorways, the 'open roof' of arch-braced trusses supporting the high-pitched tiled roof. As Sophia's church was "without chancel and vestry",²⁹ the east wall is presumed to have carried the three-light window that was later reinstated in the chancel. The Decorated churches all had two-light windows with traceried heads (discussed in detail in Section 3.1 under *Traceried Windows*).

Opinions of other historians include those whose special focus has been Natal history: Hattersley (1938 & 1950) credits Mrs Gray with the design of St Peter's as does Shuter though his source is one of Hattersley's histories.³⁰ Burnett was not as confident about Mrs Gray's authorship of St Peter's, stating in 1953, "It is thought to have been one of the many churches designed by Sophy Gray."³¹ In 1957, Hattersley's article, '*The Centenary of Bishop Colenso's Cathedral*'³² stated, "the first rough drawings were almost certainly the work of Mrs Gray", adding, "there is a marked similarity in style between St Peter's and the church at Cradock [also St Peter's]", which is also attributed to Mrs Gray. Professor Kearney's research

²⁷ *Natal Journal*, April 1857, p129.

²⁸ Gray's Journal, 1850, p65.

²⁹ B. Kearney, *Architecture in Natal*, p21.

³⁰ Shuter in *Englishman's Inn* (p62) quotes Hattersley's *Pietermaritzburg Panorama*, p46.

³¹ B. B. Burnett, *Anglicans in Natal*, p60.

³² *Africana Notes and News*, September 1957, p270.

and review of St Peter's Church (1973) supports Sophia Gray as the architect³³ as does Pilkington's architectural evaluation of Anglican parish churches (1992).³⁴

There is no doubt that Sophia Gray drew the 1864 sketch plans for the enlargement of the church (discussed in the next paragraph).³⁵ These are dated and signed by "S.G.", initials that match exactly Sophia Gray's handwriting in her Consecration Register and *Chronicles of the Diocese*. These were drawn in accordance with the proposals made by her husband during their visit to Natal, as recorded in his journal.³⁶ In a letter dated 15 September 1864, which Mrs Gray wrote to Dean Green, she sent drawings "for your cathedral, on approbation..."³⁷ Sophia was initially not in possession of the measurements of the church but later did the extension plans but did not say how she managed to obtain correct measurements. Though the extensions were never carried out, the plans are convincing evidence of her competence as architect (although her draughtsmanship may be faulted in some places). Mrs Gray's comments to Green about building details reveal no uneasiness about working with and altering the existing structure.

PLANS TO ENLARGE THE CHURCH

Following the deposition of Colenso as bishop by Bishop Gray in December 1863 on the grounds of his heretical writings, Bishop Gray and his wife visited Natal in early 1864. Colenso had been in England since 1861 so Gray's movements around the vacant diocese were not impeded in any way. The Grays arrived in Durban on 27 April 1864 and travelled to Pietermaritzburg on 3 May. On 4 May 1864, Gray visited the three churches in the town, St Peter's, St Andrew's and St Mary's. He wrote, "It is intended to make an effort to enlarge the Cathedral at once. I urge that the present nave should be regarded as an aisle, and that they should attempt the erection of a larger nave by its side."³⁸ It was estimated that the extra 300 seats created by the enlargement would be immediately occupied. During the next day, 5 May 1864, the Churchwarden, Mr Turnbull discussed the question of enlargement. The Bishop stated that the plan most in favour "is that which I think the best, to make the present nave an aisle, to erect by its side another nave both wider and higher, and to place arches on the south side also for a second aisle, and an arch for a central chancel. The cost will probably be £5000. The problem will be to raise so large a sum. The Dean and his churchwarden, however, do not despair."³⁹ Plans for these ambitious extensions were drawn by Sophia Gray (Refer Figures O, R, S, U, V). These are discussed in Section 3.1 under paragraphs 8. *Traceried Windows* and 10. *Towers, Spires and Bellcotes*.

³³ B. Kearney, *Architecture in Natal*, pp20-23.

³⁴ A. L. Pilkington, *Anglican Parish Churches in Natal: 1824-1910* (unpublished MArch thesis).

³⁵ Originals held in the Natal Diocesan Archives, Pietermaritzburg.

³⁶ Gray's Journal, 1864, pp12, 15, 55, 56.

³⁷ This extract has been quoted from Kearney, as the original letters of 1864 from Mrs. Gray to Dean Green, filed in the University of Natal Library, Pietermaritzburg, could not be traced.

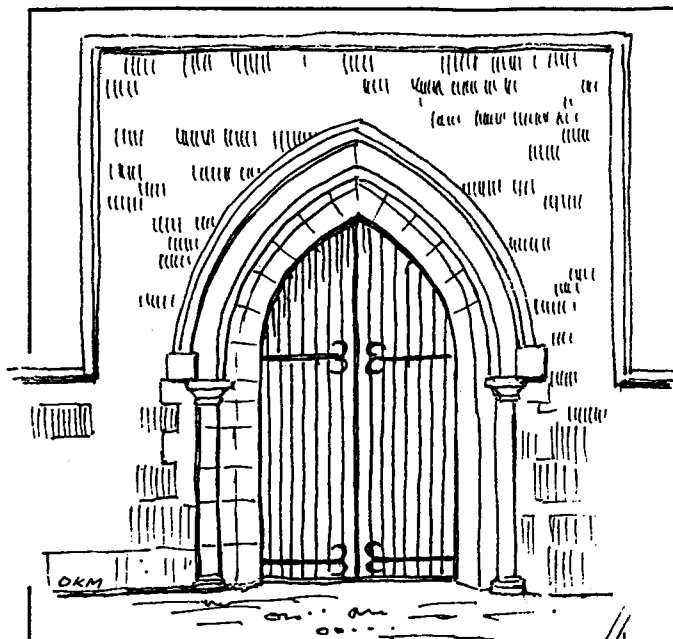
³⁸ Gray's Journal, 1864, p12.

³⁹ Ibid, p15.

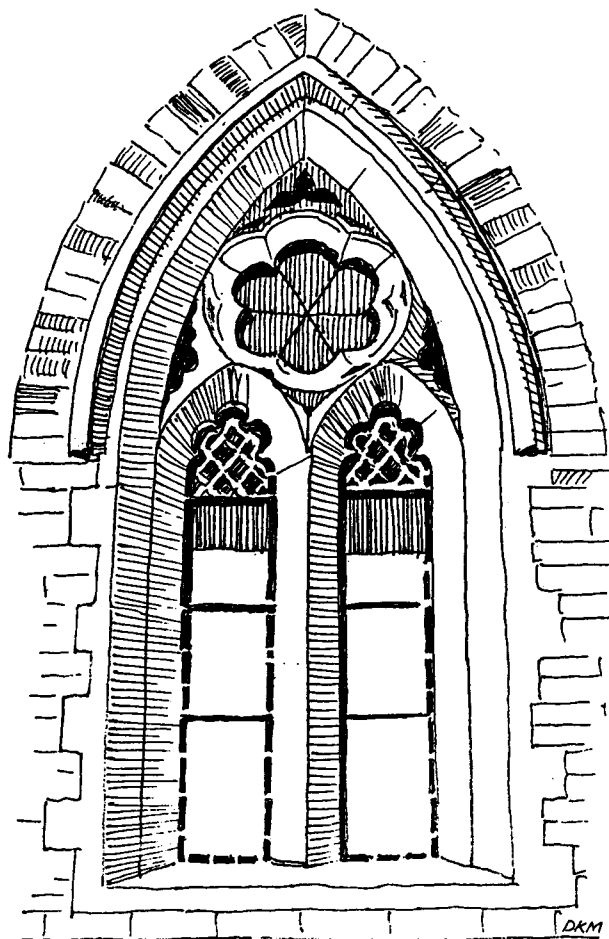
Bishop Gray remained in Pietermaritzburg for a few days then visited in the immediate area. On Whit Sunday, 15 May 1864, Gray preached to crowded congregations in St Peter's Cathedral. He again visited nearby settlements, returning to the capital on 26 May. On 31 May, Gray held a meeting in the Cathedral in the afternoon to finalise steps for its enlargement. He wrote, "Agreed to add another nave as a central one, higher and wider than the present, - to have a third hereafter added; and a larger central chancel. Doubts were expressed whether funds could be raised."⁴⁰ Gray spent the next four weeks visiting church communities in rural areas, completing his visitation in Durban where he consecrated St Paul's Church⁴¹ on 29 June 1864, the 17th anniversary of his own consecration. The Grays embarked on 2 July for Cape Town.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p56.

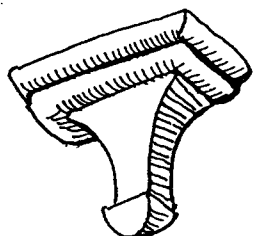
⁴¹ The church at Durban for which Gray intended to supply plans (Journal, 1850, p61), was designed by the Chelsea architect and surveyor, Robert Upton (c1852). St Paul's was meant to be 110 feet long, with transepts and a square tower but a small budget excluded the tower and limited the length to 70 feet. The style of the church is not convincing as a Gothic building. In February 1853, the architect led the procession at the laying of the foundation stone, carrying the plans and a silver trowel. In 1854, Upton designed the Congregational Church, Durban, in the revived Classical style (B. Kearney, *Architecture in Natal*, p20). The involvement of the Grays in this church, apart from the Bishop's first meeting with parishioners in 1850 and the consecration in 1864, was strictly limited on account of the start of the Diocese of Natal in 1853. Possibly had Gray supplied plans at the meeting in 1850, Mrs Gray would have become part of the design process as Colenso, after his initial ten weeks in Natal in early 1854, only returned to Pietermaritzburg in May 1855. The church was destroyed by fire in 1906.



*Drawing 24: Doorway,
St Peter's Cathedral,
Pietermaritzburg.*



*Drawing 25: St Peter's Cathedral; Detail of bar tracery
of window above West Door.*



*Drawing 26: Ornamental
plaster corbel.*

*Drawing 27: Detail
of the shoulder of
the west wall
with trefoiled gable.*



*Drawing 28: St Peter's Cathedral, Pietermaritzburg. vestry on far left,
and porch (added in 1907).*

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Unlike many Anglican churches in the Cape, which trace their beginnings to the arrival of Bishop Gray in 1848, or soon thereafter, an English church community was evident at Stellenbosch in the years soon after the first British occupation of the Cape in 1795. Services were held for the British troops and officials from time to time but after the Cape became a permanent British possession in 1806, the membership of the church gradually increased.¹ Some forty years later, however, when Bishop Gray visited Stellenbosch, he noted little evidence of life in the church community. While on the journey back to Cape Town after his first visitation, Gray lodged at a hotel in Stellenbosch on 16 December 1848 where his wife joined him after his four-month tour. He recorded with concern, after holding a service in the Dutch church on the Sunday, "Something must be done for this place. There is no English service of any kind here." On Monday, 18 December 1848, he held a meeting with the English and decided to address a memorial to the Governor, "praying for a grant of £100 a year towards the stipend of an English Clergyman, and grants of land for Church and Parsonage."² The response to the memorial is not recorded.

On 11 January 1850, Rev Frederick Carlyon was appointed as the priest at Stellenbosch. His first services were apparently held in a schoolroom but he soon made plans for building a church. Bishop Gray started his 1850 visitation at Stellenbosch on his way through the Karoo and beyond. His journal entry of 2 April 1850 records that he met with the Civil Commissioner "and some members of the municipality about a site for a church."³ On 8 May, Gray took action, applying to the Governor for a church site. In a response dated 30 May 1850, John Montagu, Colonial Secretary, stated "I am directed... to acquaint you... that the Surveyor General has been authorised to purpose a grant, in favour of the See, of a piece of ground at Stellenbosch selected by Mr Carlyon in lieu of that applied for in your letter, as a site for the erection of an English Church at that place."⁴ Nearly a full year later, on 28 April 1851, Gray wrote to Mr Charles Bell, the Surveyor General, querying the apparent lack of progress with the transfer of eight pieces of ground to churches in his diocese. Gray complained that "Some of them [grants] have been a very long time before Government, and the non-completion of the grants is in several cases exposing parishes to much inconvenience"⁵ and then quoted to Bell the gist of Montagu's letter.

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

On 15 November 1851, some seven months after Gray's letter of 28 April 1851, land on The Braak (town square), then known as Adderley Square, was officially "granted by Government to the See of Cape Town for a site for a church."⁶ The reason for the delay in the transfer is unknown but plans for the church had already been drawn up as a contract for the erection of a

¹ J. J. Oberholser, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, p76.

² Gray's Journal, 1848, p75.

³ Gray's Journal, 1850, p1.

⁴ Letters to Bishops 1847 - 1850, CPSA Archives.

⁵ Letterbook Vol.2, 1850-1852, p103.

⁶ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p89.

church had been signed on 30 September 1851 with W Martin.⁷ A stonemason, William Shrugg, also undertook to do certain work on the church. Funds for the building, which ultimately cost £1415, were received from the Government and several church associations in England. The church was built during 1852 and officially opened on 28 December the same year during the two-year absence of the Grays in England.⁸ A footnote in the historical account of the SPG gives the year of opening of the church as 1853.⁹ According to Mrs Gray's *Consecration of Churches List*, the church was consecrated two years later by Bishop Gray on 18 October 1854. Additions to the church were made in 1884-1885.¹⁰

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

Without doubt, the Bishop was largely instrumental with the founding of the church but whether his wife was involved with the design of the church is debatable. Nowhere in the records is there any reference to Mrs Gray neither is there mention of Bishop Gray providing plans. The design of St Mary's is attributed to Peter Penketh, an architect who was very active in Cape Town in the 1850s. In 1858 he was appointed City Engineer, a post he held until his retirement in 1872. He was originally a foreman of works with the Royal Engineers in 1845 and "in 1850 he became a clerk of works and by 1854 he was in practice on his own account."¹¹ This means that Penketh must have designed the St Mary's church while he was not yet practising as an architect. It is noteworthy that during the early 1850s, he was Churchwarden of St George's Cathedral. As such he must have been well known to the Grays. This connection could have given him entrée to design Anglican churches as his known works include St Peter's, Mowbray c1852; St John's, Long Street in 1853-1857 (while in partnership with Calvert during 1854); St Mary's, Stellenbosch in 1852; and the additions to St Paul's, Rondebosch, 1854. He was also the architect for other churches such as St Martini (Lutheran), Long Street, in 1851-1853 and the Congregational Church, Caledon Square, in 1857. It is contended that Penketh had "almost certainly been enlightened by the Grays as to what was and what was not 'correct' Gothic."¹² Historians Gutsche, Langham-Carter and Fransen and Cook name Penketh as architect.¹³ The possibility exists, as stated by Fransen and Cook, that Penketh's design was "modified by Sophia Gray". As this could not be corroborated, this church was grouped with three others in the thesis where, although the church community was motivated and founded by the Bishop, building plans were totally in the hands of known architects/builders.¹⁴ Architectural features of St Mary's have accordingly not been recorded.

⁷ A builder of the same surname was dismissed by Mrs Gray while building Holy Trinity Church, Caledon in early 1850. It is possible that this was the same Martin who then successfully completed St Mary's.

⁸ J. J. Oberholser, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, p77.

⁹ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p286.

¹⁰ The nave was extended, the bell-tower built and a small porch added to the south side. Further extensions in 1898 included the rebuilding of the east end with a semicircular apse and the addition of an organ room.

¹¹ D. Radford, *Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838-1901*, (unpublished thesis) p126.

¹² *Ibid*, p189.

¹³ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p138; R. Langham-Carter, *Architects and Builders of Some Churches in SA*, p3; H. Fransen and M. A. Cook, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p138.

¹⁴ Churches C7, C9, and C11 (Refer Table II).

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The Bishop first visited Swellendam during his 1848 tour, arriving in the town on 1 September. The following day he held a meeting with the local English people. Gray recorded that there was considerable support for the establishment of a church and "upwards of £60 a year for five years was subscribed in the room..." The people undertook to raise £100 if the Government matched their contribution. The Bishop also noted, "...if the Clergyman gave satisfaction, a church would speedily be raised for him. They fixed on a plan for the Church".¹ The plans Gray handed over on 2 September 1848, as confirmed in later correspondence, are accepted as being Sophia Gray's design. On 4 September 1848, Gray recorded, "I trust there is some chance of our getting two clergymen here - one for this place [Swellendam] and one for Port Beaufort."² In late 1849, the Grays made a two-month trip to the George District. At Swellendam while staying with the Robertsons, the Dutch minister and his wife, Mrs Gray was able to discuss the site and plan for the proposed English church.³ As Rev James Baker had arrived in Swellendam in 1849 as priest of the parish (which position he held until 1867⁴) it is probable that Baker was also involved in the choice of the site.

The Bishop wrote to the Governor on 10 January 1850 requesting transfer of the chosen site to the Diocese. In a reply from the Colonial Secretary dated 16 March 1850, Gray was informed that the Surveyor-General had reported that there was "no objection to the lands applied for as sites for a church and parsonage at Swellendam being granted to the see..." provided that the lands referred to did not exceed one acre each in extent.⁵ The Bishop, while at Fort Hare during his 1850 visitation, wrote an impassioned plea dated 28 September 1850 to Rev T B Murray of the SPCK. He thanked the Society for "liberal grants" towards churches at Beaufort [West], Bloemfontein, Maritzburg and Swellendam (the latter two churches receiving £75 and £50). He then wrote, "I wish to ask you privately whether you think there will be any objection to my adding £75 to the former, and £50 to the latter out of the sum of £500 originally placed at my disposal by the Society." The reason given was that "the Clergy and others at these places know what grants are given to other churches and may think I have not represented their cases as forcibly as some others." Gray went on to plead for Swellendam and the excellent young man "for whose support the people raised £100; but this effort exhausts them."⁶

At the end of the Bishop's 1850 visitation, after reaching Swellendam on 13 December, he held a meeting with the Church Building Committee on Monday 15 December 1849. There were difficulties in fixing a suitable site and the lack of funds (only £600 in hand) also coloured decisions so the meeting was adjourned. The Tuesday meeting was successful and "the site was

¹ Gray's Journal, 1848, p8.

² Gray's Journal, 1848, p10.

³ T.Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p100.

⁴ C. F. Pascoe, *Two hundred Years of the SPG*, p891.

⁵ Letters to Bishops 1847-1850, 16 March 1850, CPSA AB1162/A1.2

⁶ Letters to Bishops 1847-1850, CPSA AB1162/A1.2, p278.

determined upon, and it was decided that the plans I had furnished should be adopted, and the building proceeded with..."⁷

Having received the news the previous year on 16 March 1850 that the transfer of the Swellendam sites would proceed, the Bishop was understandably anxious by 1851 to finalise this. It was not only the Swellendam site that was being delayed.⁸ In a letter to Mr C Bell, Surveyor-General, dated 28 April 1851, Gray enquired tactfully "what are the difficulties which stand in the way".⁹ A note in the margin of the letterbook reads: "Instructions have been sent to Mr Hopley to survey 2 acres. J C Davidson 19/3/50". Presumably the Bishop was told verbally after receipt of his enquiry of 16 March that the Swellendam survey had been actioned.

On 8 November 1851, Gray wrote to Mr B Scrutton in Swellendam telling him that the matter of the transfer was in the hands of J C Davidson. He continued, "Mrs Gray will write fully to Mr Baker from whom she has heard on the subject of the plans. She conceives that very little more will be required in addition to the plans already forwarded. Should any doubt or difficulty however occur, she will be happy to explain or enlarge them. But she has no duplicate copies of the plans, and must therefore have such portions returned to her, as may be deemed to need further expansion".¹⁰ The Bishop's letter of 8 November 1851 also explained how the church treasurer might draw funds. The SPCK grant, said Gray, "may in like manner be drawn for upon the completion of the roof. Notice should be given, if the whole be drawn for at one time lest the Bank should be overdrawn. Mr Baker will explain to you how he draws." On 17 January 1852, a piece of ground at Swellendam was transferred to the See of Cape Town "having been purchased by the parishioners for the sum of £37.10s. from Mr F G Gogh."¹¹

During the years 1852 and 1853, the Grays were in England. Gutsche states, "Swellendam was about to begin and three of Montagu's masons, John, Henry and G Higgs were standing by in the dorp waiting for the stone to arrive."¹² Later Gutsche writes that Mrs Gray had written to the Bishop, "Richard Southey had gone on the 13th May [1852] to lay the foundation stone of her church for which the working drawings had been made by a civil engineer, G. Evans."¹³

On arrival at Swellendam on 31 August during their 1855 visitation, the Grays went immediately to inspect the church. "The roof is now being put on after having been once blown off and half destroyed. The Church is of stone, and of the early English style, and is a correct and pretty building. Unfortunately, the west end, which was put up by inferior masons, is out of the perpendicular, and so badly built that it can never bear the weight of the belfry."¹⁴ The next day,

⁷ Gray's Journal, 1850, p197.

⁸ Other sites delayed were at Wynberg, Somerset East, Mancayana, Stellenbosch, Alice, Peddie and Mowbray.

⁹ Letterbook Vol 2, 1850-1852, pp102, 103.

¹⁰ Letterbook Vol 2, 1850-1852, p222.

¹¹ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p107.

¹² T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p128.

¹³ *Ibid*, p129. This is confirmed by Radford (*The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901*, footnote 44, p204.)

¹⁴ Gray's Journal, 1855, p22.

1 September 1855, the Bishop proposed that the west end should be "taken down". At the same time he offered to assist the parish if they acted on his recommendation. The Bishop noted that the church had been a long time in erection and that there had been many difficulties. When complete its cost will be "upwards of £1000." The proposed demolition posed a problem. "If [it]...is to be pulled down" wrote the Bishop, "it will not be ready for consecration upon my return".¹⁵ The next day, Sunday 2 September, there were 300 in the schoolroom for the service with 100 outside the building. Such was the feeling of commitment to the church project that the Bishop recorded, "Two members of the Church Committee have been all round the village raising funds for pulling down and rebuilding the west gable."¹⁶ By the end of the day, the necessary funds had been raised. Nine weeks later the Grays returned from George and Knysna, reaching Swellendam on 13 November 1855. On the next day the Bishop wrote, "At 11 o'clock in the morning, I consecrated the Church of this parish which has been a long time in the course of erection and been thrown back by a variety of circumstances."¹⁷ It was now satisfactorily completed and was considered by Gray as "one of the most correct and ecclesiastical buildings in the Diocese." The only concern was that "the stone is of a very pleasing colour, but it is feared that it will prove perishable." The consecration date is recorded in the *Chronicles*.¹⁸ At a parish meeting it was noted that the costs were already £1050 and that a further £100 was needed to complete the internal fittings.¹⁹

Ten years later, in the course of his 1865 tour, the Bishop reached Swellendam on 28 October. Gray noted that about forty houses had been destroyed by the high winds that had hit Table Bay on 17 May. One third of Swellendam was in ruins; "but in addition to this, the church needs considerable repairs."²⁰ In the 1900s, Sophia Gray's church "began to show signs of structural decay."²¹ It was demolished and a new stone church to a Baker and Kendall design was built in 1911 though the new church was erected on the foundations of its predecessor as these were considered still sound.²²

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

These may be partially judged from Sophia's sketch²³ reproduced overleaf in Figure I*. The church comprised a two-bay nave with two-step buttresses at the ends of the church and a prominent single-step buttress between two lancets in the west wall. The roof has an exaggerated pitch of 64 degrees and there was a bellcote on the west gable. The sketch shows a whitewashed church though the records refer to a stone "of a very pleasing colour."

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Gray's Journal, 1855, p25.

¹⁷ Ibid, p115.

¹⁸ 14 November 1855, *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p145.

¹⁹ Gray's Journal, 1855, p116.

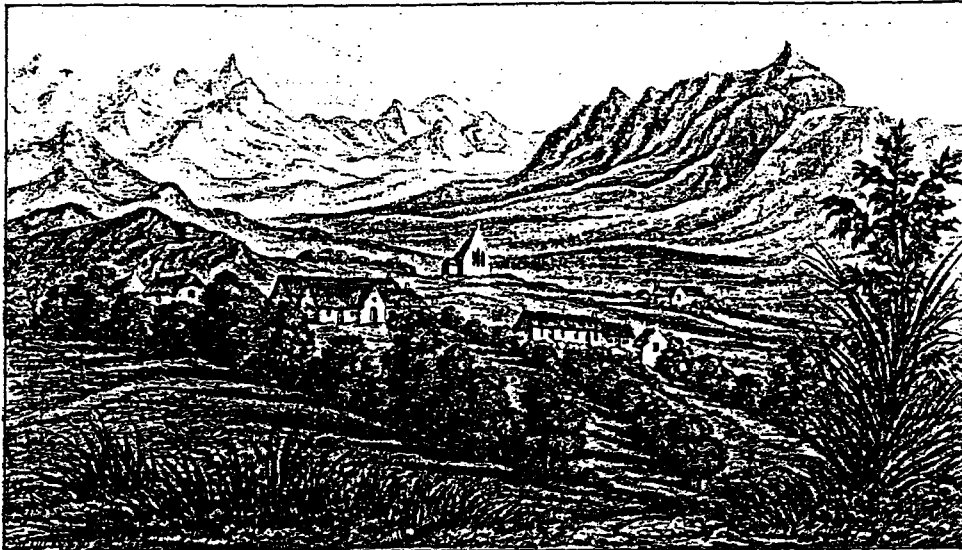
²⁰ Gray's Journal, 1865, p54.

²¹ W. A. Tapson, *A History of the Diocese of George*, p17.

²² R. Langham-Carter, *Architects & Builders of Some Churches in SA*.

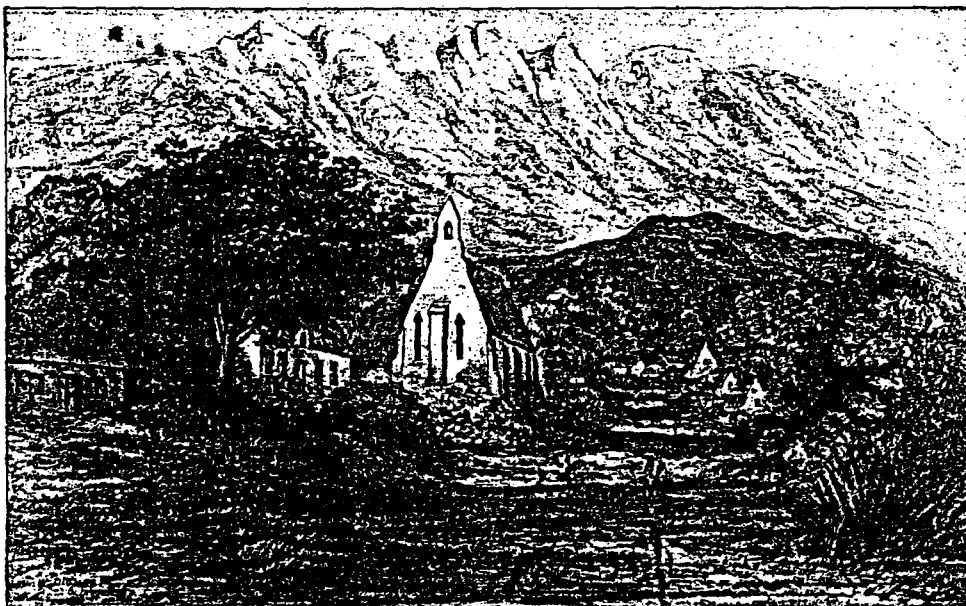
²³ *Three Months' Visitation, by the Bishop of Capetown in the Autumn of 1855*, facing p23.

MRS SOPHIA GRAY'S SKETCHES - REDRAWN BY W.DICKES



St John-in-the-Wilderness,
Schoonberg.

SCHOONBERG



Christ Church,
Swellendam.

SWELLENDAM



Holy Trinity,
Belvidere,
Knysna.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Bishop Gray's first meeting with the English farmer, P B Richardson, was during his 1848 visitation, after he had travelled the dry and monotonous route from Beaufort (West) through the Zuurberg to George. When he reached the "Langekloof" he records on 2 December 1848, he dined with Richardson who had a good farm in the mountains above the newly opened Montagu Pass.¹ Possibly as a result of encouragement from Gray, church services began on the farm of Schoonberg in May 1849. On the return journey from Natal during 1850, Gray left Port Elizabeth on 18 November and headed up the Langkloof arriving at Mr Richardson's farm on Saturday 23 November 1850. The Bishop was involved in services the next day with the local community comprising "chiefly of coloured people". He noted, "Mr Richardson is anxious to proceed as soon as possible with the erection of the church. He has given four acres of land, and offers £100 towards the building."²

There is no further mention of the building enthusiasm of Richardson in the records until four years later. Archdeacon T Welby's report to Bishop Gray (Welby was stationed at St Mark's, George) was published in the *S A Church Magazine*.³ Welby stated, "In May 1849, I commenced services for white and coloured at Schoonberg in the Langkloof... A substantial stone church was opened for public worship in March, 1854, the larger portion of the expense of its erection was borne by P B Richardson, Esq." A full report of the opening service was published in the *Cape Monitor*: "On Sunday March 10th [1854], Divine Service was held for the first time in the New Church of St John the Baptist in the Wilderness... the Sabbath was one to be much remembered by the people who worshipped together without distinction of class or colour, in a Sacred building which in beauty and correctness of Ecclesiastical Architecture reminded one of the village churches of our favoured mother land." The report also commented on the architecture: "The building is of brown stone, in the gothic style, and is very appropriate to the surrounding scenery, the internal fittings are at present incomplete. The sum of £550 has been laid out on this good work..."⁴

In the autumn of 1855 the Bishop, while in the area, proceeded to Schoonberg specifically to consecrate the little church. On 11 October 1855, two days before the set date, he wrote in his diary, "I propose to consecrate the Church which has been erected there by the zeal of P B Richardson, Esq."⁵ Gray expanded on Richardson's project in his entry, stating that the objective is "to found a Missionary Village rather than an Institution, and to mingle Europeans with the coloured races, allowing both to rent, in the first place, and afterwards purchase erven in it... I have purchased a quarter of a farm with a view to give it a start." The Grays had walked up the Montagu pass to Mr Richardson's farm on 11 October 1855 and spent the weekend there. The Bishop records, "On Saturday (13th) I consecrated the church which is an exceedingly well built

¹ Gray's Journal, 1848, p67 and T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p86. Richardson's farm supported 70 people.

² Gray's Journal, 1850, p182.

³ Vol.III, November 1855, p344.

⁴ 15 April 1854.

⁵ Gray's Journal, 1855, p64.

early English Church, and very neatly and correctly fitted up."⁶ Gray commented that an offertory was taken "for the windows, which Mr Richardson is determined shall all be of painted glass, but which are at present only calico. The open roof and the sittings of this church are particularly good." The *S A Church Magazine* carried a report of the Bishop's visitation and commented on the churches at Plettenberg Bay, Melville (Knysna), Belvidere and Schoonberg "where the new church, an exceedingly neat 'early English' structure, was consecrated on the 13th."⁷

The following year (1856) the Bishop had an opportunity at a meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Church Missions to review the progress made by the Society in the Cape Colony. In his speech, Gray referred to Schoonberg: "From Plettenberg Bay, owing to there being no passable way into the interior, I had to travel 80 miles to the next station of Schoonberg on an isolated farm of an Englishman of energy, who had got a store and collected about 180 people. Being a man of great religious zeal, he, at his own cost, erected an English church and is teaching and holding services for the coloured people. The church was always crowded."⁸ In 1856 the Grays visited the Eastern Cape following the death of Bishop Armstrong. On their return journey they were met by Richardson 20 miles from Schoonberg where the Bishop preached on Sunday 7 September 1856.

Nine years were to pass before the Bishop saw Schoonberg again. Gray noted on 3 September 1865, "Our little Church here, St John's in the Wilderness, is the only Church of any kind on the high ground between George and Humansdorp, a distance of 150 miles... the painted windows... are crumbling away, as if the paint had been laid on, instead of being burnt in; in many parts the whole surface has peeled off. They are from the manufactory of Mr Clutterbuck at Stratford, Essex. It was a great effort for this small congregation to obtain such costly windows, and the disappointment at their present condition is great."⁹ As far as the coloured people were concerned, the work had retrogressed. Gray spent the Sunday at Schoonberg and a few more days as his journal states that on 8 September he proceeded to Knysna, possibly with some misgivings about the future of the work at Schoonberg.

Seven years later, in 1872, the Bishop paid his last visit to Schoonberg before his death on 1 September. He set off with Archdeacon Glover to the Knysna area on 14 March and on 15 April 1872 recorded, "At Schoonberg the very pretty little church looked in good order, and was nicely decorated."¹⁰

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

Although the Bishop refers to the church in his journals of 1850, 1855, 1856, 1865 and 1872, he never discloses the name of the architect of the little church for which he held such high hopes. It is in Sophia Gray's own correspondence that her probable authorship of the design is revealed. In a letter written in 1855 she describes Mr Richardson as "a very nice though rather rough man";

⁶ Gray's Journal, 1855, p66.

⁷ *S A Church Magazine*, December 1855, p352.

⁸ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p71.

⁹ Gray's Journal, 1865, p18.

¹⁰ *The Mission Field*, September 1872, p265.

and about the church which he had built at his own cost she comments triumphantly, "It is altogether one of my plans... and I think I generally like them best".¹¹ She promised to order some painted glass windows for him from England. On her return to Schoonberg with the Bishop in 1856 she again saw her church, "still with calico windows, but the painted ones were coming".¹² As mentioned on the previous page, the painted windows (stained glass) ordered by Mrs Gray had rapidly deteriorated by 1865 after being installed in about 1856. These must have been of inferior quality as imported stained glass generally can withstand the harsh climate of the country.¹³

The architectural features also support this church as the design of Sophia Gray. Immediately noticeable are the narrow lancets, the diagonal buttresses and the very high pitch of the roof, possibly the steepest pitch of all her churches - 60 degrees. Other researchers also name her as architect.¹⁴ Mrs Gray illustrated the published journal entitled, *Three Months' Visitation by the Bishop of Cape Town in the Autumn of 1855*, with four of her colour sketches, Swellendam, Knysna, Belvidere and Schoonberg. The inclusion of these four churches in the publication lends further support to her authorship of the projects as they were churches in which the Grays were particularly involved.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

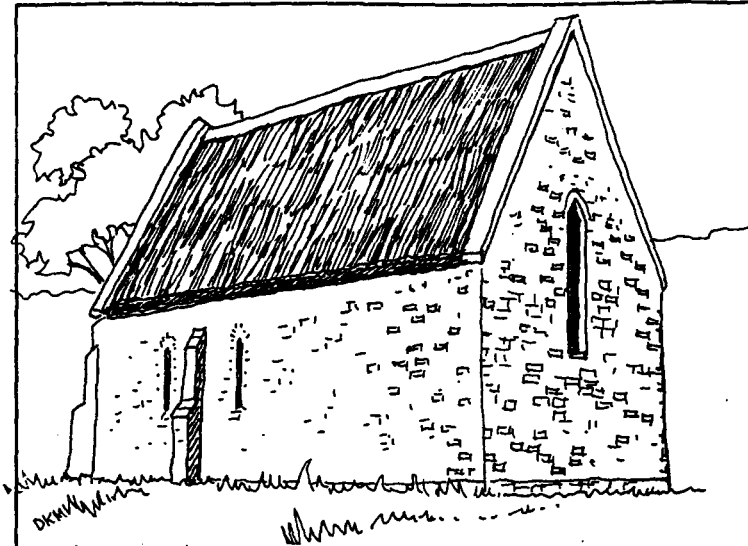
The church as originally built is oriented to the east and comprised a three-bay nave measuring 13,3 x 5,3 metres and a porch on the south-east corner. Diagonal buttresses were built on the east wall only. A solitary buttress stands on the north side of the nave. There is a triplet lancet in the east wall, a single lancet in the west wall and two lancets on both long walls. Scissors trusses supported the high-pitched roof (59 degrees). The walls are of squared dressed stone with ashlar window and door jambs (Refer to Drawings 29 and 30). Mrs Gray's own sketch of Schoonberg, redrawn by W Dickes, is reproduced in Figure I* on the page preceding this history).

¹¹ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p149. Although Gutsche does not disclose the source of this letter, its veracity is not in question.

¹² *Ibid*, p160.

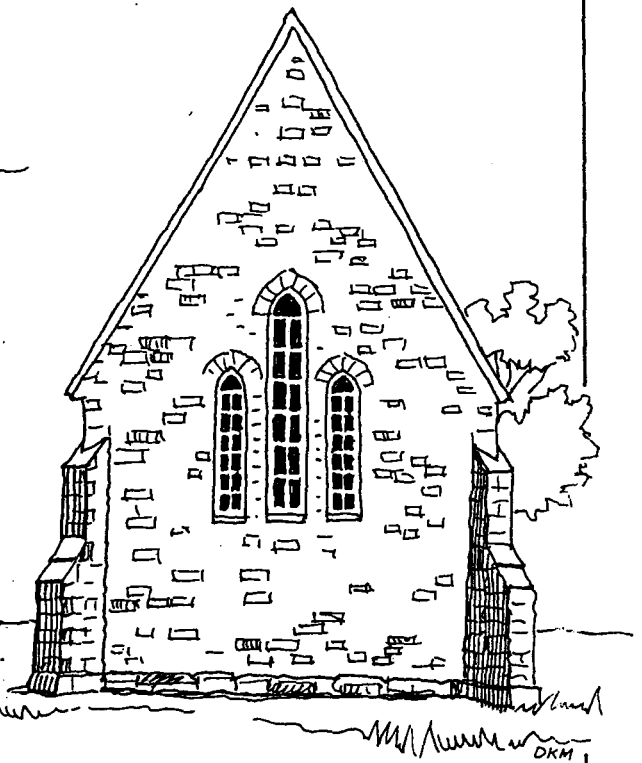
¹³ The oldest complete scheme of stained glass windows in Port Elizabeth, for example, is at St Augustine's Catholic Cathedral. The windows date from 1865 (A. D. Herholdt, G. H. Nesbit, H.E.Steenkamp, *Eight Beautiful Gothic Revival Churches of Port Elizabeth*, p61).

¹⁴ R. Langham-Carter, *Architects & Builders of Some Churches in SA*, and A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels and Schools...*

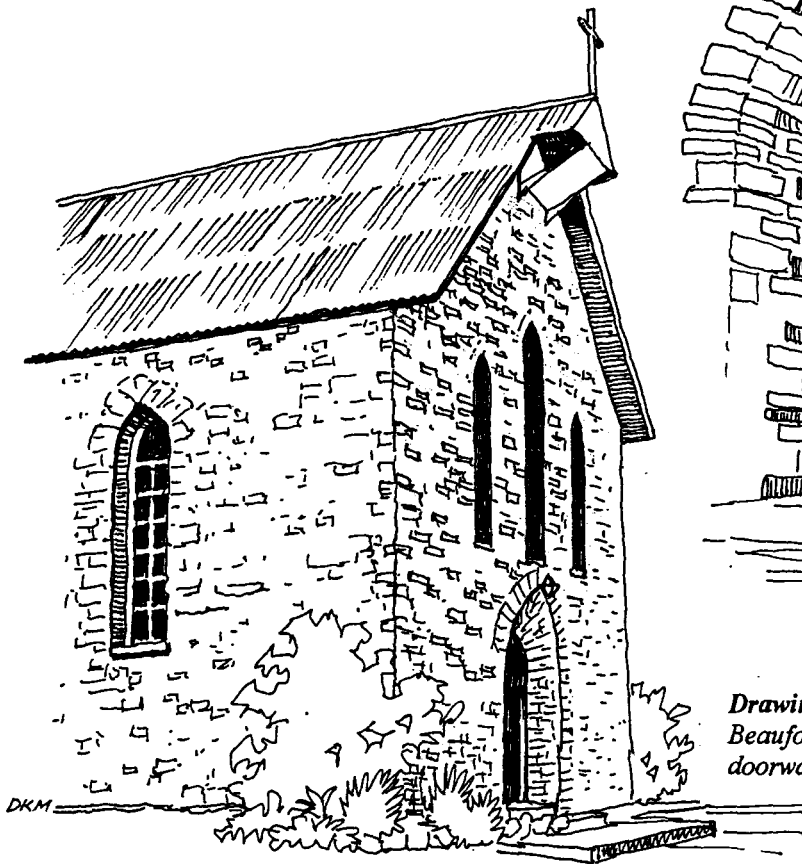


*Drawing 29: The Church of St John, Schoonberg,
North wall and West wall with single lancet.*

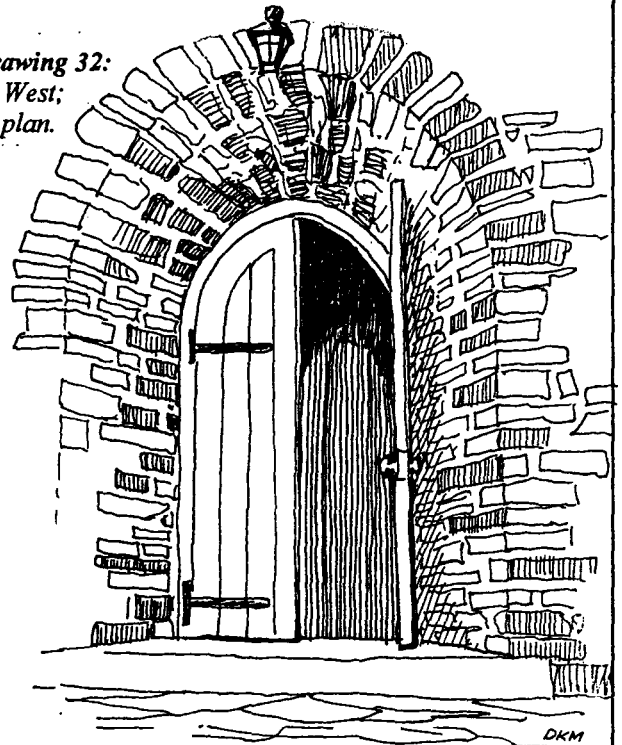
Drawing 30: The East wall of St John.



*Drawing 32:
Doorway to Christ Church, Beaufort West;
Not part of original plan.*



*Drawing 31: The West end of Christ Church,
Beaufort West. The bell-cage and recessed
doorway not part of the Gray plan.*



HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Beaufort was declared a village in 1818. A visitor of 1830, Andrew Steedman, wrote: "Beaufort has two streets, between 30 and 40 houses, and about 200 people. The church [Dutch] is a neat edifice calculated to hold 1000 people and is filled when the farmers come to town."¹ In 1835, another visitor, James Backhouse, estimated the population at 600 despite the fact that many had left during the "Great Trek".

Bishop Gray rode into the village on 24 November 1848 during his first visitation. Gray recorded on 25 November that a meeting had been called "...in order that we might take steps for the erection of a Church and the raising of a stipend for a Minister."² Despite no advance notice of his visit being given, he had been encouraged by his own people who had immediately pledged £200 for a church. On returning to Cape Town, Gray wrote on 16 January 1849 to the Governor requesting *inter alia* a site for a church and grants towards both church and pastor.³ On 13 February 1849, John Montagu, Colonial Secretary, replied at length informing the Bishop that the Governor was granting sites for churches in seven towns, one of which was Beaufort.

The earliest vestry minute of the Beaufort Anglican Church records that "At an adjourned meeting held on 12 (?) October 1849..." it was resolved "That annual subscriptions towards the support of a clergyman of the Church of England... be, without delay, called in by the Treasurer and forwarded to the Cape of Good Hope Bank to be held there at the disposal of the Beaufort English Church Committee."⁴ Two months later, at a meeting on 14 December, a letter from Bishop Gray was read in which Gray announced further good news that the Minister for the town had arrived in Cape Town. On 9 January 1850, John Montagu informed Davidson, the Bishop's registrar, that "... the surveyor general has been instructed to survey and prepare a title in favour of the See for the ground pointed out by the English Church Society at Beaufort as a site for a church, parsonage and as a burial ground, on the understanding that the land... must not exceed three acres..."⁵ Later in 1850, the Bishop set out on his visitation to Natal via Bloemfontein. He arrived at Beaufort on the evening of Saturday 13 April 1850. On Monday 15 April, after conducting services on the Sunday, Gray recorded that he "...met the Church Committee and... settled finally on sites of the church, parsonage and burial ground..." these being presumably the sites selected earlier by the Church Society and referred to by Montagu in his letter of 9 January.⁶ The next day, 16 April 1850, Gray recorded, "At two o'clock a vestry [meeting] was held for the election of churchwardens. To this succeeded a meeting to take steps for the immediate erection of a church." Gray was pleased with progress in Beaufort for he wrote in his journal on the

¹ W. O. Bergh, *The History of Beaufort West*, unpublished notes.

² Gray's Journal, 1848, p64.

³ Letters received by Bishop Gray, AB 1162/A1.2.

⁴ Minute Book, Christ Church, Beaufort West.

⁵ Letters received by Bishop Gray, AB1162/A1.2. CPSA Archives.

⁶ Gray's Journal, 1850, p7.

following day, "I leave this place with much comfort and a good hope that the Church will take root there."⁷ A month after Gray's visit to the town, Sophia recorded, "On 16 May [1850] two pieces of land at Beaufort transferred for ecclesiastical purposes; another piece for a burial ground."⁸

THE BUILDING PROJECT

A record of a Building Committee meeting on 2 January 1851 indicates that the erection of the building was being planned.⁹ It was resolved that "...tenders for the creation of a church... be called for through the medium of the public pages and that Mr John Pringle of Victoria be requested to provide the specification and to alter such... as may appear unadapted to local conditions [?]" Whether Mrs Gray had already provided a plan at this stage is possible, as the reference to John Pringle's mandate to alter specifications seems to show that the committee had a plan with which they were working.

Nearly 18 months later at a meeting on 1 June 1852 of the subscribers to the church fund, "it was resolved that the sight (sic) granted by the Government... should be retained as considered the most appropriate."¹⁰ The Building Committee was encouraged to proceed with the building of the church and to replace members of the committee who had left. Three days later when the committee met it was decided that the interior space of the church should be 40 feet x 25 feet with a temporary eastern end that would "admit to subsequent" enlargement.¹¹ The committee met later in the month to award the tender for "the Mason work of the Church". Of the three tenders considered, it was resolved to accept the tender of Mr Alex. Cormack for £281.10 shillings. If the foundations did not require the depth of 2 feet as stated in the specifications, the tender would be accordingly reduced by £5 per foot in height. The committee also agreed that a notice be posted on the door of the school room (used as the 'Place of Worship') to request subscribers to the building fund to pay their subscriptions to the Treasurer.¹² There was an unabated drive for funds over the next few years.

A vestry minute of 23 May 1853 records that subscribers to the building fund should be reminded to pay their respective subscriptions and that the committee should do their utmost "...to obtain further subscriptions in aid of the Building now in progress."¹³ The church was completed at the end of 1854. A meeting on 19 December 1854 was convened relative to the completion of the church when it was decided that the builder, Alex. Cormack should be instructed to "Rough cast

⁷ Gray's Journal, 1850, p8.

⁸ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p51

⁹ Minute Book, Christ Church

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ 4 June 1852, Minute Book, Christ Church.

¹² 23 June 1852, Minute Book, Christ Church.

¹³ 23 May 1853, Minute Book, Christ Church.

the Back Gable and plaster the skew¹⁴ with cement." Cormack, who was present at the meeting, also undertook to remove the rubbish and make the front of the Church even for the sum of one and a half pounds. At the final meeting of the year held on 30 December 1854, among matters discussed was the need for zinc on the roof ridge. A Mr Smyth was to be approached to do this and to provide an estimate of the probable cost of laying the floor in the church.¹⁵

THE COMPLETED PROJECT

Gray's biographer records that in 1855 he travelled to Beaufort "...a village lying in the midst of the Karroo (sic) - 200 miles from any other. He remained there ten days, consecrating the church and carrying on his usual work..."¹⁶ A fuller account of the 1855 visit to Beaufort is given by Gray himself in his journal. During his three-month visitation, after leaving his wife at Meirings Poort on 17 October, Gray had journeyed with some of the Beaufort parishioners "into the dreary wastes of the Karroo". They arrived in the town on 19 October 1855. The Bishop recorded in some detail the disappointment he experienced with the finished church, which was then ready to be consecrated:

"After thoroughly cleaning ourselves, we went out to look at the Church. It has suffered in an architectural point of view, from the plans not having been strictly adhered to. The pitch of the roof has been lowered, the western windows elongated, the length of the building diminished, and the buttresses dispensed with. Still it is a neat, well built, substantial, if not quite correct, early English Church, and superior to many built only a few years back in England. It put me very much in mind of some of the little churches in our Yorkshire dales. The parishioners are now very sorry that they did not adhere closely to the plans furnished them. A correct chancel - which will, I hope, one day be added - will greatly improve the Church. Its present cost has been £900."¹⁷

On Sunday morning 21 October 1855, Bishop Gray consecrated the church.¹⁸ The comments made by the Bishop after completion of the church confirm the Grays' direct connection with the provision of the plans. Various historians credit Sophia Gray with the design of Christ Church; these include Langham-Carter, Beddy, Gutsche and Vivier.¹⁹

LATER ADDITION OF THE CHANCEL

Bishop Gray's hope that a chancel would be added to the church was not realised in his lifetime. He did however know of the plans to build the chancel; this had been decided at a church meeting on 8 April 1869 some thirteen years after the completion of the nave. At the meeting,

¹⁴ The skew or kneeler is the sloping-topped, level-bedded stone in a gable coping that protects the top of a wall from weathering.

¹⁵ Minute Book, Christ Church.

¹⁶ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol I, p343.

¹⁷ Gray's Journal, 1855, p79.

¹⁸ The date 21 October is given in Gray's 1855 journal as well as on p145 of *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*. The consecration date of 25 October, given by Beddy, is suspect.

¹⁹ W. & S. Vivier, *Hart van die Groot Karoo*, p107. "Die gebou was ontwerp deur biskop Robert Gray se eggenote, Sophia..."

Robert's offer of £100 towards the enlargement of the church, on condition that the congregation raised a like amount, was made known to parishioners. The Meeting thereupon pledged itself to raise a fund for the enlargement of the Church.²⁰ Four days later, a Building Committee was appointed and it was resolved that " (name removed) be respectfully requested to furnish plans for the erection of the said chapel."²¹

Gray recorded his return to the town on 15 April 1869: "We reached Beaufort in the afternoon. The next day was taken up in receiving visits, and in writing letters... Since I left, the vestry have resolved to enlarge the church, by the erection of a chancel *nearly as large as the nave* (author's italics), but the funds are not forthcoming."²² On Sunday, Gray noted that the church was quite full, "evidently needing enlargement." The Monday (19 April) was again spent in visiting. In the evening there was a parish meeting "to consider the enlargement of the church and the purchase of a parsonage. A house was fixed upon, to cost £500; and it was resolved to add a chancel, and a large one, to the present church. To both of these works I have promised to contribute... during Divine service on Sunday I inducted the Rev J Gething as rector of the parish..."²³

Little progress was made with the chancel during the following 18 months. Vivier records that the Anglican community began to grow quickly following the formal establishment in 1870 of the 'Church of the Province of South Africa.' In October 1871 the *Cape Argus* reported, "A large and influential church meeting was held at Beaufort... to take into consideration the tenders for the enlargement of the church." The only tender submitted had been made under an incorrect impression of the work required and it was disregarded. The meeting agreed that "...as it appeared impracticable to obtain funds immediately for the building of a chancel, tenders be called for an addition of 18 feet to the nave... and that the chancel arch be built and bricked up in the gable to be erected, providing the Bishop will give the £100 promised for the building of the chancel, towards the enlargement as now proposed."²⁴ The nave was not extended as reported in the press. Instead, the church was completed as originally intended by the addition of a chancel. The firm Morse & Ferguson were contracted for the extension work that began on 28 June 1872. Magistrate Tilney laid the cornerstone of the extensions on 1 August and on Christmas Day 1872, these were consecrated.²⁵

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The plan of the church originally consisted of a rectangular nave (15,7 x 7,4 metres) and small porch on the western nave wall. The church was not oriented to the east but stands with its entrance facing north towards Donkin Street and its "east end" facing south. There were

²⁰ Minute Book, Christ Church.

²¹ 12 April 1869, Minute Book, Christ Church. The name of the person requested to provide the plans has unfortunately been *cut out* of the page in the Minute Book. It is a vital piece of information that has a direct bearing on this research. There must be some solemn reason why the Minute Book was mutilated in this way.

²² *The Mission Field*, November 1869, p320.

²³ *Ibid*, p322.

²⁴ *The Cape Argus*, 19 October 1871.

²⁵ W. & S. Vivier, *Hart van die Groot Karoo*, p107.

two pointed windows widely spaced on the 'west' wall (Refer Drawing 35). The wall at the altar end was without windows. There are four lancets in the nave on the east-facing wall and three on the west that are simple openings under pointed arches without any ornamentation. For unknown reasons, the lower third of each window has been 'bricked up' with stone, an action that has detracted from the original vertical lines of the lancets (Refer Drawing 34).

Two doors now give entrance to the nave, one via the porch and the other through the recessed doorway in the 'west' wall, added after 1907 (Refer Drawing 32). The pitch of the corrugated iron nave roof is 43 degrees. Roof trusses are not visible internally; the roof is closed under a basket-arched ceiling of timber boarding. There is a disused projecting bellcote in the apex of the front gable that replaced the stone bell-cote after 1907 (Refer Drawing 31). The nave is of partially dressed stone externally and plastered brick internally.

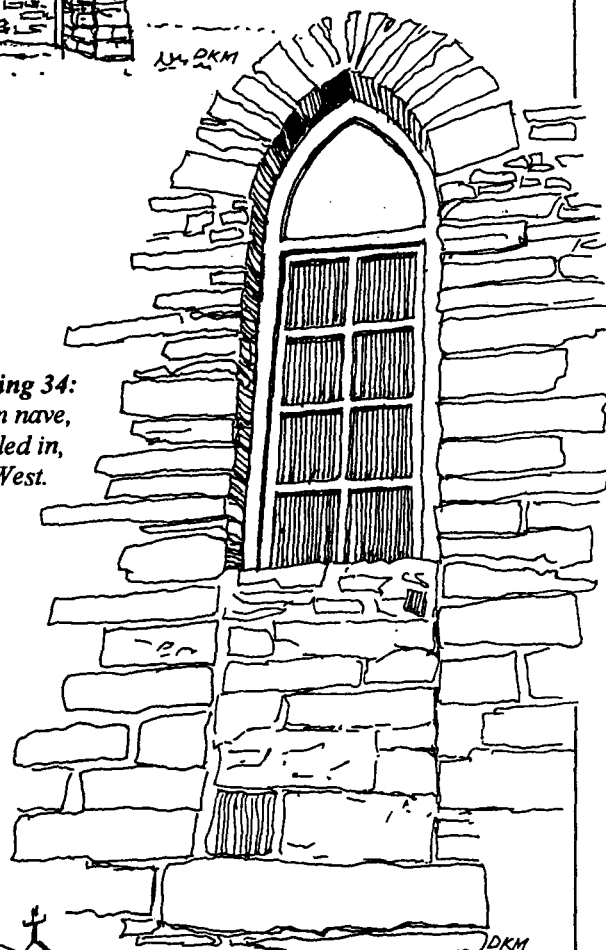
It is understandable that the Grays were dismayed on seeing the completed nave on 19 October 1855 as the essential features of an Early English church had been so altered that the cumulative effect was a church that bore little resemblance to the ecclesiological norm. These deviations included: the absence of a plinth, usually about one foot above the ground; the complete absence of buttresses²⁶; the widely spaced lancet windows in the 'west' or entrance gable wall; and the flattened pitch of the roof.

As stated above, a chancel measuring 6,4 x 8,9 metres, roughly half the size of the nave, was added in 1872. Its proportions, however, did not conform to the 'correct' shape. On 12 April 1869, the Building Committee called on an unknown person to supply plans. The Grays had arrived three days later when the Bishop promised his financial support but significantly recorded nothing about the plans for the chancel. For the above reasons, Mrs Gray's involvement with the chancel is considered unlikely.

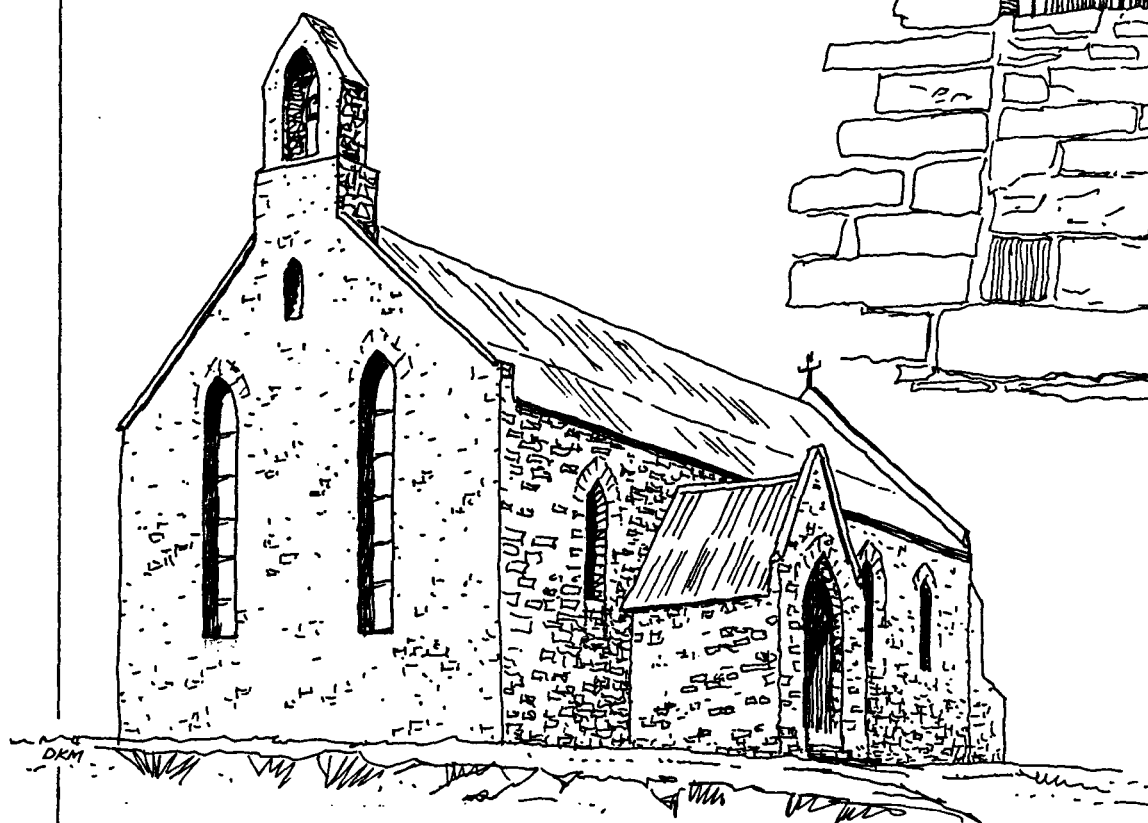
²⁶ The only other church without buttresses (school chapels and Norman churches excluded), is All Saints, Bredasdorp (C28).



Drawing 33: Stone chapel built 1849 in Devenish Street, Beaufort West, with a bellcote identical to design for St Thomas' Church, Rondebosch. (Possible Sophia Gray design).



Drawing 34: Lancet window in nave, partially filled in, Christ Church, Beaufort West.



Drawing 35: Christ Church, Beaufort West as originally built. From photograph c1907, State Archives, AG 12676.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Although the village of Worcester had been laid out in 1819, it was not until after the arrival of Bishop Gray in 1848 that the English inhabitants of the village and area were drawn together with the view of forming themselves into a parish. "It was in the vestry of the Dutch Church that the first meeting in connection with the Anglican Church was held..."¹ Bishop Gray arrived at the village on 12 December 1848 on his homeward journey during his first visitation, spending two nights at Drostdy House with a Mr Truter. He left for Tulbagh on 14 December. In December 1849, Gray received a letter from Mr W E Moore, Secretary to the Worcester Church Committee together with "...a copy of certain resolutions passed at a public meeting held... at Worcester on the 27th Nov. 1849..."² In his reply of 30 December 1849, Gray noted his pleasure "...to find that the Inhabitants of Worcester evince so great a desire to have the ministrations of the Church supplied to them..." He promised to do his best to procure a clergyman who would devote "the chief portion of his care to their spiritual concerns" and who would become involved with education. Gray foresaw that it was necessary to "memorialize the Government for some assistance towards the maintenance of the minister" as it would "require nearly a year to send home for, engage, and bring out, a duly qualified Clergyman."³ Government aid towards a minister, however, never materialised.

Gray visited Worcester while on his journey to Natal in 1850. Arriving on Friday 5 April, he spent the weekend in the village where he sounded out again the support of the English, noting that "...many express their earnest desire to have an English Clergyman settled in Worcester."⁴ The approach to the Cape Government for the temporary use of the school room was approved with certain provisos in John Montagu's letter of 17 May 1850: "In reply to your letter of the 11th Instant, I am directed by... the Governor to acquaint you... that there is no objection to the Gov. School at Worcester being used for the service of the Church of England on Sundays and Holydays, provided it be so used as not to interfere with the school..."⁵

Bishop Gray showed a sincere concern with the founding principles and procedures of each new church. This is particularly evident in the coming of Rev Martine to Worcester in 1851. On 22 April 1851, Gray wrote to the local warden, Mr E F Wylde, who on 3 April 1851, had sent Gray "...a copy of the proceedings of the English Church Committee held in Worcester on that day."⁶ Gray explained the first founding principle: An initial subscription list is drawn up "...in the first instance in each parish, as a test of the desire of the people to have a clergyman, and their willingness to contribute according to their ability towards his support." It was also understood that "...our whole church work, including the erection of the House of God, as well as the

¹ *Cape Town Diocesan Magazine*, April 1944, p11. This issue carried a short history of the Church by the rector at the time, Rev B. T. Page.

² Letter in AB 1569 (Worcester) file, CPSA Archives.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Gray's Journal, 1850, p3.

⁵ Letters to Robert Gray, 1847-1850, AB 1162/A1.2

⁶ Letterbook Vol.2, 1850-1852, pp74, 75.

maintenance of the Ministry, would depend upon their offerings, and the funds I was enabled to raise in England, by personal exertion, and the efforts of friends." As there was no Government Stipend for an English clergyman at Worcester, Gray suggested that they could apply for "...a grant of land for glebe, in lieu of stipend..."⁷ The letter of 22 April 1851 concluded with some significant promises by Bishop Gray: "So as soon as the Parishioners shall be prepared to attempt the erection of a church, I shall do my best to assist them... I will give them £50 from my subscriptions⁸ and £20 from my private purse. I will also apply to the SPCK for a grant, which will not be more than £100... I will also prepare them plans and working drawings. Before the Society's grant can be drawn, the site must be conveyed - the plans approved by me - -and the church roofed in." Gray announced that "Mr and Mrs Martine are ready to proceed to Worcester immediately. They will take up their quarters... at Watson's Hotel... Mr Newman informs me that you have a wagon to come down for them..."⁹ Rev John Martine, Rector of Shipley, Sussex, arrived in Worcester in early May 1851. He was installed as the parish priest on 11 May and served faithfully from 1851 to 1854.¹⁰ Martine and his parishioners pressed Gray to licence the schoolroom for services and on 10 June the Bishop duly issued the licence.¹¹

THE BUILDING SITE

On 1 July 1851 Gray had appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury not to misjudge any poor responses to the Archbishop's appeal for donations to the SPG from churches in the Cape Colony as these parishes were suffering hardship, especially those in the East where the frontier war was continuing.¹² No doubt with his letter to the Archbishop fresh in his mind, Gray wrote the next day, 2 July 1851, to the Colonial Secretary regarding the site allocated to the church at Worcester: "I beg to submit that the block G, near the Drostdy House, would be a most inconvenient situation for a church." Gray explained that as the village being laid out is on a large scale, the parishioners living at the furthest end from the proposed site "...would scarcely be able, unless they had a vehicle, to attend church, during the hot season. The site which the parishioners petition for, is nearly in the centre of the village where there are not less than 16 acres of land in two large blocks, called respectively Church Square & Market Square."¹³ Gray also gave other sound reasons why he was requesting the Governor to reassess the position of the allocated site. Early in 1852, the Municipality granted "...half an acre... in Market Street as a site for a church and parsonage... [and] on Wednesday, December 15, 1852, the Very Rev W A Newman, Dean of

⁷ Ibid. A glebe is a piece of land that is regarded as part of the church living or benefice. The priest had effective ownership of the glebe, which was farmed or hired out in order to generate funds for his own livelihood.

⁸ As was the case at St Paul's Church, Rondebosch, parishioners and donors subscribe to a Building Fund by means of a subscription list. When funds are required to be paid to contractors, subscribers are reminded of their commitments and the funds are realised. It is presumed Gray had a subscription list for the Worcester Church that he could call up at the appropriate time.

⁹ Letterbook Vol.2, 1850-1852.pp74, 75.

¹⁰ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred years of the SPG*, p892.

¹¹ R. Langham-Carter, *Some Notes on St James Church*, CPSA Archives, File AB1569

¹² The Eighth Frontier War was fought between 1850 and 1853.

¹³ Letterbook Vol.2, 1850-1852, p157.

Cape Town, laid the foundation stone of the church"¹⁴ (The granting of the site in the Public Square, according to Mrs Gray's records, occurred later in 1852, that is on 1 September¹⁵). It would appear that Gray's appeal to the Colonial Secretary of 2 July 1851 had influenced the final allocation of the building site. At the beginning of 1853, Rev Martine resigned and returned to England. This was an early and serious reverse to the progress that the church had started to make since Martine's arrival in mid-1851. For the next four years the parish was without a resident minister and the church project that had begun in late 1852, was set aside.

THE BUILDING PROJECT - 1855 TO 1859

Mrs Gray wrote two letters to a church official¹⁶ at Worcester on 18 June and 18 August 1855. These are clear indications of her full involvement with the design of St James and a rare record of her direct communication with building committees and builders. Sophia's original letter of 18 June carries on the outside a covering file note, presumably made by a church secretary after receipt of the letter, which reads, "Mrs Gray. Enclosing 2 Drawings of parsonage and altered plans of Church".¹⁷ Sophia wrote: "*I have completed another set of drawings for the church at Worcester* (author's italics). They differ but little from the old ones but I have made the west end and Bell Turret a little more imposing, which appeared necessary on account of the very large open space and more lofty buildings around it. The walls need not be more than two feet in thickness - & I have taken away some ornamental work from the roof."¹⁸ The letter continued with a request for quotes from local builders. Sophia also enclosed "two slight drawings of houses - one being entirely on the ground floor; the other with an upper story (sic) but a smaller area." She added that the Bishop doubted whether these could be built for less than £100 so she invited the builders to submit plans of the kind of house that could be erected for that amount.¹⁹

During the interim, George Birkett of Worcester signed an agreement dated 28 July 1855 to build a parsonage according to the plans furnished by him for £475. Clearly the Bishop had underestimated what a parsonage could cost. In addition, Birkett agreed "to erect a Church agreeably with Mrs Gray's plans with a slate roof (allowing Dutchess Slates to be £20 per thousand) for the sum of 1002 pounds sterling." As an alternative, Birkett stated that he could build the church "...with timber ceiling, bush-wood roof and thatch for the sum of 845 pounds sterling..."²⁰

Mrs Gray's second letter of 18 August 1855, explained that the plans sent to her from Worcester by Birkett "...had unfortunately been packed in some of Mr Gorham's luggage which did not arrive for some time..." and she only saw these a few days before writing.

¹⁴ *Cape Town Diocesan Magazine*, April 1944, p12.

¹⁵ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p107.

¹⁶ Langham-Carter's note in the Worcester file states this person was Dr C. N. Glasier, possibly the Church Secretary.

¹⁷ File AB1569 5.1.8, CPSA Archives.

¹⁸ Letter, AB1569 5.1.8.

¹⁹ The plans were to be taken to Worcester by either the Governor or Rev John Gorham, a master at Woodlands College, 1853-1854.

²⁰ Document, File AB 1569 5.1.8.

Sophia then discussed the plans, specifications and quotes for the parsonage. The Bishop was willing to proceed with a thatched house for £475.²¹ Mrs Gray then addressed the church building: "I fear the church must stand over for the present time until the arrival of a clergyman & until we have more money in hand as it is a large sum... I do not quite understand from the tender whether Mr Birkett offers to complete the church upon the present foundations or, as his words would rather imply, that the whole expense including foundations would be £1002, if begun in a fresh place?" Her final comments relate to repositioning the parsonage on the church site to allow more privacy and space for a garden. At the end of 1855, Bishop Gray visited Worcester again. On 20 November he made a sad comment about the church situation in the town: "The parsonage-house is gradually rising up. The Church is at a standstill: nothing more can be done to this till a clergyman arrives." Of Rev Martine he wrote, "He was much respected here. Had he remained, our Church in this village would have been in a very different condition to what it is now."²²

On 8 February 1857, Rev Martine's replacement, Rev John Maynard arrived as the resident priest and as Gray had hoped, the building project resumed.²³ On 3 March 1857, Birkett signed an agreement "...to erect a Church with a slate roof, on the foundations laid in the Market Square, Worcester, according to the ...specifications and plans... for the sum of 1002 pounds sterling..."²⁴ There had been no escalation in the contracted price during the two year delay with the project. Part of the work to be undertaken by Birkett was to repair the old foundations, "...and lay new ones for the floor beams - To build the walls of good burnt bricks... To plaster the outside with lime and the inside with clay - To give two coats of whitewash to the inside and outside walls..."²⁵ The specifications included the construction and finish of the floor and roof, the Altar, Pulpit, reading desk and benches. The roof ridge was to be covered "...with six pound lead." The pulpit, reading desk and benches were to be painted and varnished "...in imitation of oak."²⁶ The *S A Church Magazine* carried a brief report of the building project at the time of the signing of the contract. It stated that the contract was for the sum of £1000 and added, "The foundation was laid some years ago but the work was stopped by the departure of the Rev J M Martine to England. Since the removal of Rev J Maynard from Beaufort to Worcester, the work has begun again with great vigour, and it is hoped that the church will be roofed in, in a few months."²⁷

It appears that Birkett and his building team made good progress as on 19 January 1858, an additional agreement was signed for the building of "...a Vestibule, or Inner Porch to the English Church, of Deal to be 2 inches thick, and panelled and painted to match the Benches of said Church... agreeable to the plan annexed."²⁸ The contracted price for this wooden structure was

²¹ Letter, File AB 1569 5.1.8.

²² Gray's Journal, 1855, p123.

²³ Maynard remained at Worcester until 1879 (C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred years of the SPG*, p892.)

²⁴ Document, Worcester file AB 1569 5.1.8.

²⁵ Specifications, Worcester file.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ *S A Church Magazine*, April 1857, p159.

²⁸ Document, Worcester file.

£23. It is likely that Birkett drew these plans himself as his signature matches the text on the plan. By January 1859 the church had been completed. The windows had diamond lead lights that had been made in Cape Town at a cost of £100. On 28 January 1859 the church was opened by the Dean of Cape Town, Rev W A Douglas although it was not until 23 October of that year that the church was consecrated by Bishop Gray.²⁹

The Bishop's visitation to the western part of the Diocese in September - October 1859 is covered in some detail in the *S A Church Magazine*. Of Worcester, mention is made that "...a Church, erected at a cost of £1200, by the small number of English in that place, was consecrated. Great zeal has been shown by the parishioners of Worcester in support of their Church."³⁰ The SPG's own publication also reported on the 1859 visitation, quoting from a letter which the Bishop wrote on 16 November 1859: "I was glad to find myself again in the charming village of Worcester and to look at the neat early English church which had been completed since I was last here, and was ready for consecration."³¹ Gray estimated the cost to be £1200 and added "...they will have to replace all the windows in the church, which were made in Cape Town at a cost of £100, and have been nearly all blown out." He was referring to the damage caused by a severe storm on 6 September 1859.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

Two years after Bishop Gray's death, at a church meeting presided over by Bishop West Jones on 29 October 1874, resolutions were passed "...that a chancel should be added to the Church provided the necessary funds [could] be raised - " and, most significantly, "...that the plans drawn up by Mrs Gray be adopted in their main features, with the addition of a vestry."³² The chancel was completed in 1876 and dedicated by Bishop West Jones on 16 November 1876.³³ The decision of the St James Building Committee to use plans prepared by Mrs Gray 19 years previously, and three years after her death in 1871, bears testimony to the high regard it had for Sophia's expertise in church architecture. In retrospect, in no other church history is the involvement of Mrs Gray with the design and building of a church as well documented as in the St James' Anglican Church, Worcester.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The church as built in 1857/58 comprised a three-bay nave measuring 16,5 x 6,5 metres (Refer to Drawings 36, 37 and 38). There are angle buttresses on the corners and buttresses between the windows of the nave. The 'west' wall facing north has a recessed doorway, a two-light window with blind tracery in the head and a pedimented bellcote. The nave windows are a mixture of lancet couplets and lancets and there was a triplet lancet in the east wall. Five elegant arch-braced king post trusses support the roof of 54 degrees (Refer Figure L). The church is plastered externally and internally.

²⁹ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p195; also *List of Consecration of Churches*, 1827-1919.

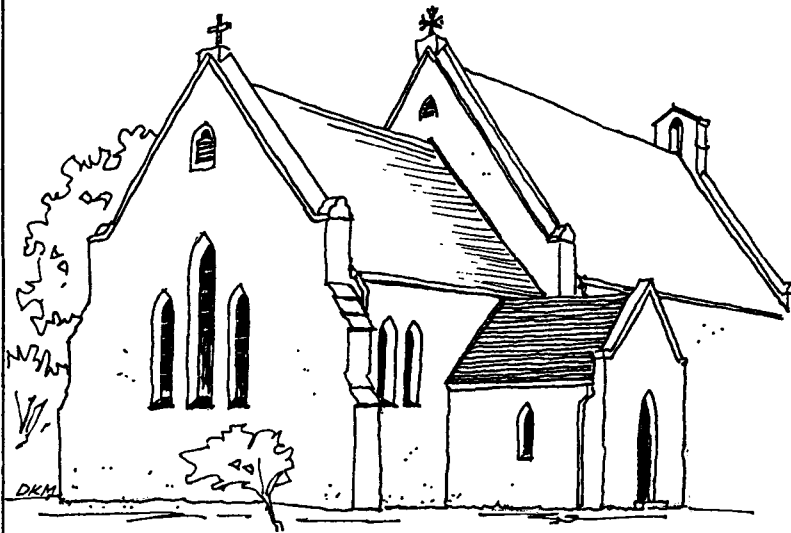
³⁰ *S A Church Magazine*, December 1859, p480.

³¹ *The Mission Field*, 1860, p52.

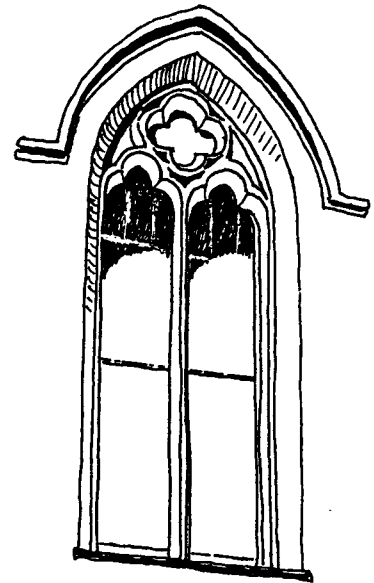
³² Minutes of Church Meeting, 29 October 1874.

³³ *The List of Consecration of Churches*.

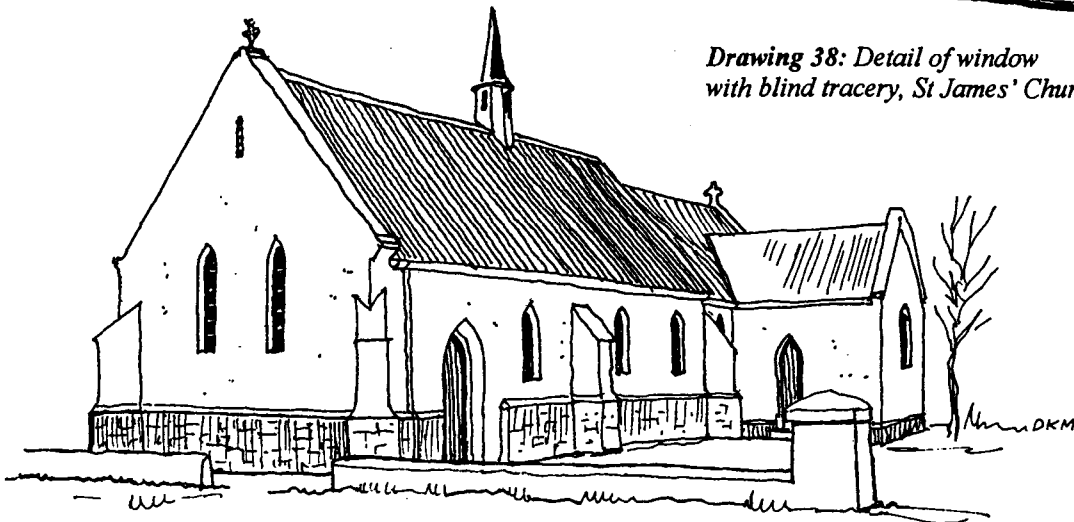
*Drawing 36: St James' Church, Worcester.
Vestry on left and the chancel on right.*



*Drawing 37: St James' Church from the South,
showing chancel and vestry (both added in 1876).*



*Drawing 38: Detail of window
with blind tracery, St James' Church, West wall.*



*Drawing 39: All Saints Church, Somerset East,
with rare single step buttresses.*

PHASE 2: Churches (9) commenced in the 4 years between 1854 and 1857, after Gray's return from England in early 1854 and his visitations of 1855, 1856 and 1857.

The year 1854 started with the return of the Grays from England on 20 January. No visitations are recorded for this year which was marked by the comings and goings of personalities: Bishop Armstrong arrived from England for the Grahamstown diocese, Gray's son Charlie left for England while the new Governor, Sir George Grey and Lady Grey arrived in Cape Town in December.

Visitations resumed in May 1855 with a short trip to Worcester. In August-November 1855 there was a well-documented visitation as far as Oudtshoorn and Beaufort West. This included the Bishop's visit to Mossel Bay in September when he noted that the school-chapel was "in the course of erection." The year 1856 commenced with the Bishop's trip to Tristan d'Acunha in March-April, followed by a brief visit to villages near Paarl and the journey by sea to Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown between July and October 6 following the untimely death of Bishop Armstrong. This trip was made during the height of the Xhosa cattle killing debacle. In July 1857, the Grays made a short trip to the West Coast prior to leaving on 18 October via St Helena Island for another two year period in England..

During these four years between the two extended stays of the Bishop and his wife in England, nine churches including the Armstrong Memorial Chapel, Grahamstown were commenced. Apart from the school chapels in Newlands (C23) and Paarl (C22) and St Paul's on St Helena Island (C57), these churches were in the Southern and Eastern Cape. It is noteworthy that, with the obvious exception of the Armstrong Memorial Chapel, the initial debates to build a church at the eight other centres all took place during Bishop Gray's first visitation of 1848.

Churches in Phase 2 are:

- C19. All Saints **Somerset East**;
- C20. St Paul's **North End**, Port Elizabeth;
- C21. St Matthew **Riversdale**;
- C22. Holy Trinity **Paarl**;
- C23. St Andrew's Chapel **Newlands**;
- C24. Armstrong Memorial Chapel **Grahamstown**;
- C25. St Peter's **Cradock**;
- C48. St Peter's Chapel **Mossel Bay** (History appears in Phase 6 being linked with the St Peter's Church at Mossel Bay).

C57. St Paul's **St Helena Island** (History appears at the end of Phase 6).

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Following Bishop Gray's first visit to Grahamstown in early October 1848, he moved through the so-called "Settler Country" visiting the settlements of Bathurst, Cuylerville and Southwell. He then travelled to Fort Beaufort and on 1 November 1848, he arrived in Somerset East. At an afternoon meeting of parishioners held in the Government schoolroom, two memorials were drawn up, "one asking for assistance towards the stipend of a Clergyman and the other for a site for a church."¹ It was decided to raise subscriptions for the building of a church in the town, estimated to cost £600.

On 9 July 1849, Gray applied to the Colonial Secretary for "the grant of a site for a church, parsonage house and burial ground at Somerset East." John Montagu's reply of 20 August 1849 stated, "His Excellency has no objection to a grant of one acre of the land pointed out in your letter for each of the above purpose."² He continued, "...the surveyor general has been instructed to cause the ground selected by the Bishop to be surveyed and a title to be prepared without delay. I am therefore to request that you will communicate with Mr Bell on the subject."³

On 15 December 1849, Gray wrote to Rev Edmund Pain who had recently moved to Somerset East to shepherd the fledgling church, remarking, "I am glad that you are comfortably settled - I remember your ruinous abode (!)" Gray then addressed the need of funding for the Church: "The money for the erection of the Church is at the disposal of the Committee, of which you should of course be a member. I think it will be wise to place it in the Bank or Saving Bank, or wherever it will be secure & bear interest. To the sum of £80 already collected, I shall add when the building is commenced £50 from my fund (if it lasts out) & £20 private subscription. Also £20, being a tithe offering from a parishioner of Somerset. I will recommend the case, when it is in a state to be submitted to the SPCK who will most probably give £100. Govt. will, I hope... give one fifty, And you all must do what you can at home [England] and in the Colony, to raise the sum up to £700 or 800. Large sums are being raised in this way in England for particular parishes."⁴ Gray continued, "As to the £60 for the Clergyman, I leave the Parish to raise it as they see fit, but I shall be glad if they do it by the offertory upon which... we shall ultimately have to depend for our whole Church work. Subscription lists are but a makeshift, and will gradually fail. My views will be seen in the Pastorals which I hope... to issue to Clergy and Laity, copies of which will be supplied to you. Your Parishioners must... determine what they will do. If they propose to collect for the Clergyman by subscription, it shd. be done at once and forwarded to my account at the Cape of Good Hope Bank."⁵

¹ Gray's Journal, 1848, p53.

² Letter to Bishop Gray, CPSA Archives, AB1162.

³ On 12 July 1848, Charles Bell succeeded Colonel Michel as Surveyor General following the latter's retirement to England. Bell held the post until his retirement on 1 December 1872 (P. B. Simons, *The Life and Work of Charles Bell*, p73.)

⁴ Letterbook Vol.1, 1848-1850, CPSA Archives AB 1162/A1.1

⁵ Ibid.

Three months later, on 1 April 1850, Gray wrote another letter to Pain, obviously in response to queries Pain had raised about fund-raising. Gray commented, "As to the offertory, I have no wish to prescribe the purposes to which it is to be applied, though I think not one of those named in my pastoral letter should be altogether overlooked." Gray stated that the main aims of giving "should be made to support the Pastor of the Parish and to erect the Church." Gray advised Pain "...to collect often for the Clergyman & the Church, occasionally for Missions and for the poor & schools as needed."⁶ Gray concluded, "I start within an hour on my long visitation [to Natal] & consequently write in great haste - I trust to be at Somerset about the first week in September."

Gray's second visit to Somerset East was much later than he had informed Pain as he had no idea that the 1850 tour to Natal would be so strenuous. After reaching Port Elizabeth in August 1850, he travelled inland as far as Aliwal North and journeyed back to Port Elizabeth stopping at Somerset East on 31 October 1850 where he stayed with Rev Pain (later to become the church's first rector where he served from 1855 to 1865). Gray preached in the Courtroom on Sunday 3 November and on Tuesday 5 November, he held a meeting in Rev Pain's house. He recorded in his journal, "The two questions for consideration were the continued support of the ministry and the erection of the church." His concern was that only £100 had thus far been paid into the bank for the church building project.⁷ "A fresh subscription was... opened for this special object, and several gentlemen undertook to advance £500 on loan... *I promised to furnish plans, working drawings, and specifications, for a church to hold 150* (author's italics), but capable of future enlargement, - the probable cost would be £1000." This is the only direct reference to plans and drawings in any of the records. The next day, 6 November 1850, Gray wrote on leaving Somerset East, "It will not be long... before a neat little church, in one of the prettiest parts of this very pretty village, will be erected to gladden the hearts... of members of our communion."⁸

THE BUILDING PROJECT

Assuming Mrs Gray was given the task by her husband of designing an appropriate church for the town, her plans, working drawings and specifications must have been completed during the course of 1851 as the Bishop only returned from his Natal trip on Christmas Eve of 1850. Furthermore, during the years 1852 and 1853 the Grays were in England. In 1852, Archdeacon Merriman visited the town and recorded (some day between 9 and 13 June 1852) that "At Somerset I found... a cheering tone prevailing on Church matters. Though they have only the Government schoolroom as yet in which to meet for worship, they do not neglect week-day services... We had a meeting to discuss the most desirable way of commencing their future church; they had sent me a plan on what seemed the plainest and most economical style for a durable stone building, but after getting the expense very carefully calculated by the Royal Engineers at Graham's Town, we found that it was full half as much again as their funds were likely to meet, and the question now was, whether it would not be better even to sacrifice the assistance... from the Church Building funds at the Bishop's disposal and the grant from the SPCK also, than to embark in any work which would... leave them heavily in debt."⁹ The journal entry continues that a "humble temporary church" could be raised, leaving "a good stone edifice

⁶ Letterbook Vol.1, 1848-1850, p187.

⁷ Gray's Journal, 1850, p173.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Archbishop Merriman's Cape Journals, p187.

till a future day." The ongoing Frontier war, however, was pushing prices double their usual value so it was agreed to defer the decision to build. The difficulties arising from the debt on the new church at Graaff-Reinet served as a warning to the people of Somerset of "being stranded on the same shore."¹⁰

The Colonial Secretary, Rawson, wrote to the Bishop in a letter dated 10 July 1854, some six months after their return from England, to inform him that, having received from the Surveyor General a diagram of the ground required for "the English Episcopal Church at Somerset," he was pleased to authorize the Title Deed in favour of the See of Grahamstown.¹¹ The church was eventually built during 1854 by the builder Robert John Thatcher whose son was a catechist who came out from England with Bishop Armstrong.¹² Armstrong recorded in his journal, "On Thursday [9 May 1855] I consecrated the New Church and Burial Ground. The Church is very Churchlike, plain, simple and well suited to the place. It is a thoroughly satisfactory work and has cost Mr Pain much well-spent toil."¹³ There is no record of the Grays ever seeing the completed church. Its consecration was not recorded by Mrs Gray in her *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, no doubt because the church fell under the Diocese of Grahamstown that had been established on 23 November 1853. Mr Greenlees, a builder, added the chancel in 1881/1882, some 28 years after the building of the nave.¹⁴ The Bishop of Grahamstown consecrated the chancel on 16 June 1882. A report at the time stated that it "measures 28ft. by 18ft., and has a Vestry and an Organ Chamber on the south side."¹⁵

THE CHURCH AND ITS ARCHITECT

The church when built comprised a four-bay nave only, measuring 16,6 x 6 metres, with single-step corner buttresses and a buttress at the mid-point either side of the church. The windows were all lancets with a lancet couplet on the west wall and a triplet lancet presumably in the east wall. The roof of 51 degrees has arch-braced trusses and a three-panelled ceiling. A ventilation tower was built on the roof ridge. The church is of stone up to the dado with plaster on the upper and internal walls. Refer to Drawing 39. Considering the simplicity of the structure as built in 1854, and that the church has the basic features seen in other simple Sophia Gray churches such as the lancet windows, a high-pitched roof and diagonal buttresses, it can be reasonably concluded that Sophia had authorship of the design, particularly as the Bishop had promised plans, working drawings and specifications during his visit in November 1850. Other historians credit Sophia with the design.¹⁶

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Letter to Bishop Gray, CPSA Archives, AB1162.

¹² John Armstrong was consecrated as Bishop of Grahamstown on 30 November 1853.

¹³ G. High, *History of All Saints Church, Somerset East 1855-1955*, p1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *The Church Chronicle*, Vol. III, July 1882, p217.

¹⁶ Langham-Carter credits Mrs Gray with the design of the church in his lists of 1974 and 1977 (the 1974 list names the church erroneously as "St Peter"). A. J. R. Beddy likewise credits Sophia with the design in his *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...*

PORT ELIZABETH PRIOR TO 1848

St Paul's Church is inextricably linked with the Collegiate Church of St Mary, Port Elizabeth, the first Anglican church in the city. Rev Frances M McClelland, Rector of St Mary's and Colonial Chaplain of Port Elizabeth, had come to South Africa in 1820 with a group of Irish settlers who originally settled in the Clanwilliam area in the Western Cape.¹ He preached the sermon on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of St Mary's on 6 October 1825 which was laid by Capt. Evatt, Government Resident at Algoa Bay and chief founder of St Mary's. A letter of the same date was presented to Evatt in which he is asked to accept "the heartfelt thanks of Port Elizabeth, for with you originated the good work..." Although McClelland's arrival at St Mary's parish virtually coincided with the start of building operations, he was a man of energy and was committed to seeing the completion of the church and subsequently "to do all in his power to raise funds for the church" for various improvements². The initial phase of the work proceeded slowly with walls of the plain building being completed in 1830.³ In the five-year period between Bishop Gray's arrival in South Africa in 1848 and McClelland's death on 10 July 1853 when the chaplaincy at St Mary's became vacant, there had been considerable talk of the need for another church to serve the English in the poorer part of the town, the North End.

HOW ST PAUL'S CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Bishop Gray arrived in Port Elizabeth on his first visitation on 27 September 1848. He said of Port Elizabeth, "Church matters were not in a comfortable state..."³ Gray met McClelland and Messrs Harries and Frere and records that he spent the early part of the day (28th) "...surveying the town with a view to the selection of sites for future Church, etc." He spent time "...endeavouring to settle some unfortunate differences..." but at a meeting at the Town Hall on 30 September 1848, he discussed "...the erection of a school, and another church."⁴ On Monday 2 October, Gray was escorted out of the town "with a lighter heart" than when he entered. Gray noted hopefully "that I may ere long, see a new church and a second Clergyman here."⁵

In Gray's letter to McClelland, dated 31 July 1849, he said that he was pleased that a subscription towards a church had begun. He promised £100 from his public fund and £50 "from my private purse." After admonishing McClelland for inadvertently transgressing "the laws both of the Church & of the Colony..." in respect of some marriage McClelland had conducted, Gray ended his letter with a solemn postscript, "The plans & other arrangements for the Church must of course be such as I can approve of. All grants depend upon this."⁶ Clearly the Bishop wished to control any building project, especially the design, a point that he made strongly to the Colonial Chaplain.

On the Bishop's visitation of 1850 he stopped in the town, this time on his return from Natal. His

¹ A. T. Wirgman and C. E. Mayo, *The Collegiate Church and Parish of S. Mary*, p7.

² *Ibid*, p13.

³ Gray's Journal, 1848, p24.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ Gray's Journal, 1848, p28.

⁶ Letterbook Vol.1, CPSA Archives, pp77, 78.

first comment, on 24 August, was that the town is "somewhat enlarged since I arrived at it nearly two years ago..."⁷ In the two weeks he had given himself to be in the town, Gray was determined "to devise some plan in conjunction with the parishioners" for the extension of the work. A week later on 31 August 1850 he wrote: "I have now been in this town one week ...our work is in a more dead state here, and at Uitenhage, than in any other part of the Diocese... we ought to make an effort to procure the erection of a second Church at the north end of the town, which is increasing very rapidly."⁸ Frustration at the lack of progress with the second church is clearly evident in this part of Gray's journal.

Gray changed his motivational tactic and addressed an open letter to the members of the Parish of St Mary: "Brethren - Since my arrival amongst you, several zealous members have expressed to me their earnest desires to see another Church erected at the North end of the Town, with a special view to the spiritual wants of our Poorer Brethren, and of the Sailors who frequent this Port." The Bishop then explained how the church building project could be funded. The letter stated that, should £500 be raised by Christmas [1850], "...a Church, to contain 200, or if possible, 250 persons, should be erected upon the land offered by Mr Tee and Mr Korsten, or such other site as may be deemed more desirable. The Church would of course be so constructed as to be capable of future enlargement, so that when completed it might hold perhaps 500. The nave might be first erected; aisles, chancel and tower might be added, as funds were forthcoming."⁹ Sixteen men volunteered as fund-raisers even before the Bishop could have his letter printed. He met with them and a Building Committee was formed "and steps taken to promote the erection of the church."¹⁰ Gray met with the Committee again to select a site and commence a subscription plan. He recorded with satisfaction, "A very eligible situation has been fixed upon, the ground being given by two individuals. About £200 was contributed in the room by the Committee and the greatest confidence was expressed that the amount required would speedily be raised..."¹¹

The Bishop had turned the apathy in the parish into action. His commitment to the project was recognised by the parishioners and on 5 September 1850, before he left he was presented with a letter from the Vestry of Port Elizabeth. It commends him in the pedantic style of the era: "... the willingness with which your Lordship has come forward to aid in the erection of an additional church ...is the best evidence that can be adduced of your Lordship's untiring exertions in this particular..."¹² Gray responded, "I quit Port Elizabeth with some degree of comfort." He left the town on 5 September 1850 and headed for Grahamstown.

A significant letter, written by the Bishop from Fort Hare on 28 September 1850, was addressed to the Rev T B Murray of the SPCK. He acknowledged with gratitude the gifts of the SPCK to

⁷ Gray's Journal, 1850, p130.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Gray's Journal, 1850, p132.

¹⁰ Ibid, p133.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid, p136.

four churches but continued, "I have now to bring under the notice of the Board the state of Pt. Elizabeth. That is perhaps the most rising Town in the Colony... We have there a church which will hold 400 - *and an old Irish clergyman, who has but little weight in the place* (author's italics)."¹³ The Bishop's frustration is evident, this time with the lack of local leadership. Gray continues, "Almost all the pews in the church are let [not a policy the Bishop supported]. During my late visitation about £500 was raised towards the erection of a second church - to be entirely free. I encouraged them to hope that the Society would help them... I have recommended them to begin with a nave of a Church to which Aisles & Chancel may be added. The whole when completed will probably accommodate between 400 & 500. The part now to be completed about 250. The cost about £1200." Gray then pleaded, "If the Board wd. make a grant towards the erection of a church I should feel much indebted to them..."¹⁴

Two months later on 12 November 1850, Gray was back in Port Elizabeth on his homeward route to Cape Town. He commented in his journal, "We were not able to fix upon a plan."¹⁵ On 16 November, however, Gray attended another meeting of the Church Building Committee "when we decided upon the outline of a plan for which I was to furnish a design and working drawings."¹⁶ This comment has been interpreted as meaning "that his wife Sophie would design the church"¹⁷ (which, considering the role she had played in the programme thus far was close enough to what happened). Large congregations attended the Sunday services the next day with "some obliged to go away for want of room," prompting Gray's comment, "...it shows how much an additional church is required."¹⁸ In a letter dated 29 April 1851 from Gray to his brother Richard in England, he wrote, "Port Elizabeth is in no immediate hurry about its man. The church is not yet begun but they are crying out for their plans which will be sent in a few days."¹⁹ It appears that Sophia had been too busy to give immediate attention to the promise her husband had made in November 1850, to provide the 'design and working drawings' as a five-month period had elapsed.

DISPUTES OVER DESIGN DETAILS

Mrs Gray finished the plans and on 3 May 1851, in an explicit letter, under the Bishop's name she wrote to Mr W M Harries, referred to by Gutsche as "the disputatious Mr Harries..."²⁰ The instructions given by Sophia are quoted fully as they reveal the strong control the Grays hoped to exert on the church scheme (The bulk of the letters in the Bishop's Letterbooks are in his wife's unmistakeable script. They are all signed "R. Capetown" and occasionally refer to Mrs Gray in the third person. It is assumed that when detailed building matters are discussed, the letter is clearly reflecting the opinion of Mrs Gray, although endorsed by the Bishop):

¹³ Letterbook Vol.1 (1848-1850), p279.

¹⁴ Ibid, p280.

¹⁵ Gray's Journal, 1850, p177.

¹⁶ Ibid, p178.

¹⁷ P. Hart, *St Paul's Church Port Elizabeth*, p7.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Letterbook Vol.2, p83.

²⁰ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p123.

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"Mrs Gray has at last finished the plans & working drawings for the new church at Port Elizabeth. They have been sent to the Colonial Office to be forwarded if possible by the Steamer... I should have sent them sooner had I not feared that the war could stand in the way of the good work... The plans are ... according to the dimensions agreed upon when I was in Port Elizabeth. At present they are simply for the nave, to which may be added side-aisles, chancel, Tower, as required. The Tower is not as high as might have been wished; but I fear that funds are not likely to be obtained for a very lofty one. You will observe that the blind arches in the side walls, & chancel end are made very distinct, to avoid mistake; & the windows being intended hereafter for the aisles, are smaller than they otherwise would have been. The side walls might if needed be plastered, but if built of stone, I should prefer leaving them without a coat of lime."²¹ The letter then addressed financial aspects. The SPCK will grant money, on the "usual conditions" that the plans are approved by the Bishop, the site "secured" and the building roofed in before their money is drawn. The Bishop's contribution was £450 of which he states £250 may be drawn "...during the progress of the Building, as the money may be required... and £200 after the roofing in."²² The letter called for the necessary transfer papers including "A Diagram of the land", to be sent to J C Davidson in Cape Town.

A month later, on 3 June 1851, Harries wrote to the Bishop with a query about the blind arches. On 21 June 1851, Mrs Gray responded under the signature of her husband, "There must be some mistake about the blind arches. All that is intended is that over those portions of the wall which would hereafter have to be broken out for the insertion of the arches, the bricks instead of being laid in course, should be set in a radius, somewhat as we see them placed over windows in brick houses in England. No mouldings would be required, nor any other than ordinary bricks. The additional expense of this... would be very trifling. I... think it a matter of much importance that the church should if possible be so built as to be capable of future enlargement."²³

The letter then referred to the suggestion made by "some of the inhabitants" that a third church should be built. This would have required a change in plans for the second church. Sophia states that "Should the Committee... wish to depart from the previous arrangement..." the Bishop would offer no objection." The changes on the plans would mean changes to the windows intended for the aisles; buttresses must be added "...and the walls built of stone instead of brick." Sophia then commented despairingly on the cost of building: "... at least double what it would be at home. Could you not employ the convicts in clearing the ground, and digging the Foundations?" she asked. As for the suggestion that "half of the pews should be let in order to furnish a certain revenue independent of all voluntary contributions", Sophia stated that the money donated by Miss Burdett Coutts was not placed at the Bishop's disposal for anything but a free church "and it would be a violation of trust not to adhere to her intention."²⁴

On 4 September 1851, the Bishop (Mrs Gray) wrote again to Harries after receiving news "that the tenders for the new church so far exceed the means at the disposal of the committee."²⁵ The

²¹ Letterbook Vol.2, p100.

²² Ibid. p100.

²³ Letterbook Vol.2, p144, 145.

²⁴ Ibid, p145.

²⁵ Letterbook Vol.2, pp192, 193.

Committee found themselves £500 short and had probably appealed for funding from Gray. No doubt with some reluctance, Sophia agreed that "the plan should be altered or the expensive parts of the present building be in some way reduced.... It will be desirable for Mrs Gray to have the plans again before her, with any suggestions which the committee may be kind enough to offer... to lessen the expense. If I remember right, the windows were the most costly parts.... I presume the contractor was to have worked these in stone. The change of style from Decorated to Early English would probably make a certain reduction. If you could let her see the particulars of the contractors estimate, it would be a great assistance to her in devising the alterations..."²⁶ Recognizing that architectural modifications were unavoidable, the Bishop commented that he would do what he could to add to the building fund. He responded to the manner in which "sittings" will be allocated to parishioners. "Men cannot sit where they like but where the officers chosen by the Parishioners appoint. In practice however I am not aware that any inconvenience is found to arise from the undue claims of the poor, and in this colony of the coloured race." It appears that the integration of "the poor" had raised its head, a matter which the Bishop stated should be "guarded against", being contrary to the church laws. He concluded that he had recently officiated "to a crowded congregation... where the rich and poor meet together in a building wholly free, without the least annoyance arising to any."²⁷ On 18 December 1851, Archdeacon Merriman arrived in the town on a 24-hour visit. He summoned "the Committee of the new church they are proposing to erect, and at last brought them over to the Bishop's views of erecting a church whose accommodation should be rent free, but the seats appropriated."²⁸

Mrs Gray's plans of the church must have been returned as requested by the Bishop in September as in his letter of 27 December 1851, he stated, "I have received the diagram of the glebe... The Archdeacon has forwarded me the Resolutions of the Church Building Committee which are quite satisfactory." The tone of Gray's letter to McClelland is cordial: "Mrs Gray has the plans of the church here. If these are too expensive she will readily prepare more economical ones. These were drawn in consequence of my telling her what the wishes of the Committee were & *in accordance with a little sketch, which I forwarded to her* (author's italics) from Port Elizabeth. Perhaps the Committee will say whether they desire to have the original plans or a simpler set."²⁹ This reference to a 'little sketch' is significant as it shows that the Bishop was intimately involved in the design requirements. His insistence on seeing plans indicates that he could read these sufficiently well so as to approve them.

Mrs Gray recorded, "On 3 April 1852, a piece of ground at Port Elizabeth... was transferred to the See of Cape Town as a gift for a site of a church, to be called St Paul's from Mr Cooper and Mrs Korsten."³⁰ The site of the church was at the junction of Coopers Kloof and Queen Street. The wording of the title deed is also worth noting as the church was called 'St Paul's Church' for the first time.³¹ The reason for the ascription is unknown. During the years 1852 and 1853, the

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ P. Hart, *St Paul's Church*, p12.

²⁹ Letterbook Vol.2, p267.

³⁰ *Chronicles of the Diocese*, p107.

³¹ P. Hart, *History of St Paul's*, p6.

Grays were in England. The needs of community in North End, however, were not far from the Bishop's thoughts. In a letter dated 26 September 1853 written from Bayswater to a Rev Phillips, Gray made an impassioned plea for him to consider accepting the post of Rector of St Paul's.³² Gray explained the importance of Port Elizabeth, the size of the population, the church size, financial support, and disclosed openly his poor opinion of M'Clelland. (News of M'Clelland's death on 10 July 1853 must have reached Gray by then). Gray said of the parishioners, "They have a bias towards low views, chiefly in consequence of their having had a minister for the last 30 years whom they did not respect."³³ He added, "No place in my Diocese has caused me more anxiety. For no Parish have I desired to do more, for none have I been able to do less." Phillips did not accept the call. One of Gray's objectives while overseas had been to recruit clergy. He returned to South Africa on 15 December 1853 together with several new clergymen including the Rev Edwin Giles, the first rector of the new St Paul's.³⁴ Following the consecration of Bishop Armstrong on 30 November 1853, "Port Elizabeth passed out of Bishop Gray's jurisdiction..."³⁵

THE CHURCH PROJECT

Bishop Armstrong arrived in Cape Town in September 1854 and then travelled to his newly established diocese. Mrs Armstrong recorded in her Journal on 18 October 1854, "The Bishop at about 4 in the afternoon laid the first stone of the New Church of St Paul."³⁶ Bishop Armstrong recorded a similar entry in his diary, "On the 18th, St Luke's Day, I laid the foundation stone of a second church, which will be well placed, as the town straggles a long way on..."³⁷ In retrospect, the Building Committee of St Paul's had shown little real progress considering that there was more than a two year gap between the time that the church received Mrs Gray's amended plans, probably early 1852, and the laying of the stone in October 1854.

During the period of construction of the church from October 1854 to its consecration on 30 August 1856, building operations were in the hands of the new rector, Giles. The progress of the building can be followed in Fr Giles' note book, which is the earliest document in the files of St Paul's.³⁸ It is a very modest little cash book, reflecting *inter alia* the largest amount paid, £583 2s. to a builder named Byers, of which £103. 2s was for the foundations. The notebook reveals that the window frames were of cut stone. Payments for the stone, bricks and slate are not recorded, as "the building material was the gift of Mr Tee." Timber for the woodwork was bought from the firm of John Owen Smith but Smith would issue a receipt without taking payment. "The foundations were laid... at the end of 1854; ... so the building must have been complete when Fr. Giles left about May 1856."³⁹ Sadly Giles who had done so much for the church in his brief

³² Letterbook, Vol.11. Original in hands of A. L. Kerbel.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid, p16.

³⁵ Letter from Canon C. T. Wood to A. L. Kerbel, 22 March 1973.

³⁶ Mrs Armstrong's Journal, 1854-1856, CPSA Archives.

³⁷ Ibid, p16.

³⁸ P. Hart, *P. St Paul's Church*, p18.

³⁹ Ibid, p19.

incumbency, had to return to England on account of ill-health three months before St Paul's was consecrated. Coinciding with his departure was the sudden death of Bishop Armstrong on 16 May 1856, after only 19 months in his diocese. Bishop Gray prepared to review the situation in the Eastern Cape. He recorded "On Saturday 12th July, 1856, I sailed... with my wife, for Port Elizabeth... now alas, deprived of its Bishop... through death."⁴⁰ Three days later, on 15 July 1856, the Grays disembarked and, according to Gutsche, "They looked at [Mrs Gray's] new church at Port Elizabeth whose design had not been followed and was now full of faults. Sophy was hard put to conceal her vexation but Robert spoke it loud and strong."⁴¹ Gray's record reads: "The church of this... parish is nearly ready for consecration. As the parishioners are very anxious to get... out of their present... wooden store, I have undertaken to consecrate it upon my return [from Kaffraria], though the internal fittings will not be completed. The church will hold about 400, and will be a great blessing to the part of town in which it is situated. Though vastly superior in point of appearance and architecture to the older St Mary, it has some great faults about it. The roof, which is open, is of an excellent design, and of teak wood, and is the best part of the building. *The chancel is far too small, and stunted both as to height and length. There are buttresses only at the east and west ends. The windows of the nave are too large, and are to have wooden mullions. The east window is far too small* [Refer to Drawing 43]. The height of the church, and the pitch of the roof, are all that could be wished."⁴²

On 29 August 1856 Mrs Gray wrote a letter to her children from Port Elizabeth, "St Paul's church here is to be consecrated tomorrow. It is very unfinished with no seats and calico windows! *It is not pretty. The plans were Mr Giles and they are a mess. Neither correct nor pretty* (author's italics)."⁴³ Giles must have altered aspects of Sophia's plans for her to have made these frank comments related probably to the 'great faults' the Bishop noted in his journal (quoted in the preceding paragraph). His journal entry on the day of consecration is, by contrast, free of censure: "On Saturday I consecrated St Paul's Church, for the fitting up of which there are not yet sufficient funds, but which will, I trust, shortly be completed."⁴⁴ He noted items that had been donated and for which he was obviously grateful: "One wealthy merchant, who has given the beautiful open roof of teak wood [John Owen Smith], lent without much prospect of payment, all the timber for the flooring, and promises one fourth of what is needed for putting in the windows; and another has commissioned my wife to order, without fixing any price, a pulpit and reading desk of teak, for which she is to prepare drawings."⁴⁵ Various other items were donated by friends of Rev Giles in England. Mrs Gray recorded the consecration in the *Chronicles*: "On 30th August Saint Paul's Church, Port Elizabeth was consecrated by the Bishop of Cape Town, great exertions having been made by the Parishioners to complete it sufficiently to allow of its being used for Divine Service."⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Gray's Journal, 1856, p1.

⁴¹ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p156. This is Gutsche's interpretation of Gray's journal entry of 15 July 1856.

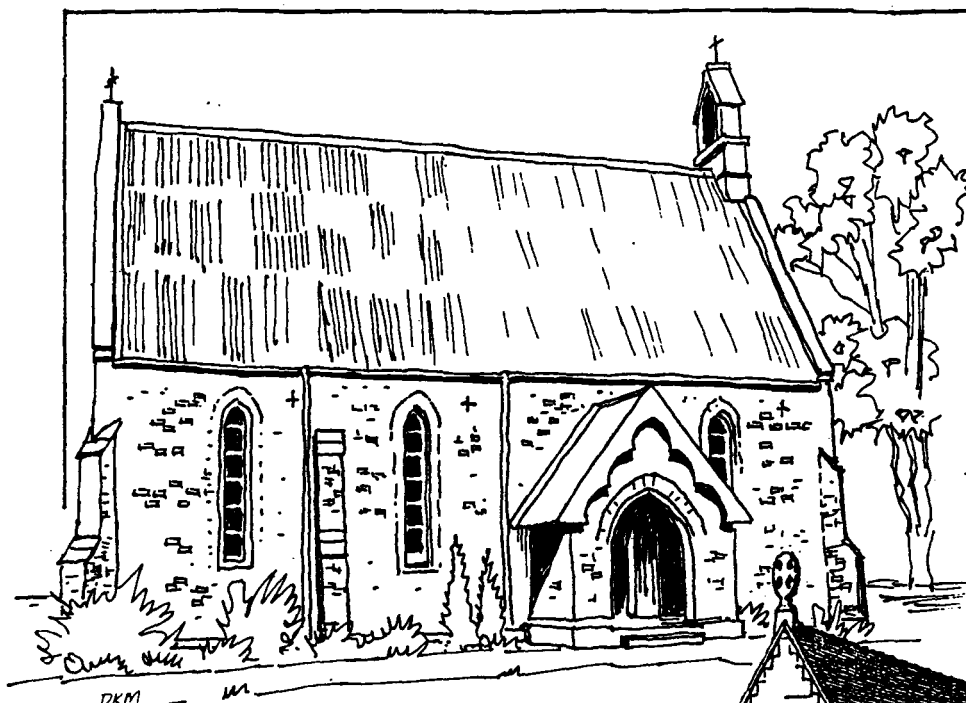
⁴² Gray's Journal, 15 July 1856, pp4, 5.

⁴³ Letters in CPSA Archives, AB1161.

⁴⁴ Gray's Journal, 1856, p56.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p151.

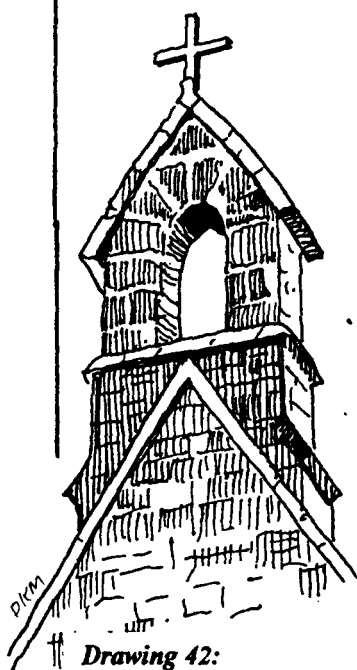


*Drawing 40:
St Matthew's Church,
Riversdale.*

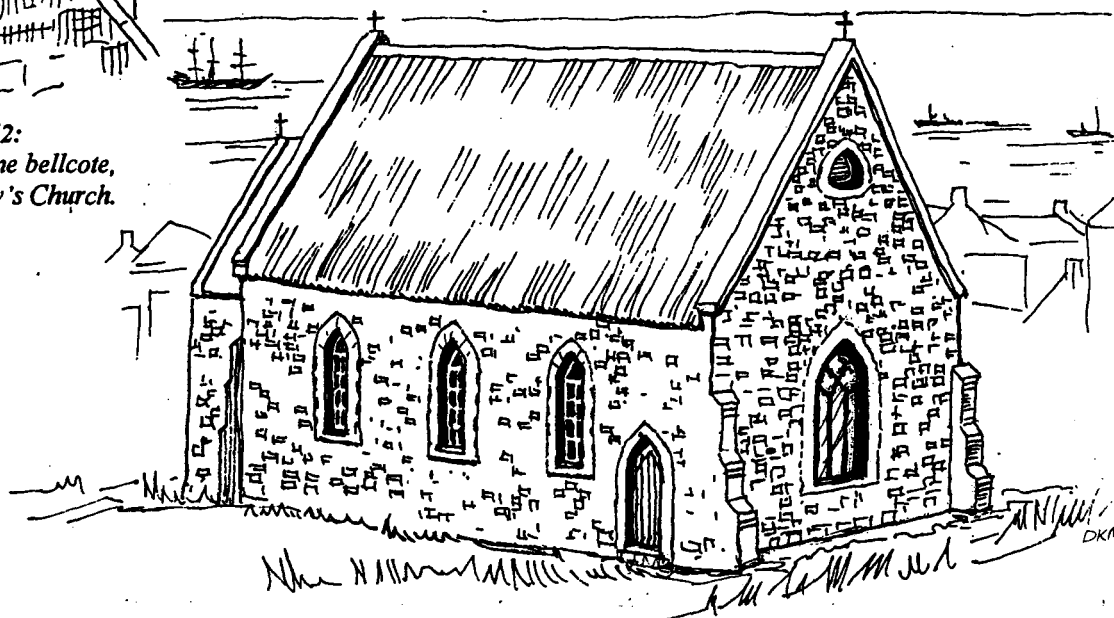
Chancel for which the Grays
were not responsible,
has not been depicted



*Drawing 41: St Matthew's Church with triplet lancet.
Sketch from The Illustrated London News, 2 June 1855.*



*Drawing 42:
Detail of the bellcote,
St Matthew's Church.*



*Drawing 43: St Paul's Church, North End, Port Elizabeth, c1860.
Source: St Paul's Church, Port Elizabeth (P. Hart, 1985).*

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Although the Bishop's first visitation triggered the building of many churches on the route he travelled, the work at Riversdale did not start immediately following the 1848 tour. Gray records his stop-over in the village: "Arrived at Riversdale about one o'clock [5 September 1848]. The village is prettily situated and is increasing rapidly. Some of the English people seemed very respectable and most anxious for a Clergyman."¹ The Bishop sent his chaplain, Mr Green, to ask for the use of the Magistrate's office for an evening service. The journal records that there was a full room and "they were very attentive". Three men resolved themselves into a committee "for the erection of a Church and supply of a Clergyman."² At the time there were 100 English people in the village, which had only been founded some ten years earlier (1838). Gray anguished over the correct time to start the church. "Is it God's will... that we should endeavour to plant our Church here? and, if so, when? If we wait, our neglected people one by one fall away from us... If we begin now, it is impossible that the people on the spot should maintain it..." On the Bishop's return from the Eastern Cape he spoke on 8 December 1848 to the Magistrate at Riversdale who shared his belief that £50 or £60 might be easily raised for a Clergyman.³ Despite the hopeful signs in 1848 for building a church, no progress is recorded during the short visit made by the Grays in the spring of 1849.

On the Bishop's return from Natal the following year Gray wrote on reaching Riversdale on 12 December 1850, "After an early dinner we went with Mr Borchers, the amiable Dutch minister, to inspect a site which he has offered to give for an English church.... We ought to have a Clergyman here but unless my funds become greatly increased I see no prospect of my being able to appoint one."⁴ The *Historical Records* add to the account of this day: "At Riversdale, ...the magistrate, Captain Raynier [Rainier], a loyal churchman, held a service twice every Sunday for an English congregation of sixty, the bishop inspected a site offered by a generous Dutch minister for the English church."⁵ It is thought that the Dutch gave the site in April 1852 as the gift of a portion of ground as recorded in their 1939 Centenary Album.⁶ Later in the same year, on 19 October, Rev T E Welby, Archdeacon of George, recorded that "the Riversdale communicants are most anxious to have a resident Clergyman and applied to me on the subject. I called a meeting."⁷ Residents promised to raise cash to build a church and support a priest. Welby presumably took over the church-planting role from Gray because during the years 1852 and 1853 the Grays were overseas.

¹ Gray's Journal, 1848, p10.

² Ibid.

³ Gray's Journal, 1848, p70.

⁴ Gray's Journal, 1850, p196.

⁵ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p63.

⁶ Quotation from the *Eenfees-Album (1839-1939)*, "...die Kerkraad van die Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente [het] 'n stuk grond gegee vir die bou van 'n Episcopaaalsche Kerk." in C. W. Wurts, *The First Hundred Years*, p3.

⁷ Ibid.

Mrs Gray recorded, "On 9th May 1854, a piece of ground at Riversdale was transferred to the See of Capetown for ecclesiastical purposes... being intended as a site for a church."⁸ This is listed in her record as a transfer of land from a Government Grant. A later transfer on 21 April 1857 to the Diocese was for "a piece of ground at Riversdale purchased from the Dutch Church for £35..."⁹. No record could be found of the gift of the site from the DRC as mentioned earlier. In June 1854 the first rector, Rev W E Belson arrived from England and the Parish of St Matthew was formally constituted. Belson had raised £600 in England to build a church.¹⁰ Belson also learnt the Dutch language sufficiently to officiate in it.¹¹ At "what appears to have been the first Vestry Meeting of St Matthew's Church – certainly the first with their own rector as Chairman..." held on 12 July 1854, a building committee was elected comprising Rev Belson, Capt. Rainier and Messrs. Fraser, Hudson and Baker. On 18 July the Building Committee adopted a plan of a church "produced by Rev Belson".¹²

On 22 November 1854, the cornerstone was laid with much ceremony by Belson.¹³ The event was reported together with an engraved sketch (Refer Drawing 41) of the proposed church, in the *Illustrated London News* under the heading, "The Infant Church in South Africa". The report refers to the large congregation that had assembled despite it being harvest time. The site - the gift of the Dutch Reformed Church - is described as "beautifully situated, being at the top of the principal street" and the church is described as "in the Early English style. It will accommodate about 170. The estimated cost is £1300."¹⁴ The builders engaged for the work were Alexander Bern and two Lawrence brothers (presumed to be Alexander and Colin Gibb or James). With these reliable stonemasons, progress was good. In 1855, the "window of St Matthew for [the] east centre lancet and quarry glass for all other windows [was] ordered in England."¹⁵ This valuable consignment left Portsmouth on 2 September and arrived in Cape Town on 15 November 1855.

In late 1855 the Grays undertook another visitation. The Bishop recorded on 5 September, "Arrived at Riversdale, we stopped at the church, the walls of which are about half way up. It is built of a dark blue and very hard stone, in courses, and hammer dressed, and is of the Early English style. Its cost will be at least £1300 and it will hold less than 200 people; such is the cost of building in this expensive country."¹⁶ The Bishop went on to say that the building project was creating "a good deal of interest" and when complete should be "a great ornament" in the town. At this point in his journal, the Bishop disclosed his preference for more variety in the churches

⁸ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p140.

⁹ *Ibid*, p175.

¹⁰ R. Langham-Carter & D. Wilson, *Notes on St Matthews*.

¹¹ C. W. Wurts, *The First Hundred Years*, p4.

¹² *Ibid*.

¹³ C. W. Wurts, *The First Hundred Years*, p5.

¹⁴ 2 June 1855, p525.

¹⁵ R. Langham-Carter & D. Wilson, *Notes on St Matthew's*.

¹⁶ Gray's Journal, 1855, p27. The cost per seat would have been between £6,5 and £7,6 based on 200 or 170 seats.

being built: "My only regret is that all our churches in this land will be of the same style architecture and of the same character. Economy compels us to be contented with bell-turrets instead of towers and Early English instead of Decorated or Norman buildings."¹⁷ This statement indicates that Early English was not the preferred architectural style for the churches being built by the Grays but what financial scarcity and other factors had forced them to accept. On their return leg of the 1855 tour, the Grays stopped again at Riversdale and on 9 November 1855, a parish meeting was held "chiefly to stir up the parishioners to fresh exertions towards finishing their Church..."¹⁸

In 1856 the Grays travelled by sea to Port Elizabeth arriving on 15 July 1856. While there, Mrs Gray wrote her own letter to her children at Cape Town, saying, "... we hope to be home by the 4th October... the Riversdale church is not quite finished yet and the masons will probably not be ready to go to Claremont before we get back ourselves."¹⁹ This letter reveals that the Grays were being kept informed of progress of the Riversdale church ahead of their arrival there. It also confirms that the stonemasons named earlier were also committed to the St Saviour's Church project at Claremont, Cape Town. Mrs Gray's comment, although innocently made to her children does give a hint at her being anxious for the work on 'her' church in Claremont to begin. The Grays reached Riversdale on 24 September 1856. The Bishop wrote, "Early next morning I consecrated the beautiful little church erected by the labours of Capt Rainier and the Rev W E Belson. Perhaps it is altogether the most complete church in the Diocese. It has encaustic tiles and painted windows, and has cost altogether £1700, of which a sum of £300 still remains unpaid."²⁰ The consecration date, 25 September 1856, is confirmed in the *Chronicles*.²¹ Extensions to the basic plan were made in the decades that followed, the most notable being the addition of a chancel to a Baker and Masey design in 1901.

THE ARCHITECT AND THE CHURCH

The historical records in the CPSA Archives reveal nothing about the origin of the plan tabled by Rev Belson on 18 July 1854 at first meeting of the Building Committee. It appears that in compiling her history of the church, Mrs Wurts was quoting at the time (1956) from minutes of the Committee, possibly still on site at Riversdale. The minutes, however, did not reveal the architect of the tabled plan as Wurts wrote, "Unfortunately we do not know who drew the design but there is a tradition that St Matthew's was one of Mrs Gray's churches as it is so much like others of which she definitely was the architect".²² Beddy states the church was "SG-designed", but was quoting Gutsche, "...the place of greatest joy was Riversdale – there stood her church (St Matthew's)..."²³

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Gray's Journal, 1855, p106.

¹⁹ Letter in file AB 1161, CPSA Archives.

²⁰ Gray's Journal, 1856, p75.

²¹ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p151. The date of 21 September given in the *History of the Diocese of George*, (1961) p19, must be incorrect.

²² C. W. Wurts, *The First Hundred Years*, p5.

²³ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p162. Gutsche's source, though not disclosed, is accepted as reliable. Langham-Carter also attributes the design to Sophia in his Lists of 1974 and 1977 but the source is not revealed.

As reasoned by Wurts, the architectural features of the church point to the use of a basic plan that conformed to Sophia Gray's style, which incorporated most of the essential elements preferred by her. Authorship of St Matthew's is accordingly attributed to her. The church consisted of a four-bay nave measuring approximately 17,6 x 7,6 metres, with diagonal buttresses at the four corners of the original nave, a porch and vestry. Windows in the nave are plain lancets (Refer Figure P), there was a triplet lancet in the east wall and two recessed extended pointed windows in the west wall, which carried a typical bellcote (Refer Drawings 40, 41 and 42). The high-pitched roof (57 degrees) of corrugated iron, is carried on five arch-braced trusses; the four-panelled ceiling is of matchboard. External walls are of hammer dressed stone and internal walls smooth plaster. The floor leading from the porch, up the central aisle and to the chancel arch, is covered with black and white encaustic tiles.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The first mention of Paarl in the Bishop's journals is in 1848 when he was returning from his first visitation. At Paarl Gray was "delighted to meet the learned Dutch minister"¹ and on 19 December 1848 he conducted a service in the local schoolroom.² Two years later, on the second day of Gray's 1850 visitation to Natal, he called at Paarl on 2 April where he met Mr Inglis, the "lately ordained deacon" to the area. Gray noted, "Mr Inglis is already talking about a church."³ Exactly when Inglis started church work in the area is unknown although the first recorded funeral was on 23 January 1850 and the first recorded baptism on 10 November 1850.⁴ Inglis served as priest of the Paarl Parish from 1852 to 1870 and was largely responsible for the building during 1855/1856 of the first church, described a century later as "the dilapidated old thatched roof building of sunbaked brick which served as a church hall in the fifties [1950s]."⁵ The acquisition of a site for the church is confirmed in Mrs Gray's *Chronicles*: "On 14 April [1855], a piece of ground at the Paarl... was transferred to the See of Cape Town having been purchased from I J de Villiers for £200 for a site for a church."⁶

The Bishop and his wife were closely involved in the building operations as revealed in a frank letter from Gray to Rev Inglis (in late 1854 or early 1855) who was dealing with the contractor, Mr Edwards. Gutsche, in her biography of Mrs Gray, relates the circumstances of the project:

"To the Rev Mr J Inglis of Paarl who was trying to build a church, he [Gray] wrote -

"I am inclined to take Mr Edwards' contract on your recommendation but there are several points which must be settled. First I want to know what thickness of wall he calculates on? Next, how he expects to be paid - my rule is: one third when the building is complete to the window sills, the second when the roof is completed, the third when the building is finished? Third, he must contract to do the building according to plan and to the satisfaction of any person I may appoint.

"If you can thoroughly depend on Mr Lawrence and he would undertake the office, I would pay him to look at it two or three times to see to the quality of the work. The contract must be regularly signed and witnessed. Next, my calculation, or rather my wife's, is that we shall want 5,500 bricks for a chancel of a future church at Paarl. We shall therefore have a great many to spare (from the school) and I suppose they are as near to Lower Paarl as any ready made. I want to know whether Mr Edwards will take what he wants of us and at the price we gave for them?

"Once more, I want to know what flooring he is calculating on for the school? If his replies on these points are satisfactory, he may at once order the thatch. *You did not send back the plan as suggested* [author's italics]. That has made it difficult for me to decide

¹ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p44.

² Gray's Journal, 1848, p75.

³ Gray's Journal, 1850, p2.

⁴ R. Weiss, *Notes for Pastoral Letter*, 1995.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p142.

upon the contract. Pray send it. I will have nothing to do with Mr Villiers. He is evidently a cheat"⁷

This letter gives valuable insight into the Grays' intimate knowledge of the building projects they were undertaking. It accounts for the sometimes harsh comments they made when shoddy workmanship spoiled what could have been gems of Early English parish churches.

On 21 September 1855, while in George during the 1855 visitation, prior to visiting Paarl on the way back, Gray wrote to the SPCK on behalf of the church, addressing his letter to Rev J B Murray, the Secretary of the Society: "In the Paarl, about four miles from the Mission School, and in the centre of that important and beautiful village, it has been resolved to erect a Church for the English inhabitants, who have for years had service in the Govt. School Room but who have hitherto been too few in number to think of a church. The site alone has cost £100. The building, which is a small one and capable only of containing 120 persons, but which will be built with a view to future enlargement, will cost about £500."⁸ The Bishop wrote confidently about the capacity of the church, building costs and possible extensions that indicated that he was familiar with the plans, possibly drawn by his wife. The letter ended with a plea: "I can only say that the people are very poor... and that I am very anxious that in an important village consisting of some 1000 Dutch & Coloured people, the Church of England should not be without its church." Gray recorded in his 1855 journal that his party left Worcester at 5 o'clock on 21 November 1855 and proceeded to Paarl of which Gray commented: "Our little Church here is fast rising up to completion, and will I trust, ere long be too small for the congregation."⁹

At the end of 1856, a meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Church Missions was held in Government House, Cape Town. Bishop Gray mentioned the growth of mission work in the Cape Colony in recent years, commenting about the village of Paarl, "...the population is small. A little church is, however, rising up there."¹⁰ Gray consecrated the little church on 13 June 1856.¹¹ In late 1859, after being overseas between October 1857 and October 1859, the Bishop made a short trip to villages in the Western Cape, starting on 18 October. It was reported, "...the mission work carried on at the Paarl under the Rev J Inglis [and two catechists], was steadily advancing."¹² The Bishop also sent a report on 16 November 1859 to the SPG which society commented in their monthly magazine, "In the Paarl itself we have a small church and a very nice school-room. In the Lower Paarl, we have a school chapel."

It was 23 years later in 1883 that a more substantial church was built at Paarl to replace the first church, which was demolished in the 1990s to make way for a new hall.

⁷ This letter is quoted from T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, pp143, 144. Gutsche does not disclose the source and date of the letter but it must have been written in the initial stages of the project in late 1854 or early 1855 considering that by May 1855 the walls were rising.

⁸ Letterbook Vol. IV, AB1162/A4, CPSA Archives.

⁹ Gray's Journal, 1855, p129.

¹⁰ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p73.

¹¹ *List of Consecration of Churches, 1827 - 1919*.

¹² *S A Church Magazine*, December 1859, p480.

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

In the porch of the existing Holy Trinity Church (1883), Main Road, Paarl, there is a faded sepia photograph showing the original thatched church of 1855/56 on the left and the neo-Gothic church on the right (Refer below). The first church has square-headed windows and is roofed with thatch that projects over the gable end as well as the sides of the building. It appears to have the customary plaster cap on the roof ridge. A small porch is built onto the northern side. This thatched school-chapel could have been erected in the vernacular style by a competent local builder such as Mr Edwards whom Rev Inglis contracted to build and who had produced the plan to which the Bishop referred in his letter of 1854/55. Thus Edwards could have been the designer.

Langham-Carter comments in his 1974 list, "I have no evidence yet whether she [Mrs Gray] or others dealt with Holy Trinity Paarl."¹³ In his second listing produced in 1977, he placed a "?" next to "S Gray" as the architect. According to Beddy, however, the diocesan records show that a "S G plan [was] adopted" whereas the other source he quotes, the *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, merely states of Paarl that it was "where the bishop preached and where Mr Inglis ... was planning to build a church..."¹⁴

It is difficult to accept that Sophia Gray would have drawn plans for a church such as the thatched building in the photograph as its style was so different to the ideal she had for country churches. Bishop Gray usually commented whether a church was built from plans "furnished by me" or by his wife yet in none of the letters, journal entries, or reports quoted above does he claim responsibility for the plans. The closest he gets is to say: "Our little church" in his journal entry of 21 November 1855. Mrs Gray's participation in the project is thus doubtful. All aspects considered authorship of the building is not attributed to Mrs Gray.



¹³ R. Langham-Carter, *Buildings wholly or partly designed by Mrs. Gray*.

¹⁴ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools*. C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records*..., p52.

HOW THE CHAPEL WAS PLANTED

Newlands in the early 19th century was largely given to agricultural use though with a constant supply of clean mountain water in the Liesbeeck River, a number of breweries were established in the area. Some attempts were made to build churches but with both Dutch and Anglican churches in Rondebosch some four miles to the north, those who wished to attend church services did not have far to go.¹ The presence of the breweries, however, was one of the reasons for the building of the first Anglican chapel in Newlands as with the steady increase of population in Cape Town, the breweries were enlarged and in turn, drew more employees.² A site for a church was apparently offered in 1837 by Hendrik Cloete but nothing came of this.³

Soon after Bishop Gray's arrival in 1848, the parish of Claremont was created and by 1854 open air services were being held in the summer on the old proposed site. The site was again offered to the Church in 1857 by Rudolph Cloete, Hendrik's son who declared that the "certain piece of ground situate in the Cape Division at Newlands being portion of part of the subdivided estate 'Papenboom' or the 'Brewery'..." that he had received on 21 March 1837, be transferred to the Lord Bishop of Cape Town.⁴ Gray gladly accepted the offer and the deed was signed on 5 September 1857.⁵

THE BUILDING OF THE CHAPEL

The dates of the start and finish of building operations could not be established with certainty. Langham-Carter admits that "...dates in different parish records differ. But it looks as if Gray laid the chapel's foundation stone on 2nd May, 1857 and it was opened on 2nd May the following year [1858]..."⁶ A more likely date for the opening is 2 May 1857 as stated in N V Herbert's historical notes⁷ as Herbert records against the year, 1856: "Plans for a small chapel to be built on a piece of ground granted by the firm of Brewers (known as Lettersett Breweries) (Pappenboom). Mrs Gray drew up the Plans and so began the cure of souls at Newlands." Herbert clearly was referring to original records at his disposal at the time of writing.⁸ Herbert states: "The chapel dedicated to St Andrew was completed and opened for Public Worship on May 2nd 1857. The winter of this year seems to have been 'a most severe one' and

¹ R. Langham-Carter, *St Andrews in the Oaks*, p2.

² Cape Town's population was 18720 in 1841 and 25189 in 1854 (*Cape Blue Books*, 1841 and 1854).

³ J. J. Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, p47.

⁴ Deed of Transfer, CPSA Archives AB 1498f.

⁵ R. Langham-Carter, *St Andrews in the Oaks*, p3.

⁶ *Ibid.* Note (AB 1498f) by Langham-Carter dated 18 March 1969 in the CPSA Archives.

⁷ N. V. Herbert, *A History of St Andrew's Church, Newlands*, (1945). These notes were written in a bound volume by Norman Herbert, Church Secretary; now filed at St Andrew's Church, Newlands.

⁸ Langham-Carter stated (1977) that "registers of services, minutes of meetings... sad to relate, are no longer in existence" (*St Andrews in the Oaks*, p43).

we find that Preachers had to even cancel services. With the coming of the summer months *services were held in the open air and the more cooler evenings in the Chapel* (author's italics)"⁹ Herbert adds that by November the chapel had held its first Festival "...and a recorded service on the last Sunday in 1857 was in the nature of a Great Thanksgiving Service." There are references to services during 1858 with specific mention of the Watch Night Service of 1858. Herbert records that "Baptisms, marriages... were held at the Mother Church"¹⁰..." which prompts the question why these services were not held at the chapel. A possible explanation is that the chapel had not been roofed. This would explain why weddings in particular took place in a roofed building, i.e. St Saviour's Church.

The extended time for the completion of the chapel is verified by Bishop Gray's letter to his son Charles, dated 16 April 1860. Gray wrote about the planting of vineyards on his *Bishopscourt* property and added, "We are building a school chapel at Newlands also, and one or two cottages on this property."¹¹ A newspaper report about Newlands that appeared some three months after Gray wrote the letter indicates that the chapel had still not been completed at the time (1860): "This picturesque and highly favoured village is fast progressing. Amongst other improvements it will shortly possess a substantial and neat building containing a church and school. An estimate has been made and the cost of the edifice will be £500."¹² The report listed the subscriptions received and mentioned that the Cape of Good Hope Bank had "...obligingly opened a separate account for 'Newlands Church and school'. These contributions included £50 from the Bishop of Cape Town, £50 from funds "at His Lordship's disposal" and the donation of the site by D [?] Cloete, Esq., Newlands. The actual building was undertaken by "...three Scottish masons who had already built several churches for the bishop."¹³ The average attendance at services in 1860 was 120.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE CHAPEL

This chapel was the second of at least 8 other school chapels built between 1854 and 1872 by the Grays at Mossel Bay, Villiersdorp, Constantia, Durbanville, Rondebosch, District Six, Fraserburg and Montagu (Refer *Multifunctionism* in Section 3.1). School-chapels served as schools during the week and churches on Sundays and for this reason they were usually not consecrated. They were *generally* less ornate than churches, dispensing with buttresses (Refer *Buttresses* in Section 3.1) and frequently had flat-headed (casement) windows.

⁹ N. V. Herbert, *A History of St Andrew's Church, Newlands*.

¹⁰ The 'Mother Church' was the church that had oversight of smaller churches, chapels or mission work. In this case the Mother church was St Saviour's Church, Claremont.

¹¹ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.1, p456.

¹² *Cape Argus*, 26 July 1860.

¹³ R. Langham-Carter, *St Andrews in the Oaks*, p3. In his note AB98f, the author mentions these masons as "A. Bern and C. and A. Lawrence, the builders Gray brought out from England." Refer Section 3.4 for an account of the contribution made by the Scottish stonemasons to the Gray churches.

The Newlands chapel comprised a five-and-a-half bay nave, measuring 18,3 x 5,4 metres, and a small vestry on the north-east side. The only window in the west wall is currently of unconventional design (Refer Drawing 44), comprising a row of four trefoiled lancet-shaped lights in timber with two identical lights above. The nave walls have flat-headed windows of similar design, set within quoined plastered surrounds. An earlier photograph of the chapel (c1956) shows different framework in the windows. The current window design is thus of recent date, presumably introduced during restoration of the chapel.

The entrance door on the south side is recessed within two shouldered arches¹⁴ under a unique bell-tower. As the site sloped downwards towards the east, there are two two-step buttresses at the east end and two shorter buttresses between the nave windows on the south side. There are no buttresses against the west end wall. The gable ends of the roof of 60 degrees carry decorative timber bargeboards. As these do not appear in the c1956 photographs of the chapel, it is presumed they were also recently added to the structure. Internally, five roof trusses are of the scissors type. Walls were built of large pieces of hammer-dressed Table Mountain sandstone throughout, apart from the bell-tower and entrance, which are of plastered brick.

THE ARCHITECT

The single reference by Bishop Gray in the records that can possibly be interpreted as indicating authorship of the plans, is in his letter of 1860, mentioned earlier, which he wrote to his son, "*We are building a school chapel...*"¹⁵ Langham-Carter credits Sophia as having drawn the plans for St Andrew's but does not disclose his source.¹⁶ Radford mentions three school-chapels as the work of Sophia Gray, these being Newlands, Durbanville and Rondebosch.¹⁷ The architectural similarities between the Newlands chapel (Refer Drawing 44) and St Thomas', Rondebosch (Refer Drawing 65) cannot be ignored. In addition, the resemblance between the unnamed chapel in Beaufort West (Refer Drawing 33) and Newlands chapel suggests that Mrs Gray may have used the same basic plan for both. Her authorship for the design of the Newlands chapel is thus virtually established.

A second school, also said to have been designed by Sophia Gray, was built further down Palmboom Road in about 1860 when it was decided to use the first school-chapel for church services only.¹⁸ The second building was used as a church hall and school until 1876 when the functions of the two buildings were reversed. Alterations to the second building to render it fit for church services were undertaken and it was consecrated by Bishop West Jones on 2 May 1876. Owing to radical changes to convert the second chapel from a school to a chapel and later into a residence, no architectural review was undertaken.

¹⁴ The shouldered arch comprises a horizontal lintel joined to the doorway jambs by concave corbels.

¹⁵ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. 1, p456.

¹⁶ R. Langham-Carter, *St Andrews-in-the-Oaks*, p3.

¹⁷ D. J. C. Radford, *Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 – 1901*, p187.

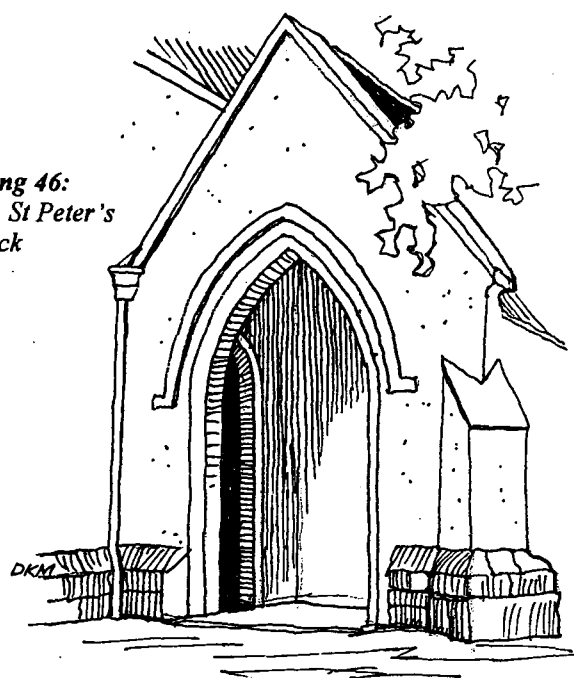
¹⁸ R. Langham-Carter, *op cit.*, pp5, 6.



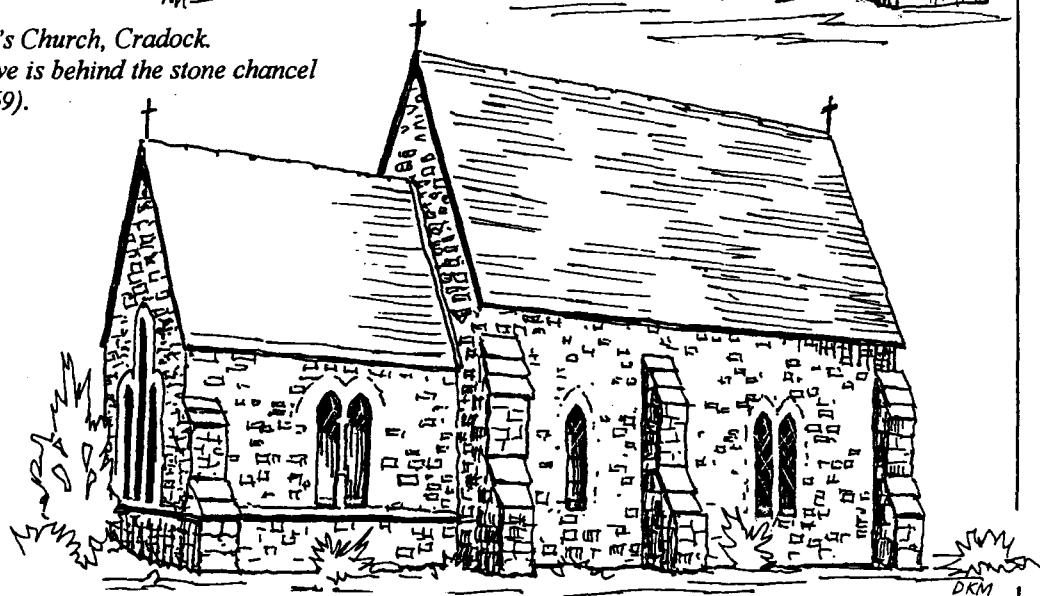
Drawing 44: Newlands Chapel, Cape Town.



Drawing 45: St Peter's Church, Cradock.
Original plastered nave is behind the stone chancel and vestry (added 1869).



Drawing 46:
Porch, St Peter's
Cradock



Drawing 47: The Armstrong Memorial Chapel, Grahamstown.
Source: *Grahamstown in Early Photographs*, p24 (F van der Riet, 1974).

HOW THE CHAPEL CAME TO BE BUILT

Bishop John Armstrong and his wife and family arrived in Grahamstown in October 1854 after he had been consecrated as Bishop in Westminster Abbey on 30 November 1853. Within two months, on 13 December 1854, their daughter Ruth died and was buried in the St George's Episcopal cemetery in Grahamstown. Armstrong's association with cemeteries appears to have commenced from his first days in the town and he wrote several books and articles, the first of these on the subject of tombstones.¹ "... he pointed out that the earliest Christian tombs... had been coped stone coffins (that is, with a narrow ridge or coping at the top and sloping sides)... he ordered his daughter's tomb accordingly."² In the same month that Armstrong arrived, he found the Episcopal graveyard in a bad condition with the sod (turf) walls collapsing. These he had repaired and the cemetery generally tidied up. He also "wanted to build [a] mortuary chapel."³ The Bishop was a sickly man when he took the post in Grahamstown; he died of tuberculosis on 16 May 1856, less than two years after his arrival and was buried near his daughter's grave. "A committee to collect funds for a memorial was formed almost immediately and began to collect on the day after the funeral... no doubt with the widow's approval, the committee decided that a chapel should be built over the two Armstrong graves."⁴

Armstrong's death was reported to Bishop Gray in Cape Town, the news arriving by letter on 23 May 1856. Two days later, Gray described the chapel project at the memorial service in Cape Town Cathedral and funds began streaming in from various sources and "the whole £700 was soon raised."⁵ A newspaper announcement was made in July 1856 that "a design by a particular friend of the Bishop [Armstrong], a distinguished architect in London, is accessible and it is proposed to adopt it."⁶ In a letter to Mrs Charles Gray⁷ dated 10 July 1856, the Bishop commented, "The Governor, who has just returned from the East [Cape], tells me that many are still really in mourning for him [Armstrong], and it is intended to raise a Memorial Chapel over his grave."⁸ On Saturday 12 July 1856, Gray and his wife left Cape Town on a small coasting vessel for Port Elizabeth. After business in the town between 15 and 20 July, the Grays headed for Grahamstown arriving on 23 July 1856. Gray visited St Andrew's Chapel and also Grahamstown Cathedral.

¹ R. Langham-Carter, 'The Armstrong Chapel: A Life of Ups and Downs', *Africana Notes and News*, Vol.24 No.7, September 1981, p234.

² *Ibid.*

³ R. Langham-Carter, *Some Notes on Armstrong Chapel*, AB1431f, CPSA Archives.

⁴ R. Langham-Carter, 'The Armstrong Chapel: A Life of Ups and Downs.'

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Anglo-African*, 3 July 1856.

⁷ Sister-in-law to Robert Gray, married to his brother Charles who died in 1855.

⁸ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.1, p405.

THE ARCHITECT OF THE MEMORIAL CHAPEL

The Grays were soon involved in talks about the proposed chapel. In a journal entry on 23 July 1856, Gray wrote, "The town is somewhat improved since I was last here, and the Fingo and Kaffir locations greatly increased. The bishop took a great interest in them. The chapel, however, about to be erected over his [Armstrong's] earthly remains will, I trust, serve as a place of worship for them, and a religious teacher be attached to it. The sum required for the erection of this chapel, £700, has nearly all been raised *and my wife has furnished a plan and working drawings* (author's italics). We had two meetings about it during my stay...."⁹ The plan *furnished* by Sophia is said to have been by Henry Woodyer of London as related by Gutsche in Mrs Gray's biography: "She looked through her inseparable portfolio and selected a design by Woodyer, a pupil of Butterfield's, which everyone found acceptable, the more so as he had been a particular friend of Armstrong."¹⁰ Langham-Carter wrote that Mrs Gray "...made the required working drawings, possibly modifying the original plans for local circumstances."¹¹ There is a possibility that contact was made with Woodyer by Armstrong's widow on her return to England later in 1856. Despite the fact that Sophia and her husband had little to do with the project after it had started, Sophia may be regarded as having played her unofficial role of Diocesan Architect, working with the plans of Woodyer and making final decisions about the building.

THE SITE FOR THE CHAPEL

In the midst of the fund-raising and planning for the building, a dispute arose around the siting of the chapel though the matter was resolved between the two church bodies concerned, the "Committee for the erection of a Memorial Chapel" and the Vestry and Churchwardens of St George's Cathedral, Grahamstown. The Committee formed to collect funds for the memorial had as its secretary the Rev Frederick Bankes, headmaster of St Andrew's College that was founded by the late Bishop Armstrong. The Committee's treasurer was ironically one of the churchwardens of the Cathedral, Edward Booth.¹² The Committee had applied to the Minister and Churchwardens for a site over Armstrong's grave and had received a reply "that they considered it more convenient and uniform for the Chapel *to be built opposite the entrance* [to the cemetery] *and granted a site accordingly* (author's italics)."¹³ Rev Bankes reminded the Minister that Mrs Armstrong had stated "a decided objection to have the body exhumed and contributions having been made expressly for the building of a chapel *over* the Bishop's remains, it would be a departure from the wishes of the donors to alter the site."

The Vestry was asked on 6 October by Rev J Heavyside, Minister and Chairman of Vestry to deliberate their decision to have the chapel at the entrance to the burial ground rather than over the grave at the top corner of the site. Their reasons for the original decision had been made without ulterior motive. (These reasons had been stated in a memo to Bankes after their meeting on 6 October). The chapel, in their minds, was "to be both a memorial... to the late Bishop and also a place for the performance of the ... Service for the Burial of the Dead in all future time... "

⁹ Gray's Journal, 23 July 1856, p10.

¹⁰ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p157.

¹¹ R.Langham-Carter, 'A Reconstruction of the Armstrong Chapel,' *Architect & Builder*, December 1981, p23.

¹² R. Langham-Carter, 'The Armstrong Chapel...' p234.

¹³ Extract from a letter read at a Special Meeting [of St George's] on 6 October 1856, Diocesan records.

Their responsibility was to see that the building was appropriate and also "placed in the most suitable and advantageous position." In their opinion, the chapel should "not be erected in the remote corner of the Cemetery, where the late Bishop's remains are interred, but with the open space within the entrance to the ground..." There was in addition the problem that other graves close to the two Armstrong graves would be disturbed. The Vestry also wanted to avoid the need for funeral parties to "climb the path to the upper corner of the ground." A final point made by the Vestry was that the Bishop "is well known to have expressed the hope to see a Chapel erected at the entrance of the Cemetery."¹⁴ These reasons were reaffirmed by the Meeting of 6 October 1856 and the memo expressing the above was sent to the Committee.

The Committee met on 7 October and in a polite response repeated their wish that the original decision to build over the grave remain. One of the valid reasons for insisting on this was that donations had come from the whole Diocese of Grahamstown and beyond. Bankes said, "It is not a question for this parish alone but for the Diocese..." He correctly stressed that the giving was primarily for the Bishop's memorial and not for a cemetery chapel for the parish in Grahamstown. A day later, on 8 October 1856, the Vestry reversed their first decision and agreed to the Chapel being built over the remains where they lay, provided that eventually an entrance to the cemetery be made at the Memorial Committee's expense opposite the entrance to the Chapel.

THE BUILDING AND DEMISE OF THE CHAPEL

The erection of the chapel was a stop-start project and it was to prove "a veritable cinderella of a building with no Prince Charming ever effectively coming to its rescue."¹⁵ The builder, T E Passmore was given the contract under the supervision of the engineer, W Stitt and began to build on 4 December 1856. "Building was abandoned a few months after it began with no windows yet put in."¹⁶ Passmore was replaced by another builder, Holmes who was in turn superseded by W Glass in December 1858. According to a newspaper report, much of Holmes' work was condemned as faulty.¹⁷ By April 1859, the roof of the chapel was going up and in August the basic building was complete. A comment made at the time said that it "forms an interesting object to the eye in the dreary locality of the graveyard."¹⁸ Two photographs of the chapel were taken about this time by Dr W G Atherstone. These clearly show the details of the stonework and indicate that the exterior at any rate was fairly complete (Refer Drawing 47).¹⁹

In January 1860, Rev Bankes returned to England and Rev A J Urquhart took over responsibility for "fitting up" the chapel which was now in regular use for funerals. He ordered stained glass for the side and west windows. Between 1861 and 1863 he was reported as having put stained glass into all the windows, largely at his own cost. In July 1862, all the stonework of the east window and the arches of all the other windows had to be renewed. In July 1863, a section of roof slates had to be replaced. At the Diocesan Synod of 1863 it was noted that "the entire exterior required

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ R. Langham-Carter, 'The Armstrong Chapel...', p236.

¹⁶ R. Langham-Carter, *Some notes on Armstrong Chapel*, AB1431f

¹⁷ *Grahamstown Journal*, 14 December 1858.

¹⁸ R. Langham-Carter, *Some notes on Armstrong Chapel*, AB1431f

¹⁹ F. Van der Riet, *Grahamstown in Early Photographs*, p24.

pointing, the chancel arch rendered safe, windows wanted inserting..."²⁰ There was worse to come in the years that followed. The whole roof had to be re-slatted in December 1865 and the roof strengthened with three iron rods. There were other running repairs to stonework and windows. The parish was fighting a losing battle with the building, most of it attributable to the poor workmanship and materials used in its years of construction, late 1856 to mid year 1859. At the Grahamstown Synod of 1869 Bishop Cotterill said the chapel was "too ruinous to restore, would soon collapse from weather damage. Should be taken down and rebuilt in a less exposed position in middle of the graveyard."²¹ This was never done.

There is nothing about the Chapel in the Grays' correspondence after Sophia had completed the working drawings in late 1856. During the construction period, December 1856 to 1859, the Grays were in England. In the critical time when the Chapel was being "fitted up", that is between 1860 and 1863, they undertook three short visitations to the West coast and Knysna so probably never had time to assess the impending building disaster at Grahamstown. Between May 1862 and March 1863 they were again in England. Whether the Grays could have devised some scheme in the 1860s to salvage the Chapel with a massive injection of funding to either restore or rebuild (as later proposed by Bishop Cotterill), is open to speculation. The Grays would have mourned the loss of the architecturally correct chapel through inferior materials and poor craftsmanship. The chapel died a very slow death from vandalism and neglect though it enjoyed brief moments of restoration in 1886 and 1913. Amidst much controversy it was demolished in 1950. The coffins of the Armstrongs were moved on St Andrew's Day 1950 to the St Andrew's College Chapel and reinterred outside the east end. In the words of Langham-Carter who researched so much of the history of this building, "It is sad that his [Woodyer's] handsome little Armstrong chapel is no more."²²

ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW

Mrs Gray is regarded as having had the final word on the chapel's design, thus an architectural review was attempted based on the limited information available through historical references and photographs: The Chapel comprised a two-bay nave and a chancel, built with half of an angle buttress at the corners (Refer Drawing 47). Walls were built of coursed, squared rubble and the roof was slate. The chancel end window, facing east, was a triplet lancet. The west wall appears to have had a centre door under a window, details of which could not be seen on the only photograph of the western end.²³ On the north wall, there was a lancet couplet in the chancel and in the nave, a single lancet and a lancet couplet.

²⁰ R. Langham-Carter, *Some notes on Armstrong Chapel*, AB1431f

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² R. Langham-Carter, 'The Armstrong Chapel...', p238.

²³ Source: F. Van der Riet, *Grahamstown in Early Photographs*, Photograph V1, p32.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Bishop Gray's first visit to Cradock was during his 1848 Visitation. After a brief stop at Somerset East he spent the night in his wagon, arriving at Cradock on 3 November 1848. He wrote, "I find here a Dutch Church, Wesleyan and Independent Chapels, but no English Church." Gray stayed the night with a Mr Gilfillan and the next day, Saturday 4 November, he met with church people commenting, "There were but few there, owing to some mistake, but a Committee of the Church Society was formed - subscriptions entered into in support of a Clergyman, and towards the erection of a church." Memorials were drawn up "for a grant for the only remaining erf for a church..."¹ On Sunday 5 November, Gray conducted a service in the Dutch church.

The memorials drawn up by the church were sent to the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, soon after Gray's visit considering that on 11 December 1848, John Montagu, Colonial Secretary, wrote to Gray stating that the memorials from the members of the Church "praying for some pecuniary assistance from the Government toward the support of a minister, and also for the grant of certain land" having been sent direct to Smith, were now being redirected to Gray."² It would seem that Governor was not prepared to consider this request without Gray's supporting approval. (Gray replied on 9 July 1849 but a copy of the letter could not be traced). Montagu's response to Gray on 5 September 1849 stated, "In reply to your letter of 9 July [1849] requesting that... the Gov. would grant as a site for the church etc at Cradock so much of an erf... as had not been already granted to the Cradock Reading Society, I am directed to inform you that it appears from a report of the Surveyor General that the ground on which the old offices stand, is about one third of an acre, and that adjacent (exclusive of the site granted for a reading room, and a site reserved for a new prison) about two thirds of an acre. This is the only Government Ground available at Cradock and the Surveyor General has been instructed to make out a grant of it to the Bishop for Church purposes."³

During the Bishop's 1850 visitation to Natal and the Eastern Cape, he arrived in Cradock on 18 October, staying at the home of Rev Samuel Gray, the priest he had sent there.⁴ The Bishop preached twice on the Sunday and then on Monday 21 October 1850, "Held a meeting of the parishioners at twelve o'clock, with a view to take steps towards the immediate erection of a church." He wrote, "It appeared that out of £200 promised two years ago, at my first visitation, only £163 could now be depended upon, in consequence of deaths, removals, etc. The difference however has been almost made up through the offertory during the seven months that Mr Gray has been here. The whole amount of the offerings being nearly £53..."⁵ The journal entry continues: "We decided that a small church capable of future enlargement, to cost about £700,

¹ Gray's Journal, 1848, p55

² Letters to Bishops 1847-1850, CPSA Archives, AB1162/A1.2.

³ Letters to Bishops 1847-1850, CPSA Archives, AB 1162/A1.2

⁴ Rev Samuel Gray (no relative of the Bishop) arrived in Cape Town on 1 January 1850 as Priest-in-Charge of Cradock. Within a month he was in the town where he stayed with Major Gilfillan. The first services were held in the local Court House.

⁵ Gray's Journal, 1850, p165.

should be begun, and that the town should be canvassed for further subscriptions." Samuel Gray offered to supplement this income by taking in pupils at £10 each per annum. The Bishop also decided that "...the offertory should be appropriated in the following way - two Sundays in the month towards the building of the church; two Sundays towards the support of the Ministry; one Sunday in the quarter towards the missions of the Church."⁶ A few weeks after Gray's visit of October 1850, Archdeacon N. Merriman, while on one of his many walks through his archdeaconry, arrived in Cradock on 9 November 1850. He noted in his journal, "I was pleased with the progress of good feeling towards the Church, in this [town] which two years since we thought the least promising of our fields. They seem now determined to try and build a church for themselves."⁷

Four months prior to the Bishop's October 1850 visit, Samuel Gray had written a long letter to his father in England in which he described life in his new surroundings at Cradock. Of the church work he commented, "Our service is held in the Court House... I am very anxious to have a building appropriated to Divine worship, and I am determined to spare no pains to raise the necessary funds... the Colonial Govt. has given land for a site of a Church... Building here is very dear, as wood has to be brought a considerable distance, and brickbaking is expensive, the bricks also very bad. Stones are plentiful enough, but all of a hard flinty nature... I should be very lothe (sic) to have a brick church. I do earnestly hope, that before a year is out, we shall have the foundation of a stone church begun."⁸ The land grant was recorded in the *Chronicles*: "On... [15 May 1851] a piece of ground at Cradock... was granted by the Governor to the See of Cape Town for Ecclesiastical purp." An entry on the next page appears to be a duplicate but gives the date as 20th September [1851] though the size of the erf is quoted as 283 roods in both instances.⁹

The Bishop wrote a two-page letter from Cape Town to Samuel Gray on 27 September 1851. Notwithstanding the disturbing delay with building operations, the Bishop commended the priest on the offertory totals that had been collected from March 1850 to July 1851. The Bishop set out the conditions for funding the church building project. Gray said, "...the SPCK grant and my own are dependent upon the plans being approved of by the Bishop". Gray's subscriptions were available "...as soon as the church is actually begun" whereas the SPCK's grant was payable "when the building is roofed in."¹⁰ The letter also stated that the sittings of the church should be open as in the Trinity, Wynberg and Rondebosch churches in Cape Town. Gray stated clearly, "There will be no pew rents - Everything will be left to the free will offerings of the people," because the church's "very existence amongst them [the members] depends upon their offerings." Gray then added, "*My wife will furnish you with plans & working drawings for your church* (author's italics), if you will tell her how many you want it to contain - the length & breadth, the materials of which it is to be constructed, & whether you wish it to be built so as to be capable of future enlargement. Have you any choice as to its style? Early English (like Mainsforth Church) is the cheapest. Do you propose to have it thatched or slated? I am disposed to think you should

⁶ Ibid, p166.

⁷ *Archbishop Merriman's Cape Journals*, p129.

⁸ Samuel Gray Collection, MSB-216, S A Library.

⁹ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, pp75, 76.

¹⁰ Letterbook Vol.2, CPSA Archives, AB 1162/A1, pp202, 203.

build for 150 or 200 - not more." The Bishop clearly expected his priests to have some idea of what type of church they wanted but whether these men all had the same commitment to the views of the Ecclesiologists as the Grays held, is debatable. During the years that followed, funds were slowly being collected for the building project. In 1852, Archdeacon Merriman¹¹ was in Cradock again where he conferred with the church committee. He commented on 3 October 1852 that after asking Rev Gray to go to Burghersdorp as his replacement on the following Sunday, Gray "gladly assented, and dismissed his school (the fees of which, I should say, after his own small clerical salary is made up, are all devoted to the Church Building Fund)..."¹²

THE BUILDING PROJECT

The foundation stone of the church was laid by Mr Christopher M Thornhill of the farm "Raasfontein, on 19 March 1857, nearly six years after Bishop Gray's detailed instructions for the church building had been written (27 September 1851)."¹³ The event was fully reported in the *Anglo-African*, Grahamstown:¹⁴ "This interesting ceremony took place on Monday 19th instant, commencing at 4 o'clock p.m. The Service was performed by the Rev A J Urquhart." A footnote in the article called on the Correspondent to furnish the newspaper with "the name to be given to the Church, its size, style of interior fittings, and of architecture, cost, &c." Two weeks later the *Anglo-African* had been informed of these details and carried the following description: "Since our notice... of the new church at Cradock, we have been kindly furnished with the following particulars. The building will consist of a nave and chancel in the Gothic style of the 13th century, with a pitched roof, the timbers open and wrought, covered with slate. The north and south walls will contain five single light lancet windows; the eastern window, three lights, and the western window two. The entrance door will be in the south-west end of the building: the western gable will be surmounted by a Belfry, and the eastern by a stone cross. At each of the angles will be a single stage buttress, and likewise one in the course of the north and south walls." The article concluded, "The building is of brick, and is being erected from plans prepared by W. Stitt Esq. R.E. (author's italics). The cost will be about a thousand pounds exclusive of fittings."¹⁵ The April 1857 issue of the *SA Church Magazine* carried a report headed "CHURCH AT CRADOCK": "The parishioners of Cradock have just contracted for the erection of a neat church in their village for the sum of £1000. That parish has been thrown back by having been for some time vacant. Hitherto the court house has been used as a place of worship..."¹⁶

The years between 1851 and 1857 had seen the end of the Eighth Frontier War in March 1853 that had started on Christmas Eve, 1850, the short but influential ministry of Bishop Armstrong (1853-1856) and the departure of Rev Samuel Gray from Cradock in 1855. Rev Gray was succeeded in 1856 by Alexander Urquhart in whose ministry St Peter's Church was completed in 1858, "...of random rubble with steeply gothic roof, originally of slate, at a cost of £1000." ¹⁷

¹¹ Merriman was based in Grahamstown and had charge over the Eastern Province under Bishop Gray.

¹² *Archbishop Merriman's Cape Journals*, p196.

¹³ Pamphlet: *The History of the Parish of St Peter's*, p2.

¹⁴ *Anglo-African*, 2 April 1857.

¹⁵ *Anglo-African*, 16 April 1857.

¹⁶ *SA Church Magazine*, April 1857, p160.

¹⁷ Pamphlet: *The History of the Parish of St Peter's*, p2.

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Urquhart gave 20 pews in memory of the Bishop of Aberdeen, Scotland, as well as nine stained glass windows and the stone font. Bishop Cotterill visited Cradock for a few days in 1858, arriving on Friday 18 June. On the following day he confirmed seven candidates "being the first service held in the church, now nearly completed... ". There were two full services on the Sunday "and on Monday afternoon [21 June 1858] the Church, dedicated to St Peter, was consecrated."¹⁸

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The report of 8 July 1858 in the *Anglo-African* continued with a quaint description of the building: "Our little Church... tho' it can boast of no great architectve (sic) beauty, still wears, in its outward aspect and internal fittings, marks of the chaste ecclesiastical building, of perpendicular (?) style, 50 x 20 [feet], with a porch near the north-west angle, open roof 24ft high forming an equilateral triangle taking the width of foundation as the base, an oriel window in three lights, and two lancets in each of the side walls and in the west end, the general effect is pleasing in its simplicity." After describing the furniture and fittings, the article mentioned that "the western gable finishes in a bell-turret, and the eastern in a zinc cross."

The above comments were found to be largely true of the church as seen in 1998. The nave was 15 x 6 metres with diagonal buttresses at the west end and a single buttress against each long wall though there was no trace of the bellcote on the western gable (Refer Drawing 45). The porch at the north-west corner has a chamfered pointed arch under a simple hood mould and single-tier diagonal buttresses (Refer Drawing 46). A roof pitch of 60 degrees was confirmed. The nave stands on a stone plinth with the walls finished in smooth plaster. Most of the Gray churches were intended to have chancels thus during the incumbency of Matthew Norton, the foundation stone of a chancel was laid (1869), and in the following year, a vestry and chancel were consecrated. A history states that the vestry and chancel were "built in stone and were intended to be the first part of a larger permanent church, but the original nave still stands as it was..."¹⁹ It was possibly considered at the time that the original nave with a plaster finish, was inferior to the new chancel.

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

The article in the *Anglo-African* of 16 April 1857 states that plans were "prepared" by W Stitt, Engineer. Nearly six years earlier, Bishop Gray's letter of 27 September 1851, read, "My wife will furnish you with plans and working drawings for a church..." Beddy commented, "Bldg imminent to SG design"²⁰ whereas Langham-Carter stated, "Mrs G's designs for St Peter Cradock to be checked by W Stitt, R.E."²¹ Irrespective of what Stitt had to add from a technical standpoint, Sophia Gray's influence on the design is obvious - the lancet windows, diagonal buttresses, bellcote (as reported in July 1858), and a steeply pitched roof with exposed arch-braced trusses. It would appear that the church was a basic design by Mrs Gray (possibly based on one of the Grays' English architect's drawings), but that Stitt had been requested to adjust her working drawings. Modifications may have become necessary as Sophia's design was submitted in 1851 and building only began in 1857. Nevertheless, as Mrs Gray, through the Bishop, had final approval of the plans, authorship of the design remains with her.

¹⁸ *Anglo-African*, 8 July 1858.

¹⁹ Pamphlet: *The History of the Parish of St Peter's*.

²⁰ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...*

²¹ R. Langham-Carter, *Buildings wholly or partly designed by Mrs Gray*.

PHASE 3: Churches (10) commenced between 1858 and 1862.

Between October 1857 and September 1859 the Grays were in England again where, among other matters, Robert founded the Central African Mission. During 1858 building activity was at a low level with a school chapel at Villiersdorp (C51) the only building commenced. Churches at Worcester, Cradock and the Armstrong Memorial Chapel however, were under construction.

Late in 1859, the Bishop purchased the Zonnebloem property for development as his Native College. Visitations of short duration occurred in April 1860, August to October 1860, April 1861 and March/April 1862.

The year 1861 heralded a sad six year period in the Bishop's ministry as he became one of the key figures in two legal disputes, one with Rev W Long of St Peter's, Mowbray, and the other with Bishop John Colenso of Natal (the latter terminating dramatically with the excommunication of Bishop Colenso in his own cathedral in Pietermaritzburg on 5 January 1866). The Bishop was undoubtedly hampered in his work with these distressing developments on his mind. Significantly enough, only one church building was begun in 1861 (St Mary's, Robertson) while in 1862 no new project was commenced. The Grays left on 22 May 1862 for a year of fundraising in England. The beginnings of the churches at Robertson, Oudtshoorn and Bredasdorp can be traced to the Bishop's 1855 Visitation.

Churches in Phase 3 are:

- C26. St Mary the Virgin **Woodstock**, Cape Town;
- C27. St James' **Green Point**, Cape Town;
- C28. All Saints **Bredasdorp**;
- C29. St Andrew's **Ceres**;
- C30. St Jude's **Oudtshoorn**;
- C31. Constantia Chapel **Cape Town**;
- C32. Durbanville Chapel, near **Cape Town**;
- C33. St Mary's **Robertson**;

C51. St Augustine's **Villiersdorp**;

C52. All Saints **Somerset West**.

(Histories of C51 & C52 appear at the end of Phase 6).

THE FIRST TWO CHAPELS

The spiritual needs of Papendorp, a suburb immediately to the east of Cape Town was a concern of the Anglican Church, particularly as “the inhabitants had the reputation of being the most criminal in all [the] Cape Colony”.¹ On 7 June 1848, a grant of the Bellen Alliance farm, which included Dieter van Papen’s old home, Treaty House, was obtained by the Anglicans Church from the Cape Government.² The building was restored and in October 1849 it began to be used as a chapel, known initially as the Papendorp District Chapel and later as the St Mary the Virgin’s Mission Chapel.³ In a letter to Bishop Gray from Rev John Quinn, the priest of the church between 1855 and 1857, Quinn states, “The Mission at Papendorp [Woodstock] was first established by the very Reverend [William A Newman] the Dean of Capetown in October 1849. During the first year it was under the superintendence of Dr Camilleri... At the expiration of that time it was transformed to my charge and has been under my care up to the present time...”⁴ Camilleri is praised for his mission work and other activities, including a district parish formed by him at Papendorp. Rev William Newman and local church people approached Bishop Gray on 17 May 1850 for him to license the chapel for divine service.⁵ Newman and Camilleri may thus be regarded as joint founders of the church at Woodstock.

In 1854 the accommodation in the chapel had become too cramped for the growing congregation and another school-chapel, known as St Andrew the Fisherman, was opened by Gray in 1854. Langham-Carter states, “*It was probably designed by the bishop’s architect wife Sophy Gray* (author’s italics) and could seat 150. Gray consecrated it in the following year but this chapel, in its turn, soon became too small”.⁶ Mrs Gray’s meticulous Diocesan Records, however, show no transfers of land from Government or private donors for the St Andrew’s Chapel. As it was a school-chapel, it is unlikely that it would have been consecrated as claimed in the history. Mrs Gray’s own list, *Consecration of Churches and Burial Grounds*, records no consecrations of any churches or chapels in the vicinity of Cape Town between 1855 and 1859. Mrs Gray’s connection with this second chapel could not be confirmed.

¹ R. Langham-Carter, *The Parish of Woodstock* (1988), p3.

² *Ibid*, p5. Originally known as Papendorp House, ‘*Treaty House*’ was where the Dutch signed the capitulation of the Cape to the British on 10 January 1806.

³ R. Langham-Carter, *Some notes on the History of St Mary’s* (1973). (UCT BC 644). The foundation stone of the St Mary’s Mission Chapel, Albert Road, was laid 27 May 1892. This chapel, a new building, possibly took on the name of the earlier mission chapel.

⁴ Letter dated 7 June 1855, CPSA Archives, AB 1676. Dr Michael Camilleri had been recruited to head the work among Muslims, 1848-1853.

⁵ R. Langham-Carter, *Some notes on the History of St Mary’s*.

⁶ R. Langham-Carter, *The Parish of Woodstock*, p8. The source of this information is not disclosed.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS BUILT

On 7 January 1859, Mr Richard P Dobie of Woodstock House offered the Woodstock Church Building Committee a certain piece of land for a church. The cornerstone was laid less than six months later on 29 June [St Peter's Day] 1859, by Colonel Hope Graham of the 29th Foot (Worcestershire Regiment).⁷ An account of this event was published in the *South African Church Magazine*.⁸ The report differs in some details to the historical notes quoted above. It states: "The stone was laid by Colonel Hope Graham, C.B. of the 59th Regiment." After the laying of the stone, the Dean addressed the large numbers who had attended which "...proved the interest which was taken in the work... He congratulated the people of Woodstock upon the prospect of having a parish church... and the members of the Church of England generally, on the proof which this fresh addition to the many Christian temples of late erected now afforded the expansive energies of the Church." He added that St Peter's Day should be regarded "as the chief day in the history of the Anglo-African Church, because on that day its cornerstone was laid by the consecration of its first Bishop." The report commented on the building which was "...built of the yellow mountain stone in Kentish random work by English immigrants..." as was the other church being built at the time in Green Point (refer C27).

The outer walls of the church were "covered with a rendering of rough grey lime plaster" normally not required where stone is used but "there was probably a brick component in the walls and buttresses which required protection." from the Cape winter.⁹ The Grays would no doubt have participated in the ceremony had they not been overseas at the time. The Bishop nevertheless showed his interest in the building project in his letter to his daughter Annie (Williamson) in which he said, "I find everything in the Diocese going on wonderfully well, and great progress made... Lightfoot's Mission work... is going on very well; the churches at Greenpoint and Papendorf (sic), both parts of the Dean's parish, are rising up."¹⁰

The church was built during the four and a half years between June 1859 and January 1864. The first service was held on Sunday 24 January 1864 according to the diary of Mrs Dale.¹¹ She recorded, "The new church at Papendorp opened today so Papa sent Charlie and myself in the carriage. The Church was very full, and the service simple. The Dean officiated..."¹² Bishop Gray consecrated the church as 'St Mary's' on 6

⁷ *Ibid*, p9. Langham-Carter's *Notes* of 1973 stated that the stone was laid by Col. Hope Gordon of the 55th Regiment.

⁸ July 1859, p266.

⁹ R. Langham-Carter, *The Parish of Woodstock*, p9.

¹⁰ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.1, p448. The "Dean's parish" would have included churches that fell under the care of St George's Cathedral, Cape Town.

¹¹ Mrs Dale was the wife of Dr Langham Dale, Superintendent General of Education. Their home in Maitland, *Montagu Cottage*, had been built in 1861.

¹² J. Murray (ed.), *Mrs Dale's Diary 1857-1872*, p62. Langham-Carter confirms this date in his *The Parish of Woodstock*, p9.

June 1865.¹³ The delay of 17 months between the opening and the consecration is possibly because the church building was not free of debt.

THE ARCHITECT OF ST MARY'S

In Langham-Carter's notes¹⁴ he states simply "Sophy Gray designed church." In a later list Sophia Gray's name as architect is prefixed with a '?' indicating that he had some doubt as to her involvement.¹⁵ In 1877, *The Net* published a report on St Mary's: "It was built and designed by Bishop and Mrs Gray and greatly beautified by Mr Glover."¹⁶ The *Historical Records of the CPSA*, in an account of the work at Papendorp, "a very dreary suburb of Cape Town", no doubt quoting from *The Net*, commented on St Mary's: "This Woodstock church was designed by Bishop and Mrs Gray and greatly beautified by Mr Glover."¹⁷ It is probable, considering the ornateness of the windows and the inclusion of an aisle on the right of the nave that St Mary's basic plan was from the Grays' portfolio of plans drawn by English architects and the architectural societies. Mrs Gray's authorship of the design is confirmed through the above historical references.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS OF THE CHURCH

A chancel erected in memory of Bishop Gray was added to the church some 22 years after the original nave was built. Building commenced in 1877 and the completed extension was consecrated by Archbishop West Jones on 21 December 1880. In Rev J M Arnold's Annual Return to the USPG dated 19 January 1880, he reported that a chancel was "now building". The following year in his completed return dated 10 January 1881, he wrote: "To the Church a Chancel has been added in 1880 at an outlay of about £1100. No parsonage. That must come last."¹⁸ A newspaper reported, "This is a pretty little church and worthy of the efforts being made towards liquidating the cost of the new chancel recently added to it, and shortly to be opened."¹⁹ The third and final phase in the development of St Mary's was undertaken by Herbert Baker. An extended nave, a vestry, a north transept and an impressive square, battlemented tower were added to the church in 1897/1898. Baker's plans were accepted on 22 April 1897 and the foundation stone of the new project laid on 17 November 1897. The consecration took place a year later on 16 October 1898.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The church *as it presently stands*, "...has the unplanned organic appearance of an early English parish church. The entrance is set in the massive stone tower on the left

¹³ *List of Consecration of Churches, 1827-1919*. The consecration is also recorded in the *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p333.

¹⁴ *Some Notes on the History of St Mary's*.

¹⁵ R. Langham-Carter, *Architects and Builders of Some Churches in S.A.*

¹⁶ *The Net*, 1877, p117.

¹⁷ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p98. Rev Edward Glover was married to the Gray's eldest child, Louisa. He was priest-in-charge of Woodstock in 1862-1869.

¹⁸ Rev Arnold was the first Rector of St Mary's, 1875-1881.

¹⁹ *The Cape Times*, 5 June 1880.

in the front ...a large crucifix hanging over the porch.”²⁰ The plan is quite different to most other Anglican churches as St Mary’s has three transepts on the left adjoining one another, a chancel beyond the nave of slightly lower height and along the west side of the nave, an aisle from the first building phase. The plan of the church at the time it was consecrated in 1865, however, was much simpler, consisting only of the five-bay nave of 18 x 9,5 metres and an aisle, the same length as the nave but only 4 metres wide. A porch gave entrance to the church from the middle of the aisle. The ‘east’ window (which faced south) had three lights with ogee heads and tracery above. The ‘west’ window had a similar two-light window. There were three windows on the ‘north’ wall as shown in a c1890 photograph.²¹ These appear to have been two-light windows with traceried heads, matching the two-light window in the ‘west’ end wall (Refer Drawing 48). These windows all had drip moulds and label stops. The two-light, flat-headed aisle windows have reticulated tracery (Refer Drawing 49).

Two-step buttresses supported the nave wall on the ‘north’ side; angle buttresses stood at the corners of the ‘west’ wall. When the chancel was built during the second phase in 1877, it is assumed that the diagonal buttresses built on the ‘east’ wall were copies of the original diagonal buttresses of the original nave. A diagonal buttress at the north-west corner of the aisle remains from the first building phase. The roof was supported on five arch-braced roof trusses in dark stained pine; the braces met under a collar beam, the space above forming a trefoil. The pitch of the nave roof (60 degrees) was carried through to the chancel in 1877 but when Baker’s vestries and transepts were added in 1897, their roof pitch was only 50 degrees. The nave was built of Table Mountain sandstone “in Kentish random work” whereas the ‘south’ aisle is of brick covered with plaster. The stone walls were left untreated internally but all external walls were “covered with a rendering of rough grey lime plaster”.²² (All of the 1897 Baker additions were in sandstone.)

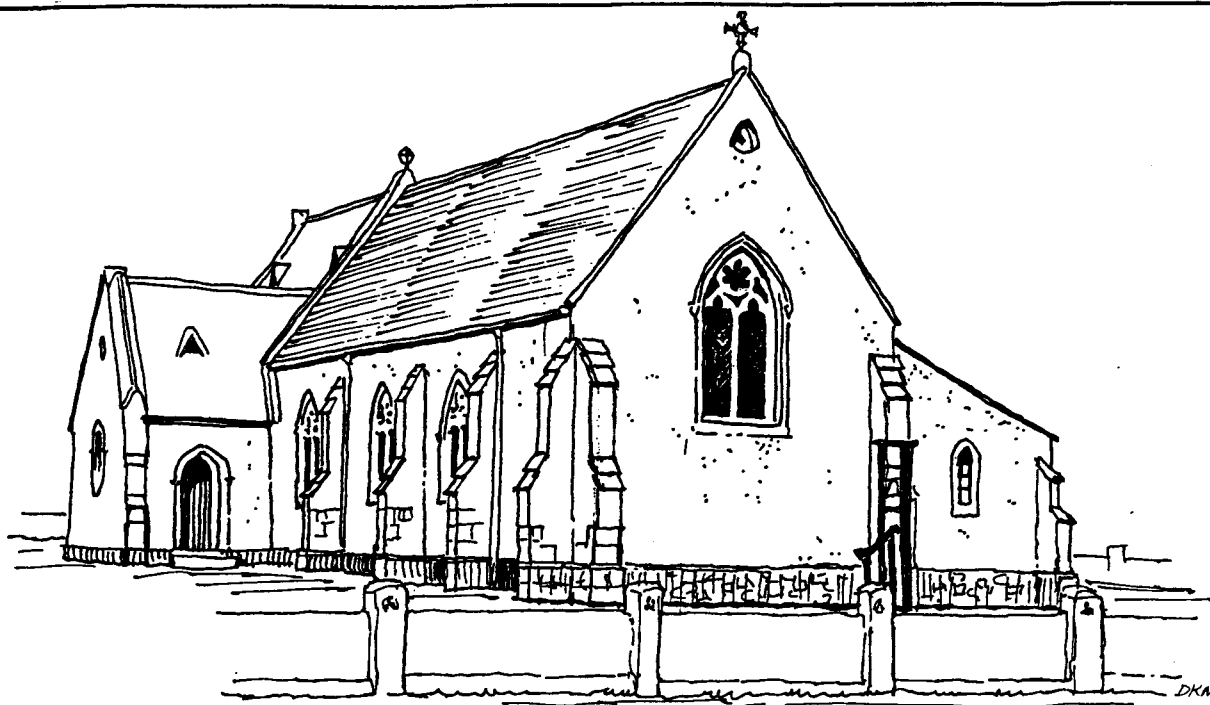
The tracery in the windows and the five pointed arches standing on round columns linking the aisle to the nave could be regarded as special features of the early church (Refer Drawing 50). The fact that the arches that were built in 1877, linking the nave to the new aisle ‘north’ side, are different to those on the ‘south’ aisle, is evidence that Sophia’s plan for the church was being altered. The ‘new’ aisle arches are flatter and stand on cluster piers. It is highly likely too that other features of the original nave and aisle were modified during the subsequent alterations and additions of 1877 and 1897. For example, the hood moulds over all the windows (whether from the first, second or third phase), are similar and all of the label stops are in the shape of human heads. These “are in a grey English freestone and were sent out from Britain, already carved,”²³ possibly part of a Baker plan to integrate the design of the windows.

²⁰ H. Fransen & M. A. Cook, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p85.

²¹ *Ibid*, p114.

²² R. Langham-Carter, *The Parish of Woodstock*, p9.

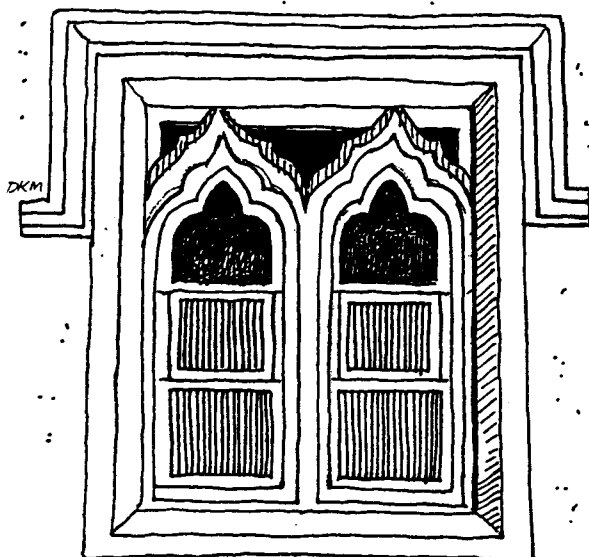
²³ *Ibid*, p26.



*Drawing 48: Church of St Mary the Virgin, Woodstock.
Windows in the Decorated style with bar (geometrical) tracery.*

*From a photograph c1884, R.Langham-Carter,
The Parish of Woodstock.*

*Drawing 49 (below): Detail of
aisle window with reticulated tracery,
St Mary's Church, Woodstock.*



*Drawing 50: St Mary's, Woodstock.
View from nave into aisle. Round columns with Early English moulding.*

CHURCH GROWTH IN THE CAPE TOWN AREA

When Bishop Gray arrived at the Cape in 1848 there were only two Anglican churches in the city (the Cathedral and Holy Trinity) and at Rondebosch, Wynberg and Simon's Town. In the decade that followed, Gray was responsible for initiating church building in his own parish at Claremont, in Waterkant Street (St John's), in Newlands (St Andrew's), in Woodstock (St Mary's) and at Green Point (St James). Prior to 1848, however, Anglicans living west of Cape Town could only attend church in the town but from that year services were held at Rogge Bay. A school-chapel had also been opened in Green Point on 15 July 1846 in which services were held for Dutch Reformed, Congregational and Anglican congregations on a shared basis.¹ These occasional services had been conducted by Rev W A Currey and Rev Wood who had to travel from Cape Town. "Well disposed as the Anglicans were to the 'Independents', it was felt that Anglicans should have a church of their own. Accordingly in 1858, a subscription list was opened..."² Donors included Messrs John and James King and Mr R D Jones.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Although both Bishop Gray and his wife were in England in 1858 and most of 1859, Sophia recorded on her return that "On the 23rd of May 1859, a piece of ground at Green Point was transferred by Mr J C Steytler to the See of Cape Town."³ On 13 June 1859 "the foundation stone of the proposed Church of St James, Green Point, was laid... by the Very Reverend the Dean of Cape Town."⁴ The *S A Church Magazine* covered this event under the heading, "New Churches" and stated that "during the past month the erection of two new churches, the one in the western and the other in the eastern suburb of Cape Town, has been commenced with due solemnities." The report described how clergy and choir, together with members of the Building Committee and others, "...assembled at a neighbouring mansion, and thence proceeded in order to the site of the new Church, the neighbourhood of which was tastefully adorned with flags and devices." The Dean in his address spurred the people on to complete the undertaking they had so successfully begun. Ending on a partisan note, he said the Church steeple could become a landmark "to the arriving immigrant that he would find a new England and a new Church of England in Southern Africa."⁵

Bishop Gray wrote to his daughter from Cape Town on 14 September 1859 to let her know of their safe return to the Cape after their stay in England. He described progress in a variety of church matters including building projects at Malmesbury and Claremont, adding "...the churches at Greenpoint and Papendorp [Woodstock], both

¹ R. Langham-Carter, *St James' Church, 1859-1985*, p2.

² M. Murray, *Under Lions Head*, p61.

³ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p195.

⁴ *S A Church Magazine*, Vol.7, July 1859, p265.

⁵ *Ibid*, p266.

parts of the Dean's parish, are rising up."⁶ Nobody at the time that the foundation stones were laid could have foreseen that the church in the eastern side of the city, Woodstock, would still be a thriving church community in the year 2000 some 140 years later whereas the project in Green Point would be abandoned within a few years of the date of the stone-laying ceremony that had been witnessed by several hundred spectators.

AN IGNOMINIOUS END

The building project stuttered to a halt some time before 1866 as in that year the St George's Cathedral authorities began renting a disused malthouse close to Beach Road, Sea Point as a church.⁷ The Worcester Road project had by that time been abandoned as the site "...could not be properly drained, and the building – such of it as went up – suffered much in consequence. Nor were sufficient funds forthcoming."⁸ It is further stated that "After a year or two all that could be seen of St James' Church was four walls in decay, the very stones being surreptitiously carted away from time to time and used for building elsewhere..."⁹

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

Only one historian credits Sophia Gray with the design of the proposed church, possibly because, as it was abandoned so soon and records of the building project are sparse, research into what was no more than foundations, has little merit.¹⁰ A description of the planned church, however, is given in a subscription list in the National Library, Cape Town that indicates that the plan used was the same as St Marks, George, which was "an almost exact replica of Littlemore Church, Oxfordshire" (Refer Figures Y and Z), built in 1855 to the design of Underwood.¹¹ As stated in the review of St Mark's Church, George, the Littlemore plans were available for purchase through the Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Oxford. The architectural features of the Littlemore Church and St Mark's are virtually identical and confirm Mrs Gray's authorship of the George church (Refer C6) and thus also the project at Green Point. The Grays had early in their ministry realised that churches in the Decorated and Norman styles would be costly; the more austere design of Early English in the pattern of Underwood's drawings, was the type of church that they could promote without incurring large building costs for themselves and fledgling church communities such as the one in Green Point.

⁶ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.1, p448.

⁷ B. Mackins (Ed.), *St James the Great Centenary*, (1998), p8.

This building was radically altered and served as the St James Church until 1898 when the present church was opened. The original "brewery" church is currently the church hall.

⁸ M. Murray, *Under Lion's Head*, p61.

⁹ *Ibid*, p62.

¹⁰ R. Langham-Carter, *Buildings wholly or partly designed by Mrs Gray*. The source of the author's statement is not revealed.

¹¹ D. J. Radford, *The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901*, p188 and footnote 62, p204.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Bishop Gray's first visit to Bredasdorp was during the Grays' three month visitation in "the autumn of 1855." On 25 August the Bishop had consecrated Caledon's Holy Trinity church. They travelled into the 'Strand-veldt' on the 27th and arrived at 'Breda's dorp' on 29 August 1855 where Gray discovered that there were no less than 80 English people. Several of these were Juvenile Emigrants who had been sent out by the Children's Friend Society.¹ Gray wrote, "Having given no notice, it was impossible to gather the people together for service during the two hours we remained in the village." He promised that the priest from Caledon, Rev Henry Wilshere, would commence [periodic] Sunday services "if a place could be procured for him to hold service in." Gray shows his concern that these people had "resided in the village for several years... the greater number of whom are members of the church, but who have not yet had the means of grace supplied them in English..." Rev Wilshere² must have begun his ministry at Bredasdorp soon after this "as many significant events took place in 1856."³ These included the first baptism on 14 January, the first marriage on 29 March and the first confirmations of 12 candidates by Gray on 30 September 1856, the latter service conducted in the course of the Bishop's return from Grahamstown. All services were held in the schoolroom.⁴

About three years later, on 1 November 1859, the local magistrate Dr J H Hofmeyr laid the foundation stone of a church. The plot on which the church was to be built was registered in the name of All Saints on 20 December 1859. The record reads: "...a piece of ground... situated at Bredasdorp was given for Ecclesiastical purposes by Joseph Barry Esq."⁵ Gutsche wrote, "in early winter [1860]... Sophy rode 300 miles from Bishop's Court up and down the Caledon district and back... They went as far south as Elim and Bredasdorp..."⁶ The Bishop's account of this minor visitation is contained in a letter he wrote to his sister after their return to Cape Town on 19 May 1860. He told of the 300-mile ride that included stops at the Moravian Mission Station at Elim and Bredasdorp where Barry received them and where Gray preached. The Bishop added, "Afterwards we had a meeting about the completion of a very pretty little chapel. Next morning we were off again..."⁷ This extract indicates that building operations were well under way by mid-year 1860. The church was completed by the middle of the following year.

¹ Grays Journal, 1855, pp14-21.

² Rev. H. M. M. Wilshere served at Caledon from 1852 to 1874.

³ S. C. Jacobs, *The History of the Parish of Bredasdorp*, p16.

⁴ *Ibid*, p17.

⁵ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Capetown*, p202. Joseph Barry was the founder of the church at Port Beaufort.

⁶ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p176.

⁷ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. I, p459. The precise dates of the visit to Bredasdorp are unknown.

THE ARCHITECT OF THE CHURCH

It is fairly certain that the Bishop would have mentioned that his wife had supplied the plans for this 'pretty little chapel' as at the time he was writing a private letter to a member of his family. On the other hand, the absence of positive comment by Gray about his wife's design, does not rule her out as architect. Sophia could have supplied plans some time after their first visit in August 1855 which scenario may have prompted the 1860 visit to Bredasdorp to review progress of the building project. A church history records, "Work on the church building was completed and on Saturday 11 August 1861... the first service was held in the church building" and two years later, on 29 October 1863 the building "was consecrated in the name of All Saints Church by Bishop Gray. The beautiful Red Sandstone church with its thatched roof was designed by Mrs Sophie Gray, ... and is typical of the nineteenth century English country church building."⁸ Although her involvement could not be substantiated from church records, on the evidence of the structure itself, as discussed below, her authorship of the project is fairly convincing.

Among opinions expressed by other historians, Beddy does not name Sophia as architect whereas Langham-Carter, (*Architects & Builders of Some Churches in S.A.*), does list Sophia as the church's designer, though he pre-fixes her name with a '?'. All Saints Church is described as "... one of the many Anglican churches in the Sophia Gray style, c1855."⁹ Indeed, the architectural features (of the part of the church that was built in the 1850s) do reflect many of the aspects that Sophia believed to be essential to conform to the Early English neo-Gothic style.

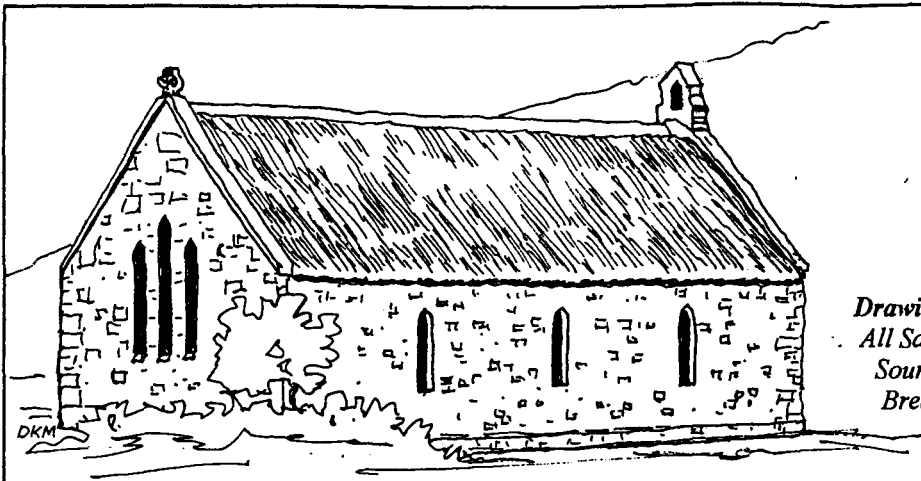
ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Confining comment to the part of the existing church as originally built, this comprises a long, three-bay stone nave without buttresses, measuring 14,1 x 5,5 metres. The nave supports a trussed rafter roof of thatch of relatively low pitch (45 degrees). There are three lancets in the side walls, a triplet lancet in the east wall and a small bellcote at the west end (Refer Drawing 51). The walls are built of coursed, squared rubble. The overall appearance of the original church (as seen in the photograph from which Drawing 51 was traced) is of a rustic Early English chapel. Two aspects detracting from the typical chapel style are the inexplicable absence of buttresses and the flattened roof pitch. The ratio of height to width of the lancets, 7:1, which conforms to the ratio the Ecclesiologists had recommended (Refer *Lancet Windows in the Nave Walls*, Section 3.1), and the small pedimented bellcote, favoured by Mrs Gray, are architectural features that were totally foreign to the Overberg. It gives credibility to the contention that local builders were following the plans of someone who was well-versed in the fundamentals of the Gothic style.

In subsequent years the nave was extended and a narrow south aisle, a north aisle and a porch added. The addition of aisles necessitated the building of six stubby round columns to support the nave walls. These massive columns stand on oversized square bases not in keeping with the original Early English style of the church as probably dictated by Sophia Gray's plans.

⁸ S. C. Jacobs, *The History of the Parish of Bredasdorp*, p17. Jacobs does not reveal his source for naming Sophia Gray as architect.

⁹ H. Fransen & M. A. Cook, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p346.

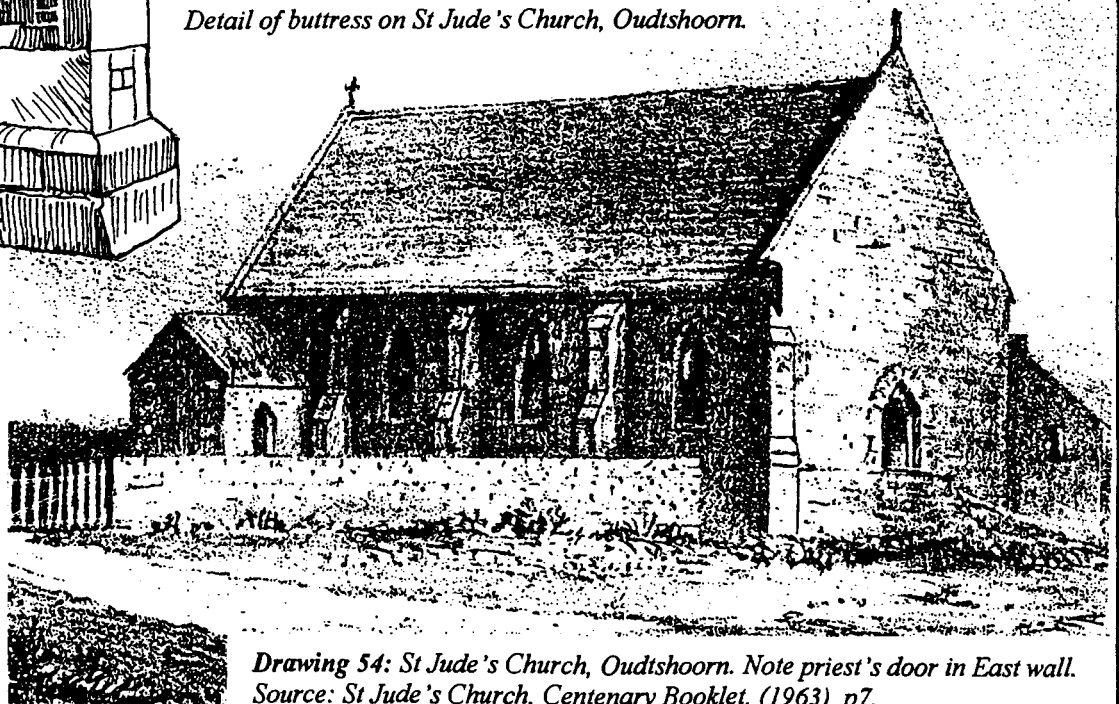


Drawing 51:
All Saints Church, Bredasdorp.
Source: The Parish of All Saints
Bredasdorp (S. C. Jacobs, 1988).

Drawing 52: St Andrew's Church, Ceres.
Source: Ceres Cape Province, p25 (1926).



Drawing 53 (left):
Detail of buttress on St Jude's Church, Oudtshoorn.



Drawing 54: St Jude's Church, Oudtshoorn. Note priest's door in East wall.
Source: St Jude's Church, Centenary Booklet, (1963), p7.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The establishment of Ceres followed soon after Andrew Geddes Bain built what is presently known as Michell's Pass between 1846 and 1848 from the northern part of the Breede River valley into the Cold and Warm Bokkeveld. This single factor triggered the start of the little village of Ceres. John Montagu's biographer, Rev W A Newman, wrote that "Immediately after the opening of Michell Pass, about 1800 acres unappropriated Crown Lands in the Warm Bokkeveld, at the eastern entrance of the Pass, and well supplied with spring water, were laid out as the site of a village, on which is bestowed the name of 'Ceres'. Situated in the midst of a most fertile tract of corn-land, there can be little doubt of this becoming, ere very long, one of the most flourishing villages in the Colony."¹ On 21 July 1849 the first erven were sold on the banks of the Dwars River and the small hamlet soon began to develop.² The rapid opening up of Ceres is one of a number of examples of where the proclamation of villages by the Colonial Government heralded the moving in of British settlers, a phenomenon of which Bishop Gray was aware and which prompted the building of Anglican churches (Refer *Conclusion* of Section 3.1).

Bishop Gray viewed the site where Ceres was to be built at the end of his 1848 visitation. He had left Worcester after lunch on 14 December and had presumably travelled to the foot of the pass as that night he recorded that he slept at Mr Bain's place (Engineer of Roads). The next day he rode up the new Michell's Pass and down again to Tulbagh, arriving in Cape Town on 21 December 1848.³ Gray was probably aware of the scattered English in the area as he included Ceres in his epic 1850 Visitation. The route he took was via Bain's Kloof, Tulbagh, Worcester and then back to Ceres before continuing to Beaufort West. Gray's journal for 8 April reads: "At Michell's Pass, Mr Piers, Magistrate of Tulbagh, met me to show me the site of the proposed new village of Ceres and to fix upon sites for church, &c."⁴ This last incident is an example of the cooperation that Bishop Gray was receiving at the time with the Church's task to establish parishes, churches and schools in the colony.

With the active encouragement as noted, the Bishop lost little time with implementing his plans for an English Church community in the embryo village. While still somewhere in the Free State on his journey to Natal, Gray wrote a letter dated 8 May 1850 to the Colonial Secretary, Montagu, applying for sites in the village. Montagu's reply of 30 May was directed to Davidson, Gray's secretary in Cape Town: "In reply to your letter... requesting a grant to the See of sites for an English Church, Parsonage, Schools and Burial Ground in a suitable situation in the Village of Ceres, His Excellency has been pleased to approve a grant being made of the site selected by the Lord Bishop... including Lots 33, 34 & 35 already surveyed and a certain piece of

¹ W.A. Newman, *Biographical Memoir of John Montagu, Colonial Secretary*, 1855.

² H. C. Hopkins, *Ceres as Dorp en Distrik*, p116.

³ Gray's Journal, 1848, p74.

⁴ Gray's Journal, 1850, p4.

Land on the opposite side of Murchisson Street extending back to Church square"⁵ The next month, Mrs Gray recorded, "On the 13th June [1850], a piece of ground at Ceres was granted by the Governor for site for church, parsonage and schools."⁶

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

Despite the early start made by Gray to build a church, the vision appears to have evaporated after 1850, as regular church services only became a feature of the English church community in 1859 when Rev J Maynard from Worcester began services on the first Sunday of the month.⁷ Between 7 August and 18 October 1860 the Grays undertook a journey as far as Knysna. They returned via Beaufort West and "through the Karroo to Worcester and thence to Ceres where, in a deluge, Robert prepared to lay the cornerstone of a chapel school designed by Sophy."⁸ In 1860 Rev Guy Gething began a short period of service in Ceres. In a letter to Gray dated 19 September 1862, Gething was clearly against building too soon. He warned, "I hope your Lordship will get a nice plan for a church, but it would be nothing than madness to even think of building it at present."⁹ Rev Albert Jeffery replaced Gething as curate in 1863 and served the church for 47 years until 1905. Although the stone of the church appears to have been laid (as quoted above) in 1860, it was in Jeffery's second year, 1864, that the church was begun in earnest. When completed the building could accommodate 400. It was opened for service in 1864 or 1865¹⁰ and over a decade later, on St Andrew's Day, 30 November 1876, it was consecrated by Bishop West Jones.¹¹ The church was destroyed by fire in 1976.¹²

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The church consisted initially of a thatched, four-bay nave of dressed stone with a trio of lancet windows in the east end wall and two groups of three lancet windows built to the left of the entrance on the north side (Refer Drawing 52). Two-step angle buttresses were built at the four corners with a shorter buttress below the eastern triplet. The architectural style of St Andrews is comparable to Mrs Gray's work. Together with the Bishop's close connection with the church's founding, it is considered highly likely that Sophia was the author of its plans. Two other historians credit Sophia Gray with the design.¹³

⁵ Letters received by Bishop Gray, CPSA Archives, AB 1162/A1.2

⁶ *Chronicles of the Diocese*, p52.

⁷ H. C. Hopkins, *Eeufees Gedenkboek van Ceres*, p174.

⁸ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p179. The veracity of this account is not questioned.

⁹ USPG Records, MSE 9, Cape Town Vol. E.12.

¹⁰ H. C. Hopkins, *Eeufees Gedenkboek van Ceres*, p177. Beddy gives 1864 as the date of consecration in his 'List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...' but no record of consecration could be found in the 'Chronicles of the Diocese'. Fransen and Cook state that the school chapel was erected in 1865 (*The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p297.)

¹¹ *List of Consecration of Churches*. Gray consecrated only the burial ground on 16 October 1869.

¹² Fransen and Cook, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p297.

¹³ R. Langham-Carter, *Buildings wholly or partly designed by Mrs Gray*; Fransen and Cook, *Ibid*.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Oudtshoorn was surveyed in 1847 after which settlers gradually moved into the surveyed village area.¹ How much the Grays saw of early Oudtshoorn in 1855 is not mentioned in the Bishop's journal of the 1855 visitation that records that the Grays visited the Cango Caves on 16 October 1855. They had walked up the Montagu Pass from George on 11 October and spent some time at Schoonberg.² The beginnings of the Anglican Church, however, date from that year as "Alexander B. Armstrong, a retired Colonel of the Cape Mounted Rifles, was appointed as the settlement's first magistrate, and with Gray's approbation, conducted Divine Service for the local English."³ Archdeacon Welby from George, and Rev E Glover who was stationed at Schoonberg, about 50 kilometres to the south, also made periodic visits to Oudtshoorn.

The first formal endeavour to establish a church in the town was made on 14 June 1858 when, as reported in the *SA Church Magazine*, "...a meeting of members of the English Church was held at Oudtshoorn, for the purpose of raising subscriptions for the purchase of a piece of ground and for the building of a church or school-chapel..." The meeting was held in the courthouse where the English service was normally conducted. It was noted that £40 had been collected but that the sum was bound to increase. Though "the English congregation at Oudtshoorn is neither numerous nor rich..." they were highly commended for "the zeal and liberality with which they have come forward for the furtherance of this good work..."⁴

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

Rev Glover was replaced at Schoonberg in August 1859 by Rev Herman Hirsch who acquired a building site in Oudtshoorn although still stationed at Schoonberg. The site cost £140 "...of which £80 had been given by Bishop Gray, and £60 collected by Mr Glover."⁵ Rev Hirsch "was businesslike, full of energy and was not long in starting the building of a church."⁶ He recognised the potential for growth in Oudtshoorn and in January 1860 moved to the village from Schoonberg. The church was being built "...using the neglected sandstone from the low hills near the little village."⁷ Local opinion has it that plans for Gray's proposed school chapel were drawn up by his wife and sent to Mr Alexander Byrne, a local law agent and churchwarden. The Bishop in his 1865 journal, however, states categorically that the church was inferior both architecturally and in workmanship having been built first and *not* from plans furnished by himself.⁸ In

¹ Brochure: *Welcome to St Jude's Church*, p2.

² Gray's Journal, 1855, p69.

³ Brochure: *Welcome to St Jude's Church*, p2.

⁴ *SA Church Magazine*, July 1858, p316.

⁵ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p738.

⁶ *Centenary Brochure, St Jude's Church*, 1963, p3. Extract from a letter written in October 1901 by Rev A. Morris who served St Jude's for 42 years after succeeding Hirsch in 1860.

⁷ W. Tapson, *A History of the Diocese of George*, p36.

⁸ Gray's Journal, 1865, p44.

November 1859, George Wallis, an English stonemason who later turned "architect", was appointed Clerk of Works "to supervise the construction of the new gaols that were to be erected at Oudtshoorn, Mossel Bay, George and Prince Albert. At this time he made his first visit to Oudtshoorn..."⁹ Wallis obtained his first commission as an architect for the new Dutch Reformed Church in Oudtshoorn and had his plans accepted in November 1859. Radford considers it possible that George Wallis also designed the Anglican Church. "His exact part in the initial design [of St Jude's] is not known, but on circumstantial evidence, the author [Radford] is inclined to credit him with the design, and not Mrs Gray as has been previously assumed."¹⁰ The foundation stone of St Jude's was laid in April 1860 by the local Member of the Legislative Assembly, Mr William Walter (though the stone is no longer visible as it was probably concealed within the belltower when it was built in 1887).¹¹

In July 1860, Rev Alfred Morris replaced Hirsch who had initiated the church building. Morris commented in his letter of October 1901: "When I succeeded Mr Hirsch in July 1860, the walls were about 3 feet high. It was now that the difficulty began."¹² Morris was referring to the poverty of the people, not only within his church but the whole district. "Out of the 17 members of the congregation, only two possessed any property..." so Morris rode out daily to farmers to beg for funds. Fifty pounds was collected in this way. Together with the Bishop's grant and a loan of £100, the walls were built.¹³ Regarding the actual builders, Morris wrote: "A contract had been made with 4 Scotch Stone-masons. Their pay was to be per cubic foot of their work when the walls were finished, except the pointing. Every fortnight they would be paid an advance amount of 40%. To find the 40% was a perplexing matter, for the first portion of the grant (received from the Diocesan funds)... had been paid out." The stonemasons had been enlisted by Rev Hirsch to start the church in early 1860 while they were waiting to commence building the new stone gaol in Oudtshoorn.¹⁴

The first church minutes recorded are those of a "Meeting of the English Church held at the residence of Mr Byrne, June 4 1860." Archdeacon Thomas E Welby chaired the meeting at which Rev Hirsch's resignation was announced with effect from the end of June. His successor, Morris, was named. The meeting then expressed heartfelt thanks "for the zeal and energy with which he [Hirsch] has ministered among them and for his exertion in carrying the building of a church."¹⁵ The personal efforts of Hirsch to obtain a site for the church are confirmed in the *Chronicles of the Diocese*: "On the 16th June [1860], a piece of ground at Oudtshoorn... was purchased by the Bishop for £54.16s.0d. from the Revd H Hirsch who had bought it himself with

⁹ D. Radford, "George Wallis: 19th Century Cape Architect", *Africana Notes and News*, June 1980, p43.

¹⁰ Ibid. Crediting Wallis with the design of the church "is based on the assumption that foundations were commenced before Mrs Gray's design was received; as well as other discrepancies." (Footnote in Radford's article).

¹¹ Welcome Brochure, p3.

¹² *Centenary Brochure, St Jude's Church - 1963*, p4.

¹³ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p737.

¹⁴ Welcome Brochure, p3.

¹⁵ Minute Book, St Jude's Church, 4 June 1860.

a view to its being required as a site for a church."¹⁶ Between October 1857 and October 1859 the Grays had been in England. On 7 August 1860 they set off for a two-month tour that included Oudtshoorn and while in the village, the Bishop chaired a parish meeting on 23 September 1860. The minutes record: "Proceedings of a Parish Meeting held in the unfinished church... The Lord Bishop in the Chair." Among matters discussed was "...the subject of a piece of ground offered... to the English Church... for a burial ground."¹⁷ Gray also preached in the unfinished church three days later on 26 September. Another Meeting of Parishioners was held on 30 November 1860 but there is no indication of where it was held or how far the church project had progressed. It was agreed that "...a Parsonage House should be built and that application be made to the Lord Bishop... to ascertain whether he can assist..."¹⁸

At the "Meeting held in the New Church 1 February 1861," it was resolved to thank the Bishop for the £200 received for the Parsonage and to borrow a further £100. It was also agreed "that the plans furnished by Mrs Gray be adopted with a few alterations."¹⁹ At the Easter Vestry Meeting on 4 April 1861 it was agreed "that the Churchwardens be requested to carry to the Lord Bishop... the thanks of this meeting for the generous assistance he has offered us in building our Church and Parsonage."²⁰ Two years later, in the midst of Gray's legal battles with Rev Long and Bishop Colenso, he made a two-month trip to 'the Knysna' between 20 August and 3 November 1863, including a stop at Oudtshoorn where he consecrated St Jude's Church on 23 September.²¹

The year 1865 had been laden with drama among which was Gray's personal grief on hearing that the Privy Council had declared his deposing of Bishop Colenso as invalid. On 17 May, a devastating storm in Table Bay wrecked 45 ships, a fire had swept through Swellendam and a persistent drought was causing English settlers to leave the Karoo. With these events fresh in mind, the Grays made a three-month visitation to the Eastern parts of the Diocese, leaving on 17 August and returning on 8 November 1865. They reached Oudtshoorn on 12 October where an address was presented to the Bishop in the Schoolroom that had been erected since his last visitation (September 1863). The Bishop wrote, "Our Ecclesiastical buildings are now completed for this village, and form three sides of a square. They look very nice, being all built of stone and very substantial, and the small quadrangle was gay with bright coloured flowers."²²

THE ARCHITECT OF THE CHURCH

As already mentioned, Gray made a significant statement in his journal with regard to the architect of the church: "The Church, unfortunately, is inferior in point of architecture and in workmanship to the School, *having been built first and not from plans furnished by me* (author's italics). It is however better than some others. These buildings have altogether cost about £2000.

¹⁶ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p206.

¹⁷ Minute Book, St Jude's Church, 23 September 1860.

¹⁸ Minute Book, St Jude's Church, 30 September 1860.

¹⁹ Minute Book, St Jude's Church, 1 February 1861.

²⁰ Minute Book, St Jude's Church, 4 April 1861.

²¹ *Chronicles of the Diocese...*, p288; *List of Consecrations*, p3.

²² Gray's Journal, 1865, p44.

The very handsome Dutch Church is still without its roof, very little having been done to it during the last two years..."²³ Considering the pride which the Grays took in the architectural correctness of their churches, this remark by Robert is proof that the 1860 nave of St Jude's was the work of another - probably George Wallis. Wallis was to have a long association with the church; "...he designed the chancel and porch (1880), the north transept, organ chamber and bell tower (1887) and finally the new vestry and western extension (1897)."²⁴ Wallis was the architect of the Church's Memorial Hall (dated 1904 but completed 1905) that forms the other wing of the hollow square of church buildings facing Von Rheede Street. Wallis designed other churches and acted as Clerk-of-Works on building projects in Karoo towns in the vicinity of Oudtshoorn.

Beddy explains the probable story behind the architectural design of St Jude's in a few words: "Sophy Gray plans received and amended (April 1860)."²⁵ If the foundation stone was laid in the same month, it could be assumed that all the foundations had already been dug and laid by April 1860. This is a logical explanation to Gray's comment in his journal of 1865 that the church had been built "not from plans furnished by me." Rev Hirsch had enlisted the Scottish stonemasons, Alexander Bern and three Lawrence brothers to build the church while they were waiting to start work on the Oudtshoorn Gaol.²⁶ Wallis was to supervise the work on the Gaol and Hirsch would have had to consult Wallis to engage his skilled masons. If Hirsch already had Sophia's plans, these would have been given to Wallis and presumably altered to suit his own taste; if Sophia's plans were only received in April 1860, then the plans used for the foundations which were laid prior to April 1860, would have probably been drawn up by Wallis early in 1860. Radford states that Sophia's plan for St Marks, George, "would also appear to be the model for the design of St Jude's, Oudtshoorn, which although commonly attributed to Mrs. Gray is, in my [Radford's] opinion, by another - most certainly George Wallis."²⁷ Mrs Gray could be credited for the initial design but the plans of the church, as built, are more likely the work of Wallis.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The first phase of the church as built in 1860/63 comprised a four-bay nave measuring 16,5 x 7 metres. There were diagonal buttresses at the corners and three substantial buttresses between the windows on either side of the nave (Refer Drawing 53). Windows in the church consisted of an uncommon triplet lancet in the west wall and lancets in the nave (Refer Drawing 55). The east wall had a priest's door opening directly into the sanctuary although a small porch stands at the last bay on the south-west corner (Refer Drawing 54). The open roof of 51 degrees was supported by double scissors trusses (Refer Drawing 57). The church was built of local sandstone, the walls exhibiting the 'three-stone filler' pattern found in walls in North East Scotland (Refer Drawing 56).

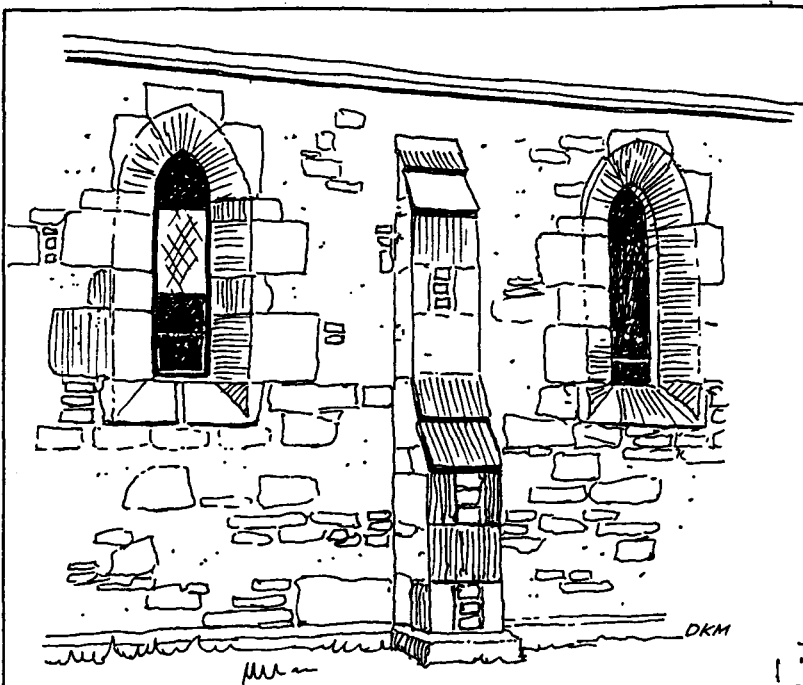
²³ Gray's Journal, 1865, p45.

²⁴ D. Radford, 'George Wallis: 19th Century Cape Architect', *Africana Notes and News*, June 1980, p44.

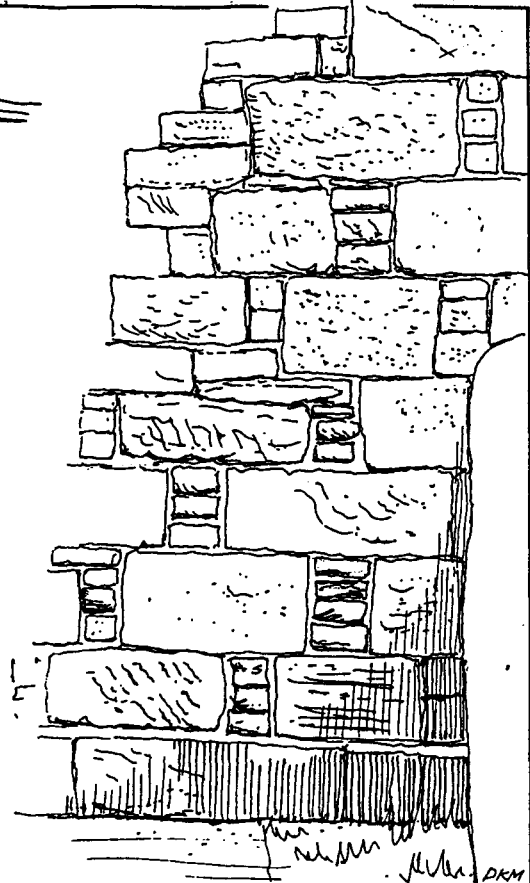
²⁵ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...*

²⁶ Welcome Brochure, p3.

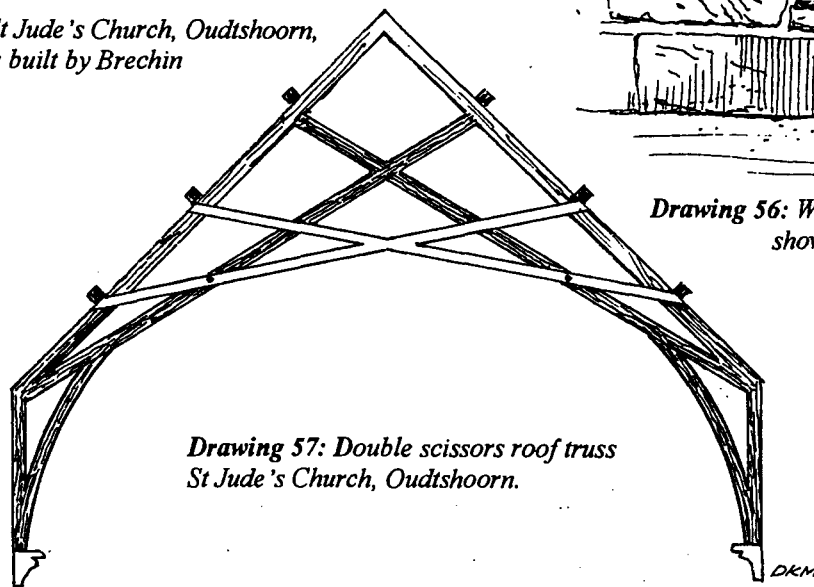
²⁷ D. Radford, *The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 - 1901*, (Unpublished thesis), p188.



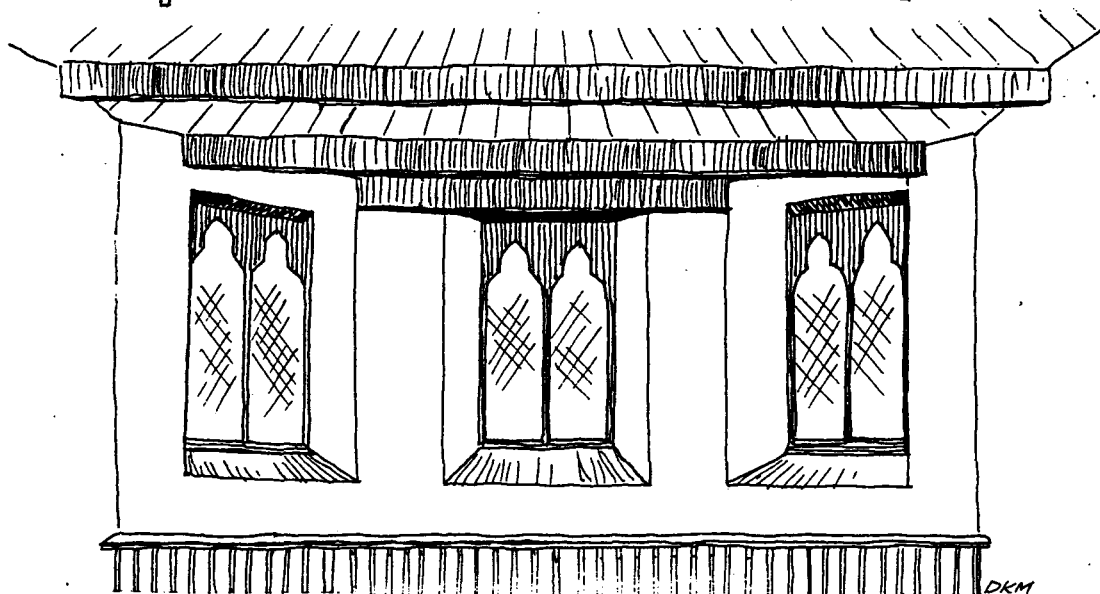
Drawing 55: St Jude's Church, Oudtshoorn, section of nave built by Brechin stonemasons.



Drawing 56: Wall in Meigle, Scotland, showing three-stone fillers.



*Drawing 57: Double scissors roof truss
St Jude's Church, Oudtshoorn.*



*Drawing 58: Constantia Chapel, interior of semi-circular apse.
Source: Among the Vineyards, p12. (R. Langham-Carter).*

EARLY YEARS OF THE CHURCH IN THE WYNBERG AREA

The beginnings of Anglican Church work in Constantia, a part of the Wynberg area, are obscure. The Colonial Chaplain in charge of Wynberg also had charge of Constantia and Hout Bay, both areas farmed largely by the Dutch but in increasing numbers by English families in the nineteenth century. St John's Anglican Church was erected at Wynberg in 1834 and its people were served by the Colonial Chaplain of the time, Rev Dr Holt Okes (1834-1847). Subsequent chaplains were Thomas Blair (1848-1854) and W Burton Phillipson (1855-1874).¹ During the latter's term, in 1859, "though white Anglicans were still very few there were enough of them... to want a church. A committee was formed and its Chairman, a Mr Gotobed, approached... the Bishop of Cape Town." The proposal was welcomed by Bishop Gray and "it was soon agreed that a school chapel for the white residents, a school for the coloured farm workers and a house for a minister should be erected."²

The site was donated by Sebastian Van Renen of High Constantia farm, a member of the Dutch Church but whose wife, Hester, was an Anglican being the daughter of Colonel John Graham, the founder of Grahamstown. "For some unknown reason the committee wanted to convey the site and buildings to Jacob Cloete of Groot Constantia, another member of the Dutch Church, but Gray rightly insisted that it must be conveyed to his diocese and this was done."³ Funding for the project came largely from the SPCK in London, £30 for each of the school projects, Bishop Gray's own gift of £70, a donation of £50 as well as the balance in the form of a loan from the Diocese.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS BUILT

Bishop Gray laid the foundation stone of the chapel in July 1860.⁴ The SPG's monthly journal carried a brief reference to the chapel: "At Constantia, a school-chapel is about to be erected."⁵ In February 1861, the *Cape Monthly Magazine* reported, "almost at the gateway [of Groot Constantia] is now rising a pretty little building erected by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, assisted by the Bishop, as a chapel and school." The building was completed later in the year and its opening reported in the local press: "The Bishop will preach this morning at the opening of the new chapel at Constantia."⁶ Another press report elaborated further: "The new English Church at Constantia was opened by the Lord Bishop of Cape Town on

¹ R. Langham-Carter, *Among the Vineyards*, p2.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Ibid.* The source of Langham-Carter's information on the stone laying is unknown. Although no reference to the event is recorded in Mrs Gray's *Chronicles of the Diocese*, July 1860 can be accepted as the month during which building work began.

⁵ *The Mission Field*, November 1860, p89.

⁶ *Cape Argus*, 15 October 1861.

Tuesday [15th]. A large party was present. A collection was made amounting to £20.”⁷ In a letter on 18 October 1861 from Bishop Gray to Mrs Williamson he wrote, “You would have been interested to have been with us when two [three] days ago I opened our Chapel at Constantia.”⁸

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The only description of the completed chapel is in Langham-Carter’s history of Christ Church that replaced the chapel in 1895.⁹ He wrote, “The chapel was built of bricks made at some near-by farm and was probably erected by the labourers themselves who had much experience already in putting up farm buildings. To protect the brickwork... it was coated with white lime wash. ...at least two photographs survive, so details of it are available. It had a thatched roof. Most of the windows were small, with flat heads and diamond panes but there were three pairs of larger ones with trefoil heads in the east wall. The Grays are known to have ordered windows for several churches to be made in England, as Cape masons were not familiar with the Gothic style...”¹⁰ A photograph of the interior shows a semi-circular apse with three pairs of windows (Refer Drawing 58). Judging purely from the photograph, it is possible that these windows were not of stone but timber. The church itself appears to have been a simple nave with a rounded east end and a small porch. The chapel was demolished in 1953. As the chapel was of relatively crude construction, it is thought unlikely that the cost of English stone windows would have been considered. The Perpendicular character of the two lights could have been easily achieved in timber.

There is little in the records to confirm beyond doubt that the chapel is Sophia’s design apart from a Diocesan record referred to by Beddy.¹¹ The Bishop’s reference in the letter quoted above to “our Chapel” *may* be suggesting his wife’s involvement which is supported by the fact that she contributed to the design of all the other Anglican churches in the Cape Peninsula. The semi-circular apse, however, was not a feature of which the Grays would normally have approved. Langham-Carter presumed that Sophia Gray was the designer because as “...the bishop’s wife, [she] designed most of the diocese’s churches in her time and it seems very likely that she designed the chapel...”¹² Considering all the above, authorship of the plans must ultimately be attributed to Mrs Gray.

⁷ *Cape Chronicle*, 18 October 1861, p2.

⁸ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.2, p6.

⁹ Vide, D. K. Martin, *The Cape Town Church Building Boom*, Catalogue, pA-26.

¹⁰ R. Langham-Carter, *Among the Vineyards*, p2.

¹¹ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...*

Beddy gives as his source the Diocesan Records though the precise reference could not be traced.

¹² R. Langham-Carter, *op cit.*, p2.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Bishop Gray's first contact with the tiny village of D'Urban, as it was then known,¹ occurred on the last day of his 1848 visitation to the Diocese. He recorded on December 21, "Drove three hours to D'Urban, to breakfast. This is a small and uninteresting village, built upon a sandy soil, and without trees. It has nothing attractive about it."² During the Gray's visit of 1849, they returned from Knysna via Worcester, Fransch Hoek and Malmesbury. Though D'Urban is not mentioned in the records, they probably travelled through the village on the same track as Gray had done in 1848. At the end of the Grays' three-month 1855 visitation, they reached Wellington about 23 November. After visits further north, they returned to Wellington where Gray recorded, "For years I have been able to do nothing for Malmesbury, D'Urban, Tulbagh..."³ The village was obviously much on the Bishop's mind and shortly after this he became actively engaged with the founding of the church.

The role Gray played in encouraging and facilitating the formation of an English church community in D'Urban can be pieced together through reference to the earliest Minute Book.⁴ The Church Wardens' accounts of offertory collections were preserved as from 15 June 1856 in a large book, apparently provided by Mrs Gray. This is thought to have been brought out by the Bishop when he visited on 12 June 1856.⁵ The Minute Book contains the memorial dated 4 November 1856 to the Governor, Sir George Grey, from 23 members of "the Church of England and Others" who, "...having for some time past met together for Public Worship in a building lent for that purpose..."⁶ now wished to have a place (school) of their own "...in which their children may be instructed." They stated that they had already applied to the Lord Bishop of Cape Town and were "in expectation of a Gentleman almost immediately becoming resident..." among them. It was foreseen that a 'Chapel School' would be erected immediately but that later a church and a house for the clergyman would be built.⁷ The memorial was sent to Gray who forwarded it the next day (5 November) to the Government offices.⁸ A reply from the Colonial Secretary, Rawson, dated 6 January 1857, was addressed to Bishop Gray. The Governor was willing to "...make a

¹ The village, originally *Pampoenskraal*, was named D'Urban in 1836 in honour of the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and in 1886 renamed Durbanville.

² Gray's Journal, 1848, p77.

³ Gray's Journal, 1855, p137.

⁴ D'Urban Minute Book, CPSA Archives, AB 1569 5.1.16.

⁵ R.Langham-Carter, *Durbanville Parish History* (unpublished notes).

⁶ About 1856 the Dutch Reformed Church let their day school to G. F. Parker for £20 per annum. It was called 'All Saints school-chapel' (R. Langham-Carter, *Durbanville Parish History*, 1976)

⁷ D'Urban Minute Book, p5. The memorial appears to have been written by George F. Parker of 'Altyd Gedacht', who signs himself as 'Secretary' at subsequent meetings.

⁸ R. Langham-Carter, *Durbanville Parish History*, (unpublished notes).

grant of an acre for the erection of a school." In a postscript Rawson requested the memorialists to "point out a spot... adjoining the Village where they desire to obtain the Plot."⁹ Following the receipt of Rawson's letter, Gray arranged that Rev Browning from the Bishop's office call on George Parker, the Church Secretary, and explain developments. Parker informed his Bishop in a letter dated 12 January 1857, how he went to D'Urban "...and roughly measured the piece of ground formerly suggested... as a suitable place." Parker gave details of the plot and of his subsequent approach to W A van der Byl, the local Justice of the Peace who then gave Parker a 'Certificate'. The site selected faced the main street of the village and stood about 75 yards from the Dutch Chapel in which the Anglicans were then worshipping.¹⁰

The church leaders under the leadership of Rev G H R Fisk called a meeting on 19 February 1857 at which significant decisions were taken. These included:

- a) that the Guarantee List for £50 be read, as proposed by Rev Fisk "having been appointed minister of this Village by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese..."
- b) that the "memorial to the Government [of 4 November 1856] for a piece of land for a chapel school" be read together with the Government's reply, "granting the same..."
- c) that the church request the Government surveyor "be sent to put down beacons..."
- d) that the members present at the meeting "...be called the Episcopal Church School Commission D'Urban."¹¹

These minutes show that Gray's concern for the English in the area had already led to his recruiting of a priest for the parish. The decisions taken on 19 February concluded with a list of seven "Rules for the Management of the School" though the unfinished business caused the meeting to be adjourned until 24 February 1857 when it was agreed that it was advisable "as soon as possible to erect a School Chapel on the piece of ground granted..."¹² and to issue Subscription Lists¹³ to raise funds for the Chapel.

Between early 1857 and late 1859 there was little progress with the school chapel, probably on account of the lack of funds. A building committee was, however, elected on 5 April 1858. The first building-related mention by Mrs Gray of D'Urban in the Diocesan records was written after her return from England in September 1859: "On 10th May 1858, a piece of ground... and another piece adjoining for a burial ground, were granted by the Governor for Ecclesiastical Purposes at D'Urban in the Cape District."¹⁴ A year later a magazine report¹⁵ gave details of the offerings and collections of the two congregations (morning and evening) of the parish of "D'Urban, Cape District...during the year ending Easter, 1859..." This report explains the manner in which the sums received had been expended; an amount of £20 for

⁹ D'Urban Minute Book, p7.

¹⁰ Ibid, pp7, 8.

¹¹ Ibid. The members were Rev Fisk and Messrs Parker, Horak, Donaldson and G. and W. Jessup.

¹² Minutes, 24 February 1857.

¹³ Subscription lists were commitments made by parishioners (and other donors) of future payments into a building fund. When required, the fund was drawn on for meeting contractors' costs.

¹⁴ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p194.

¹⁵ *S A Church Magazine*, July 1859, pp 264,265.

"Rent of Chapel", another amount for "Chapel cleaning" and finally, the payment of two Easter Offertories to the Church Building Fund. The sermon preached on Easter Sunday 1859 suggested that "a practical way of exhibiting faith in the resurrection of Christ..." was "...to erect places of public worship where necessary."

THE BUILDING OF THE CHAPEL

Between 20 September and about 20 October 1859, the Bishop made a short tour to the western areas that included Malmesbury and D'Urban. A report of the tour mentioned, "At D'Urban there was a large congregation on the Sunday... Too much has been laid upon the clergyman. He has kept daily school, and night school for the coloured congregation; and held three services every Lord's Day..." The healthy growth of church activities in the village is further indicated in the report: "At a meeting of the building committee, it was resolved to commence the School Chapel immediately. It is now in the course of erection. In this part of the country the Church of England has not been at work for so long a period as in other parts of the colony..."¹⁶ The meeting referred to was probably the one of 12 November 1859 (attended by only four persons), the minutes of which contain evidence of the involvement of Mrs Gray in the project.¹⁷ Bishop Gray was in the chair and others present were Rev George Fisk, C Horak and W Jessup. It was resolved, firstly "*that Mrs Gray be requested to provide working drawings according to plan furnished for a School Chapel* (author's italics)." Secondly, Abdullah Hadje was to be employed "...to make 40,000 bricks if he be prepared to make them the same at 15[shillings] per 1000 - the said bricks to be subject to the approval of the committee." The third resolution was that the committee "...at once proceed to make such arrangements for the erection of said building." Lastly it was resolved "to get in all the subscriptions to the said Building Fund."

On 3 March 1860, Robert Gray consecrated the cemetery.¹⁸ The chapel is not mentioned in the *Consecrations List* as, in keeping with the custom of the Church, it could not be consecrated while it served the dual function of school and church. It is unlikely that the school chapel was complete on the day the cemetery was consecrated. 1860 is nonetheless believed to be the year in which "...both the church and the parsonage of the Church of England were finished."¹⁹

Although the original vision of the Bishop was to first build a school chapel and, as the village grew, to build a church, the leaders themselves at a Vestry Meeting on 17 February 1863 took the decision to rather enlarge the chapel as the need arose. Rev Lawrence²⁰ stated, "that certain funds having been raised... for the purpose of building a church - which funds being inadequate... and there being little probability in the present impoverished state of the country that a sufficient sum can be raised..." it was

¹⁶ *S A Church Magazine*, Vol.7, December 1859, p481.

¹⁷ D'Urban Minute Book, p16.

¹⁸ *List of Consecration of Churches and Burial Grounds*.

¹⁹ H. Fransen & M. Cook, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p248, and A.Wesson, *Durbanville's Anglican Meeting-place 1857-60*, (notes at All Saints Church).

²⁰ Rev George Lawrence took over on 15 April 1861 from Rev Fisk who left earlier in the month.

agreed that the amount raised for building a Church "be applied to the completion, repair and enlargement of the present building..."²¹

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The original plan in 1860 comprised a rectangular room, approx. 44 feet by 20 feet with an adjoining vestry (17 x 10 feet) at the south-east corner.²² Three lancet windows were built into the south gable wall (Refer Drawing 63). Other windows appear to have been small, probably pointed. There were angle buttresses at all the corners of the chapel.

When the decision was taken by the church in 1980 to significantly increase the seating capacity, Architects Revel Fox and Partners in November 1980 conducted a survey of the building, prior to adding transepts and a vestry, extending the sanctuary area and building a gallery. Comparison of the floor plan before building operations commenced with the Sophia Gray plan of 1860 indicated that changes must have been made to the chapel during the interim of 120 years. The differences immediately apparent were that the nave had been extended, the small windows replaced with rectangular windows under lintels, and a small transept had been added. An architect's status report included the comment, "The mud brick walls were built up on foundation walls and footings of roughly squared gravel lumps (laterite) known as 'koffieklip klonte' and the thatched roof had a pine ceiling installed in [about] 1920."²³ The report mentioned a small side window in the porch (a post-1860 addition) which indicated that "the porch floor level was much lower with steps at the inner door..." making the present koffieklip entrance a later addition (Refer Drawing 62). The report also noted a "pre-war drawing" that showed "a peculiar false gable on the side of the porch wall."²⁴ Assuming the roof was not altered after 1860, the status report revealed that the old church had scissors trusses; these had started to push the walls outwards. The pitch of the roof, probably unaltered throughout the life of the chapel is about 53 degrees.

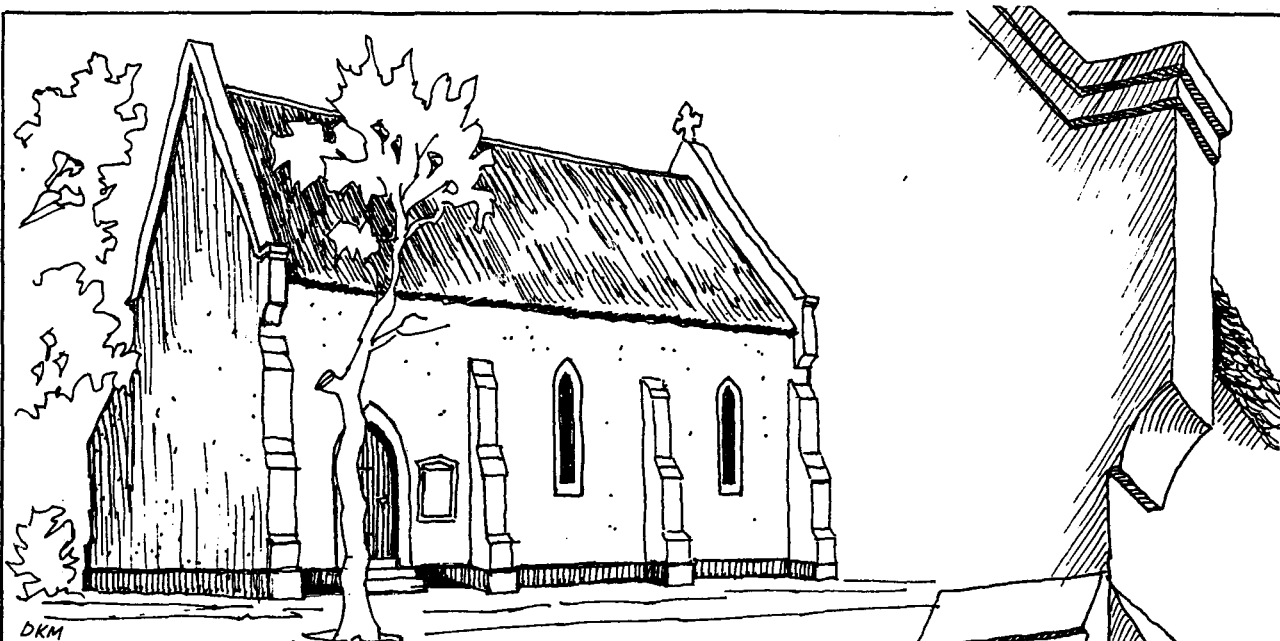
Despite the fact that the church has been extensively altered during its lifetime, certain architectural features such as the scissors trusses, the basic 2:1 proportion of the early plan, angle buttresses, a triplet lancet and the steeply-pitched roof, add to the documentary evidence in the Minute Book, that this was one of Mrs Gray's school chapels.

²¹ D'Urban Minute Book, p31. This decision was never reversed. In 1982 the church was developed to its present cruciform shape. The extensions increased the seating capacity from 125 to 325 and were in keeping with the style of the existing thatched church building.

²² D. J. Radford, *The Architecture of the Western Cape*, (unpublished thesis), Figure 56.

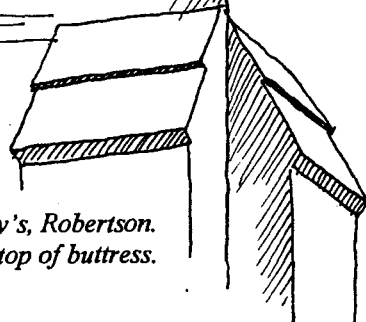
²³ All Saints Durbanville File, Document 16 June 1982, JW/NvR, Revel Fox & Partners.

²⁴ A faded watercolour of the church by E. Mansergh dated 1942 hangs in the All Saints Church offices. This shows the porch and steps and a sharply pointed gable on the side wall of the porch. This gable must have been removed between 1942 and 1980.



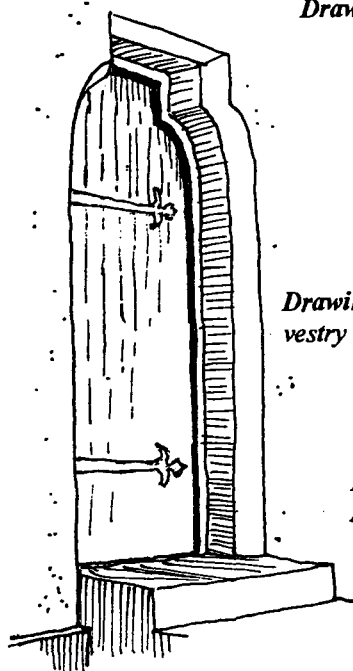
Drawing 59: St Mary's Church, Robertson.

*Drawing 60 (right): St Mary's, Robertson.
Detail of gable wall shoulder and top of buttress.*

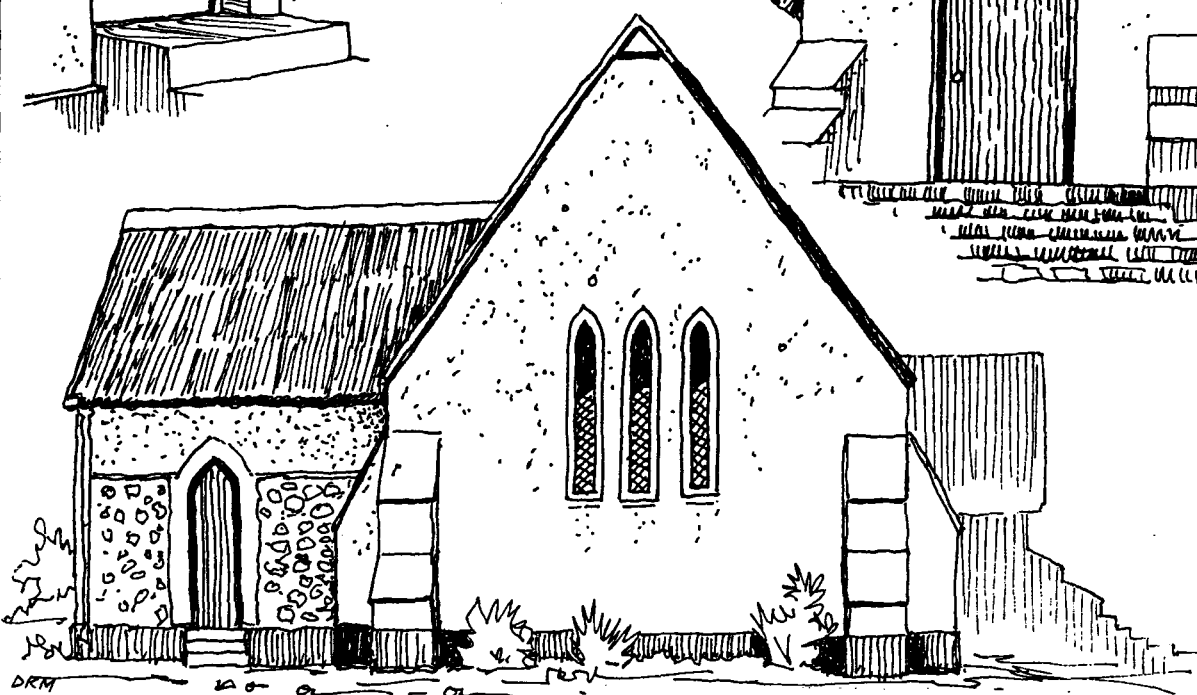
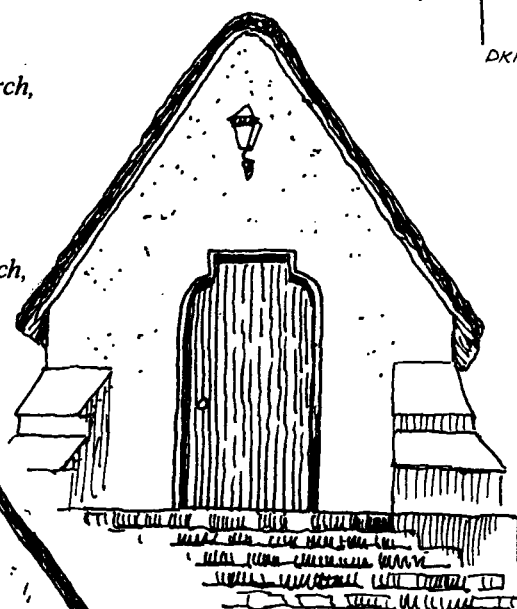


DKM

*Drawing 61 (left): Detail of shouldered arch,
vestry door, St Mary's, Robertson.*



*Drawing 62: Shouldered arch, porch,
All Saints Church, Durbanville.*



Drawing 63: All Saints Church, Durbanville.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Bishop Gray recognized that the little village of Robertson needed a resident minister when he visited the settlement returning from his fourth visitation in 1855. The Grays had travelled as far as George and Beaufort [West] and had journeyed back via Swellendam, reaching Montagu by nightfall on 15 November. The following day, 16 November, they set off "at daybreak on our way to Worcester having appointed to hold Service at Robertson, a new village distant about twenty miles."¹ Gray wrote, "I held service in the half-finished Dutch Church, built out of the sale of erven... I had about a dozen English and a few Dutch at our service..." Gray noticed that the English people had their Bibles and Prayer Books and that they made all the responses aloud. The journal entry carries the Bishop's appraisal of the spirit of the people. "Our service over, I had a long conversation with those who were present and endeavoured to induce them to meet together on a Sunday, and offer up some of the prayers of the Church, and read the Scriptures, till some better arrangement could be made for them."² Gray was encouraged that "all expressed a desire for joint worship... These occasional Visitation Services are... of much use. They are not without their effect in stirring up our people to a greater attention to spiritual things..." Gray said of Robertson, "This village will, I think, one day rise to some importance."³

The Dutch had begun their church in Robertson in September 1853. The first magistrate was appointed on 6 February 1856 and municipal regulations were approved for the town by Sir George Grey in October 1857.⁴ Gray therefore arrived in the founding days of Robertson and was not slow in planting the idea of a church fellowship among the English. The Grays were in England between late 1857 and late 1859. Robertson's need of a pastor had not gone forgotten while Gray was in England and Rev William Morris was recruited for service in Robertson. Morris' appointment in 1859 is confirmed in the records of the SPG.⁵

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

Building operations commenced in 1861. This is confirmed in the *Robertson Centenary* although the design was attributed in error to Bishop Gray's sister.⁶ Corroboration of the starting date of the church building is found in Rev Morris' first report he sent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the year ending 31 December 1861: "On first coming to this place

¹ Gray's Journal, 1855, p120.

² Ibid, p121.

³ Ibid, p122.

⁴ A. H. Tromp, *Robertson Centenary 1853-1953*, pp73-77.

⁵ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p892.

Morris served in Robertson until 1864 and for a second period between 1884 and 1889.

⁶ A. H. Tromp, *Robertson 1853-1953*, pp130, 131.

In 1861 maak die gemeente 'n aanvang met die bou van hulle kerk wat in 1867 voltooi en in gebruik geneem word... Hierdie gebou is, na beweer word, die enigste een van die kerkgeboue wat deur die biskop se suster [!] ontwerp is..." Tromp wrongly assumed Sophia was Robert Gray's sister.

in 1859, we exerted ourselves to procure funds for erecting a chancel of a future church, to be dedicated to S. Mary the Virgin, after my own parish church of Dover. A site has been given but as yet... it is still untransferred. Consequently we have not advanced farther than the foundation stone which was formally laid by the Civil Commissioner on April 4th 1861. Its dimensions will be 40ft by 18 with a vestry. Should Robertson prosper, and a church be needed, there will be room for one (to be built on to the chancel) of 60 or 80ft. I trust in a short time to go on with it."⁷ Fransen and Cook stated that the church was built in 1862, although in 1865 it was still unfinished.⁸

In 1863, between 20 August and 3 November, the Grays made a journey via Worcester, Robertson, and Swellendam to the eastern parts of the diocese. No journal exists of this trip but it can be assumed that Gray called on church leaders en route. Two years later, in late 1865, the Grays undertook another three month journey, arriving at Robertson on their return to Cape Town on about 31 October. Gray wrote, "I held a confirmation in Robertson on Thursday [2 November 1865]. Our Services are held in the Courthouse. The foundations of a small Church were laid when the colony was in a more prosperous condition. A great desire is expressed to complete it, but we have only £40 in hand. Mr Mortimer is to endeavour to obtain fresh subscriptions and to ascertain what the cost of erection will be. I have promised to aid to the extent of my power."⁹ After a tentative start to the church in 1861, five years had elapsed with little progress beyond foundation level.

Whatever spurred the local Anglicans to recommence building is not known but by 1867 the church was in use¹⁰ and on 3 June 1869 Bishop Gray consecrated St Mary's.¹¹ The event which took place during the Gray's 1869 Visitation, was reported in the SPG's publication: "Left [Montagu] at one o'clock for Robertson. Met about an hour from the village by the civil commissioner, Mr Nightingale, and some of the parishioners... Thursday, June 3d. - Consecrated this morning the neat little Early English church which has been erected by the handful of English in this village. Great interest taken by them in this service."¹² There had been 22 communicants at the consecration service and in the afternoon, twelve "young English people" were confirmed. Gray then called on as many of the parishioners as he could before dinner. For the Grays, the event signalled the establishment of both the church body and its church building.

THE CHURCH AND ITS ARCHITECT

The church as built comprised a small three-bay chancel measuring 14 x 7 metres under a high-pitched thatched roof of 52 degrees, with a small vestry attached to the north-west corner. Windows in the building consist of a triplet lancet in the east wall and lancets in the sidewalls although the west wall is blank. The door of the vestry is set under a shouldered arch (Refer

⁷ USPG Records, MSE 9, Cape Town Vol E.12.

⁸ Fransen and Cook, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p323.

⁹ Gray's Journal, 1865, p63.

¹⁰ Tromp says the church was completed and in use in 1867 (footnote 7.)

¹¹ *List of Consecration of Churches, 1827-1919*. Beddy's 1985 *List of Churches, Chapels and Schools*, gives the date of consecration as 1867 but the *List of Consecration of Churches* cited here is regarded as correct.

¹² *The Mission Field*, December 1869, p359.

Drawing 61). The church is unique in that it is one of the two churches in Gray's programme that have hammerbeam trusses (Refer Figure N, Truss 5) of which there are four, with two common rafters between each truss. The eight wallposts stand on elaborate plaster corbels. There are angle buttresses on the east wall and buttresses between the windows (Refer Drawings 59 and 60). The absence of buttresses and windows on the west end indicates that the original church was intended later for use as the chancel after the addition of a nave (as envisaged by Rev Morris in his SPG report of 1861). This enlargement never materialised and the building remains as it was in 1867. The finish internally and externally is plastered brick.

Documentary evidence of the Grays' part in supplying plans could not be found in primary sources such as the Bishop's journals or letterbooks. The only useful reference encountered was in Mrs Gray's biography (by Gutsche) in which the author writes of the situation at the Bishop's home at the time of their return to Cape Town after the 1857-1859 period in England: "Some of the clergy whom Robert had recruited in England and who had been awaiting his return, now trooped in to be ordained and sent to their stations... To one, W J R Morris whom Robert had lured from Dover, *she* [Sophia] gave plans for a church at Robertson and a chapel at Montagu (author's italics) which, he later stated, were both built accordingly and without alteration."¹³ Gutsche's source of this information was not traced. Other secondary evidence included Beddy's *List of Churches, Chapels and Schools...* (1985) where Beddy relies on the Gutsche account of how the plan was taken to Robertson; Langham-Carter's lists of 1974 and 1977 in which he credited Sophia with the design; Fransen & Cook's *Old Buildings of the Cape* (1980) that states, "The church was built in 1862, after a design by Sophia Gray."

Taking into account the repeated visits of the Bishop and his wife to Robertson, Robert's obvious concern for the small but enthusiastic group of potential church members, and his self-imposed standing order to establish clergy, build churches etc, it is not unreasonable to attribute the church to his wife, especially as the ubiquitous portfolio of plans had been used so often. All the stylistic features mentioned point to this small church being Mrs Gray's design, in particular, its orientation, the angle buttresses, the triplet lancet and the steeply pitched roof. It is hardly likely that Rev Morris, freshly arrived in Africa to serve his new bishop, would have turned to another architect for designs.

¹³ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p174.

PHASE 4: Churches (7) commenced between 1863 and 1866, after Gray's return from England in 1863.

The 1862 judgement in the Long case was reversed in 1863 and Gray restored Rev Long as rector of the Mowbray parish in August of that year.³³ On 17 November 1863, in St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, the Bishop of Natal was cited for heresy.³⁴ The effect of these taxing cases cannot be quantified but as the records show it did not stifle the Grays' commitment to regular visitations and the on-going building programme and during the four-year period between the Grays' return from England in March 1863 and their fourth return to London in June 1867, seven new church projects were commenced. In addition, six visitations are known to have been undertaken: Between 20 August and 3 November 1863, the Grays travelled to 'the Knysna' and Oudtshoorn areas. On 16 April 1864 the Grays sailed up the east coast to Durban for a tour of the Natal Diocese as, with Colenso away in England, the Church in Natal was an unshepherded body and understandably divided. After returning on 13 July they prepared for a short tour of the West Coast in September/ October 1864. It was during this interim that Mrs Gray must have prepared sketch plans for the extensions to St Peter's Church, Pietermaritzburg. (The significance of these drawings is discussed in Section 3.1).

The year 1865 was clouded for the Grays by the judgement given in March by the Privy Council. It pronounced the Metropolitan's sentence on Bishop Colenso to be null and void in law.³⁵ A storm in Table Bay on 17 May 1865 caused the loss of 45 ships and in Swellendam a disastrous fire destroyed much of the town. The Grays persevered with a visitation between 17 August and 8 November to the Southern Cape calling villages on the route to Knysna, Plettenberg Bay, Beaufort West and Bredasdorp. The year ended with another event in the Colenso drama when on Sunday 19 November, John Colenso forced his way into St Peter's Cathedral, which by reason of his deposition was closed to him. "The last step... was taken on January 5th, 1866, when the dean publicly read the... sentence of excommunication..."³⁶

In 1866, Robert travelled to Namaqualand for, among other duties, the consecration of the Springbok church. In September and October 1866, the Grays completed a 500-mile tour on horseback to the Ceres, Clanwilliam, St Helena Bay areas.

Churches in Phase 4 are:

- C34. St Andrew's **Saldanha Bay**;
- C35. St Christopher **St Helena Bay**;
- C36. St Thomas' **Rondebosch**;
- C37. St John's **Clanwilliam**;
- C38. St Stephen's **Clairmont***, Natal;
- C39. St Mark's Chapel **District 6**, Cape Town
- C40. All Saints **Springbok***

*The individual histories show that Bishop Gray did not play a major role in the founding of these churches.

³³ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, p155.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p167.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p171.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p173.

Bishop Gray's involvement in the establishment of a church at Clanwilliam in 1857 is documented in a subsequent history (C37). It is reasonable to assume he was similarly involved in the church planting in Saldanha Bay and St Helena Bay as these villages were visited during most of the tours the Bishop undertook of the West Coast in the years 1857, 1859, 1860, 1862, 1864, 1866, 1869 and 1871. Disparate references indicate that church planting on the West Coast had been initiated soon after Gray had sent clergy into these parts. The church buildings that were erected were initially humble, utilitarian chapels, built in the main by the local fishermen.

THE CHURCH AT SALDANHA BAY¹ (ST ANDREW)

At the end of the Bishop's first visitation in 1848, he travelled from the eastern parts of the Diocese to Stellenbosch. Instead of a short ride across the Cape Flats to Claremont, he went via Paarl to Malmesbury spending the night of 19 December there.² He wrote, "There are not many English here; but I find there are a good many near Saldanha and St Helena Bays..." There is no record that he actually visited these two villages but he "spent one evening [in Malmesbury] in preparing some very interesting candidates for Baptism and Confirmation, and in conversing with several gentlemen who had been invited to meet us."³

The Bishop's first visit to Saldanha was probably in the winter of 1857: "The Bishop now visited a part of his diocese to which he had never been before: Saldanha Bay, Clanwilliam and the western coastal districts."⁴ Two years later, in 1859, another short tour to the western area of the diocese was made. After an extended visit to St Helena and England between October 1857 and 1859, the Grays returned in early October 1859 but "...within a month of his return, he went on a visitation to see the outlying parishes himself... Paarl, Worcester, Tulbagh and the little fishing villages of the western coast..."⁵ Scarcely five months later, in April 1860, the Bishop and his wife made yet another trip to Saldanha. They were back within a week after covering 200 miles.⁶ Two years later, between 25 March and 12 April 1862, the Grays undertook a journey on horseback along the usual route to villages in the Western Cape including Saldanha. The establishment of a "chapel" in Saldanha is recorded in the official history of the SPG. After the opening of a school-chapel in St Helena Bay in 1863, the black schoolmaster "was... transferred to Hooge's Bay in Saldanha Bay where, at the urgent appeal of a coloured patriarch who built and offered a school-room, with a prophet's chamber, another out-station was established..."⁷

¹ Also known as Hostzis (*The Mission Field*, 1872, p112), Hoekjis (*The Mission Field*, 1870, p57), or Hooge's Bay (*Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, 1901, p292). Other versions appear in this history

² C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p45.

³ Gray's Journal, 1848, p76.

⁴ A. Brooke, *Robert Gray*, p74. There is also a reference to this tour in the *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p82.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp78, 79. Saldanha Bay is mentioned on p79.

⁶ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p176.

⁷ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p292. This is the reference quoted by Beddy in his *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools* of 1985.

In 1864, the Grays paid a visit to Saldanha Bay and St Helena Bay that was documented and published in *The Mission Field*. They started from Cape Town on 19 September reaching Saldanha about 22 September 1864. Gray wrote, "The population at this place is not large but it is increasing. Mr Clementson is catechist..."⁸ It is here that an old man, a heathen named Cleophas, having first built a house for himself, *proceeded to erect a building for school and Divine services* (author's italics), and entreated us to provide him with a teacher. The work has not been long in operation."⁹ The benefactor, Cleophas, offered to sell his property to the Church for £75 though it was worth £100. Gray wrote, "Mr Belson [the priest at Malmesbury under which town Saldanha was an out-station] offered that if I would provide £50, he would be responsible for the rest, and for a further sum for enlarging the building, which is already too small, and putting in windows, and giving it a more ecclesiastical appearance. To this I assented and we made the purchase."¹⁰ The *Chronicles* record that "on 28 December 1864, a piece of ground... situated at Hooges Bay in the parish of Malmesbury, was granted to the See of Cape Town."¹¹ This entry probably represents the transfer to the See of the church buildings owned by Cleophas. The first burials and marriages, (Refer footnote 8), were recorded after the transfer of the property in 1864.

In the spring of 1866, the Grays journeyed through Saldanha¹² and three years later, between 20 September and 20 October 1869, they travelled along the familiar western districts route again. Gray recorded, "The next day we proceeded to Hoekjis Bay, where we have a teacher and school-chapel. Here disputes and differences have thrown back the work..." He mentioned the death of the catechist (not Clementson) during his absence in England and stated, "In this bay there are two schools, and an exceedingly nice school-chapel, and a parsonage just completed. Another school-chapel will... be shortly commenced."¹³ After Mrs Gray's death in April 1871, the Bishop travelled to Namaqualand calling *en route* at Saldanha on 5 September where he met the catechist, Mr Greenwood at the "southernmost end of the Bay." On 7 September 1871, Gray went to the northern point of Saldanha Bay, ("Hostzis Bay") where he met with Clementson. Gray recorded, "The little chapel, school, and parsonage stand almost close to the sea."¹⁴ The present chancel has a simple cement cornerstone, inscribed "1885", which suggests that it an extension of the original chapel built by Cleophas and enlarged in 1864 by Rev Belson. Bishop West Jones consecrated the chapel on 22 January 1888.¹⁵ From the foregoing, there is little likelihood that Mrs Gray played any part in the design of this building.

⁸ A photograph in the present St Andrew's Church of a bearded cleric carries the inscription: "Rev Thomas Clementson who started the Church at Hoedjies Bay in 1854." Although there is no reference to him in the SPG Missionary Roll of the period, the *earliest* recorded Banns of Marriage and Burials at the church, all performed by Thomas Clementson, are dated 28 March and 20 August 1865, respectively. The date in the inscription on the photograph should be 1864.

⁹ *The Mission Field*, Vol. IX, Oct/Nov. 1864, pp8, 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p312.

¹² T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p199.

¹³ *The Mission Field*, February 1870, p58.

¹⁴ *The Mission Field*, April 1872, p112.

¹⁵ *List of Consecration of Churches, 1822 - 1917*. "Hoetjes Bay, S. Andrew."

THE CHURCH AT ST HELENA BAY (ST CHRISTOPHER)

The pattern of visitations by Bishop Gray to St Helena Bay was largely the same as the visits to Saldanha Bay. The first visit took place in 1857. It was reported that in 1858 there was hardly a baptized person in St Helena Bay but the situation changed rapidly after the establishment of a school under a coloured schoolmaster "who also held short services, supplemented by occasional visits from Mr Belson..."¹⁶ During September and October 1859 the Grays undertook their second visit to the area. The account of the visitation mentions, "At St Helena Bay a very interesting work is going on amongst the coloured people. A School has been established and is doing much good... A Church will be erected when a site can be procured."¹⁷ Another trip was made in 1860.

An indication of the difficulties encountered by the "church planter", Rev Belson, is evident in correspondence that appeared in the press at this time regarding Belson's work at St Helena Bay and at Hopefield, some 40 kilometres inland. Belson's letter to the *Cape Argus*, published on 23 November 1861, claimed that "...the employers in the village of Hopefield have bound themselves by a pledge to throw every obstacle in my way of teaching poor heathen. They are under a pledge to starve out any schoolmaster I may send there. They have threatened with starvation the man who gave me an erf for the purposes of erecting a chapel-school if he did not recall the gift and I was personally attacked and my life placed in danger..."¹⁸ Turning to St Helena Bay, Belson continued, "I am very desirous of building a church and school at St Helena Bay... Church services have been held for the past five years either in the open air or in a large fish-house, which is quite unsuited for the purpose. It often happens that persons are taken ill during the service on account of the unpleasant smell arising from the fish..." He concluded with an appeal for funds. In the same issue of the newspaper, two letters were published denouncing those in Hopefield who disrupted Belson's efforts in starting a church-school there. These letters were from "proprietors of the fisheries at St Helena Bay, ... the other by fishermen and labourers in their employ." There were probably close links between the inhabitants of the two villages.

The Grays undertook another tour of the West Coast in 1862, the year that Mr Nicol took charge of the Mission. Nicol remarked how well the services were attended "although held in a large salting house. In the course of a year [presumably 1863] a school-chapel was opened there."¹⁹ The Gray's visitation to St Helena Bay during September/October 1864 was reported in *The Mission Field*, the SPG's magazine.²⁰ The Bishop stated, "I spent Saturday morning in examining the candidates...for confirmation... while Mr Belson was examining at Mr Bernauds, near the church, four miles distant. A church capable of holding about 250 has been built here since my last visitation. At present we use it for a school also, and therefore I do not now consecrate it."²¹ *It is an exceedingly neat building, quite correct in its architecture, and is well and reverently fitted*

¹⁶ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p292.

¹⁷ *SA Church Magazine*, December 1859, p480.

¹⁸ *Cape Argus*, 23 November 1861.

¹⁹ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p292.

²⁰ *The Mission Field*, January 1865, p9.

²¹ There is no subsequent record in the *List of Consecration of Churches*, neither any note in the index of the *Chronicles of the Diocese* that the church was ever consecrated although 1864 is given as the consecration date by Beddy in his *List of Churches, Chapels and Schools...* (1985).

up, with a reredos of Minton's tiles (author's italics)."²² Had Sophia provided plans for the church, it is unlikely that the Bishop would have referred to the building in his journal in the detached manner that he did. Furthermore, Mrs Gray recorded the transfer of the site with an unusual narration, which has been italicised for further comment: "On 27 October 1864, a piece of ground at St Helena Bay, in the parish of Malmesbury *upon which a school chapel had been erected by the congregation*, was granted by the Governor to the See of Cape Town."²³ In more than 75 entries consulted in Mrs Gray's *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, no person or group of persons was ever given credit for the church already built on a site. It is concluded that when Mrs Gray made the entry, she wished to highlight the persons responsible for building the school chapel.

The Grays visited the area again in September/October 1866. Their 1869 visit as reported in *The Mission Field* refers to Saldanha Bay, Hoekjis Bay and then Stump Nose, which they reached on 28 September 1869. Gray wrote, "On Monday I... rode over to Stump Nose, where there are about 300 people, and where a school-chapel, to which I promised £56, is to be built." Gray continued, "On Tuesday we went to Hopefield..."²⁴ The Bishop's final visit to St Helena Bay was on 8 September 1871. After spending the night with the Nichols, he walked on 9 September "...to a bay, four miles off, where two brothers McLachlan, very excellent people, have a fishing station, and have built... a school for the children of their fishermen."²⁵ This place is probably the "Stump Nose" referred to above. In the absence of historical and architectural evidence, it is unlikely that Sophia Gray was involved in any way with providing or designing plans for the chapel at St Helena Bay²⁶.

²² When Gutsche wrote of the 1864 visitation she also quoted from *The Mission Field* but added, "Sophy took to the saddle again... She was pleased to find her church completed at St Helena Bay – an exceedingly neat building, quite correct in its architecture, and well and reverently fitted up..." (*The Bishop's Lady*, pp194, 195). There is, however, no reference in the Bishop's published comments in *The Mission Field*, January 1865, stating it was *her church*.

²³ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p312.

²⁴ *The Mission Field*, February 1870, p58.

²⁵ *The Mission Field*, April 1872, p112.

²⁶ Mrs Gray is credited with the design of St Christopher by R. Langham-Carter (*Buildings wholly or partly designed by Mrs Gray*, 1974, and *List of 1977*) but not by A. J. R. Beddy.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS BUILT

During Bishop Gray's third visit to England between May 1862 and March 1863, he recruited Archdeacon J H Thomas as rector of St Paul's Church, Rondebosch. Thomas arrived in May 1863. During his five year incumbency (1863–1868) the erection of a mission chapel on the Camp Ground "...was probably the most important [project] in Archdeacon Thomas' comparatively short period"¹ at Rondebosch. The need of building a Mission Chapel is first mentioned in the parish records in March 1864 although Mrs Gray had the previous year recorded in her *Chronicles*, "on 29 September [1863] a piece of ground at Rondebosch... 2 acres... granted to the See for a School Chapel by Gov...."² The purpose of the chapel was primarily to take the place of the Rouwkoop Road School though church services were also planned for Sunday afternoons and Thursday evenings. A sum of £350 had already been collected "and it was determined to obtain plans from Mrs Gray (the Bishop's wife) who was skilled in architecture (author's italics) and to proceed with the scheme."³ Plans must have been given by Sophia almost immediately as the parish history records that "The lowest tender received... was £632 and as only £500 was available, action was for the moment postponed." The delay was not long as the foundation stone was laid on 22 October 1864 by Mrs Gray herself.⁴

Within nine months the school chapel had been completed, the final cost being £712. It was formally opened by the Bishop in July 1865 though the diary of Mrs Dale, the wife of Sir Langham Dale, gives a more accurate date for the opening.⁵ She wrote: "Saturday 12 [1865]. Beautiful day, bright and warm... Invitation to lunch (14th) with Archdeacon Thomas after the opening of their Missionary Chapel (St Thomas's) on the Camp Ground."⁶ Considering the amount of stone that had to be quarried and roughly dressed, the builders accomplished this project in a remarkably short time. The building was for many years used primarily as a mission school, chapel and night school. From the date of its opening, Rev E B Prince from the St Paul's Church, Rondebosch, was responsible for conducting services in the chapel.

Certain architectural features elaborated below are typical of Sophia Gray's churches and chapels and, together with Millard's historical account, confirm Sophia as author of the building project. Radford's research showed that "...in at least two cases,

¹ P. A. Millard, *Centenary of the Parish of Rondebosch 1834-1934*, p11. Millard's *Centenary* of 1934 is considered a reliable source as he includes frequent detailed references to the various dated minutes of Vestry meetings and parish records.

² *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p288.

³ P. A. Millard, *op cit.*, p11.

⁴ *Ibid*, p12.

⁵ Being a school chapel, the building was not consecrated thus the event is not recorded in Mrs Gray's *List of Consecration of Churches and Burialgrounds*. Langham Dale was Superintendent General of Education in the Cape Colony

⁶ J. Murray (ed.) *Mrs Dale's Diary, 1857-1872*, p87.

working drawings [of some of Sophia's sketch plans] were done by others who had more practical knowledge" and he names 'Robinson' as the person who assisted in this way for St Thomas', Campground Road and 'Evans' who assisted with the Christ Church plans at Swellendam.⁷ Beddy comments that the chapel plans were to an 'SG-design', the source being the parish records⁸. Langham-Carter also listed Sophia as architect.⁹

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

When Herbert Baker was commissioned to add a vestry to the chapel in 1895, Baker's plans for the extensions had to indicate the original chapel as built in 1865,¹⁰ thus facilitating assessing details of the chapel as designed by Mrs Gray. The simple rectangular building measured approximately 13,5 x 6 metres (45 by 20 feet) and was orientated to the east. A small porch was built on the north wall. The east gable end wall had three narrow windows, presumably lancets, subsequently lost during the later extension of the nave in 1903. The west end wall, still existing, has a circular window with a hexafoil design (Refer Drawing 64). In keeping with the policy for school chapels, the windows in the nave walls were flat-headed (Refer Drawings 65 and 66). The division of the horizontally shaped window into four narrow vertical lights with shouldered arch heads is reminiscent of windows of the Perpendicular Gothic.

There were two-step angle buttresses at the four corners and three single-step buttresses against the west wall. The roof, originally of thatch, has a pitch of 55 degrees and is supported by seven scissors trusses that stand on carved timber corbels. The chapel was built of partially dressed rubble of large dimensions.

An impressive feature of this chapel was the bellcote above the Tudor-arched doorway (Refer Drawing 65¹¹). The design of the bellcote is virtually identical to the bellcotes built above the doorway of the chapel in Beaufort West (Refer Drawing 33) and the Newlands Chapel (Refer Drawing 44). This similarity corroborates the belief that Sophia Gray used the same basic bellcote plan for all three chapels. During subsequent enlargements of the chapel in 1903, the bellcote was removed from above the doorway and a new bellcote built at the apex of the west wall.

(The Mission Chapel in due course became St Thomas' Church. Refer to Bishop Gray's approach to building school chapels on page 48 as well as the sub-section, 'Multifunctionism – The School Chapel' in Section 3.1).

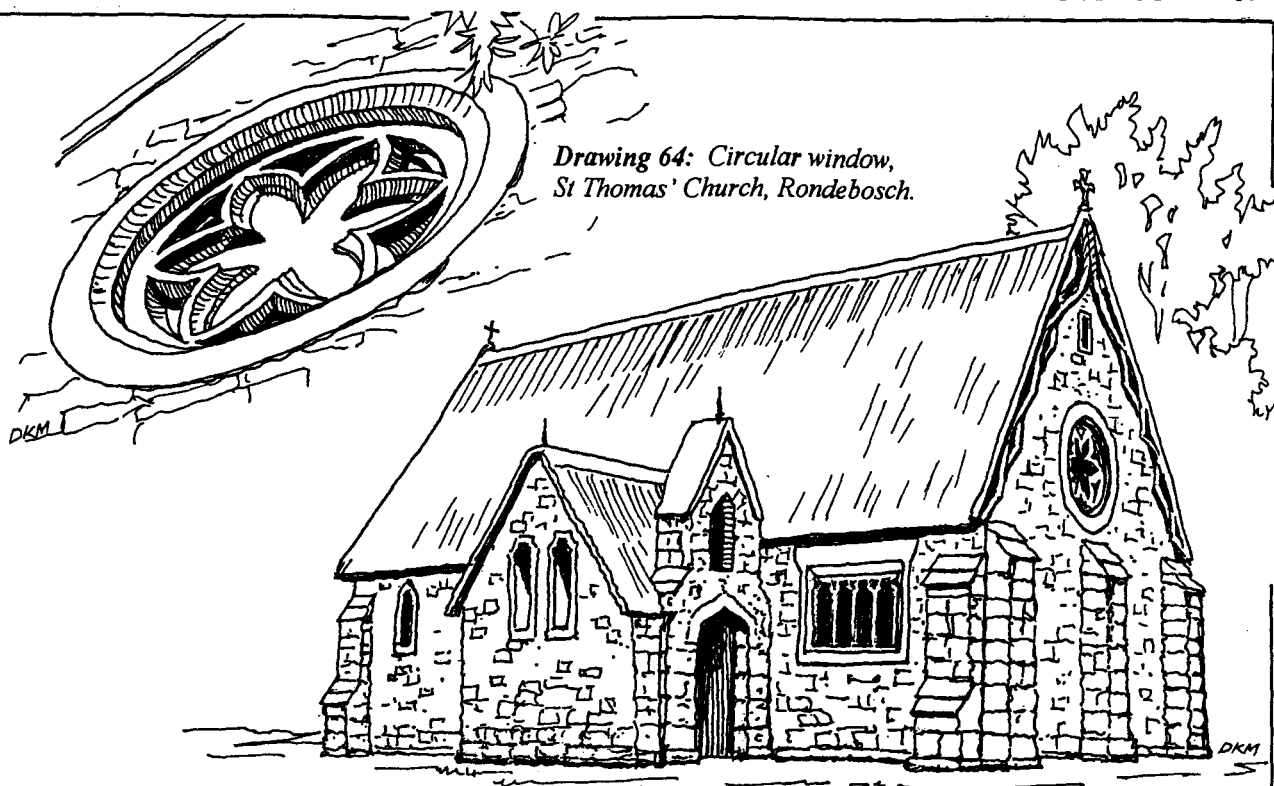
⁷ D. J. Radford, *Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901*, pp185 & 204. Radford's source for these two names is not given in his thesis (1979).

⁸ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools*. Details of relevant minutes are not given.

⁹ Langham-Carter also credits the design of the chapel to Mrs Gray (R. Langham-Carter, *Buildings wholly or partly designed by Mrs Gray* (1974), *Architects and Builders of some churches in S.A.* (1977).

¹⁰ Baker Plans Collection, No. 458, UCT Library.

¹¹ The source for this drawing was Photograph AG 1625, State Archives, Cape Town.



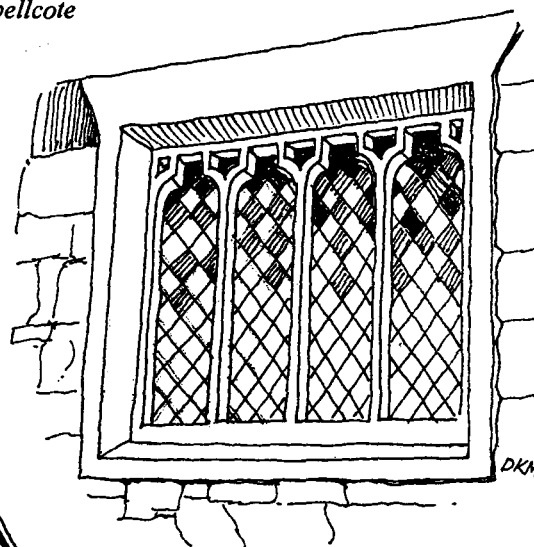
*Drawing 64: Circular window,
St Thomas' Church, Rondebosch.*

Drawing 65:

St Thomas' Mission Church (school chapel), Rondebosch, with bellcote over the entrance and single-step buttresses on the west wall.

The bellcote was removed in c1903 and rebuilt on the apex of the west wall.

*Source: Photograph AG 1625,
State Archives, Cape Town*



*Drawing 66: Detail of nave
window, St Thomas' Church.*

*Drawing 67: Chancel,
St John's Church,
Clanwilliam.*

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Four parties of Irish settlers reached the little settlement of Clanwilliam in May 1820 as part of the main emigration of British to the Cape in that year.¹ The name Clanwilliam had already been given to the village in about 1814, being named after the Earl of Clanwilliam, the father-in-law of the Governor of the Cape Colony at the time, Sir John Cradock. Rev Francis McClelland (or McClelland) from one of the Irish parties was "appointed minister with a Hollander as the political commissioner of the Church."² It was recorded that "each party of a hundred families had the privilege of selecting a clergyman of any Christian denomination, whose salary was to be paid from the public funds; but only two parties were accompanied by a clergyman of the Anglican Church." Clanwilliam, where they settled "did not suit them... the party broke up and its members became scattered... Mr McClelland being removed in 1825 to Port Elizabeth..."³ where he served with energy until his death in 1853. The English in the Clanwilliam area were without a minister for the next 34 years.

There are conflicting opinions of McClelland; he was said to be quarrelsome and emotional and on account of an indifferent record of service at the school founded by him, "Government relieved him of his post in July 1823 with a year's salary in advance."⁴ His move to Port Elizabeth, however, was as Colonial Chaplain where he was involved, together with Captain Evatt, with the founding of St Mary's Church. "The work of the church at Uitenhage and Sidbury owes its beginning to him... He has left behind him the reputation of being a very able preacher as well as an organiser of no mean capacity."⁵ (Refer C20 - St Paul's Church, Port Elizabeth).

Though Bishop Gray arrived at the Cape in 1848 and immediately began his visitations to his diocese, it was not until 1857 that he visited Clanwilliam. In fact the West Coast was largely neglected in favour of the Overberg, Eastern Cape, Kaffraria and Natal. Gray reported to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Missions in Cape Town 1856 on "how great had been their progress in [the] Cape Colony". He "took his audience round his diocese with him" during which he recounted much of what had been accomplished as a result of his 1855 Visitation. After referring to Paarl and Malmesbury, he added, "I did not go to Clanwilliam, which I have never visited, never having been able. There is a scattered English population for whom once there was a clergyman at Saldanha and St Helena Bays. I hope to send a teacher to itinerate in that district."⁶ In May/June of 1857 the Bishop was able to visit that part of his diocese "to which he

¹ Sir Christopher Bird, Colonial Secretary, had recommended to the Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, that some of the settlers should be diverted from the Eastern Frontier to avoid possible subsistence difficulties in one area. As a result, four large Irish parties were landed on the west coast at Saldanha. Welsh and English were settled at River Zonder Eind and a Scottish party under T. Pringle was transported to the north-eastern borders of the Colony. Two other English parties were allowed to settle in the Gamtoos River valley, west of Algoa Bay, and at the Bay itself (L. Bryer & K. S. Hunt, *The 1820 Settlers*, p28).

² R. Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam*, p5.

³ J. A. Hewitt, *Sketches of English Church History*, p38.

⁴ R. Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam*, p7.

⁵ A. T. Wirgmann & C. E. Mayo, *The Collegiate Church and Parish of S. Mary*, p7-10.

⁶ C. Lewis and G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p73.

had never been before: Saldanha Bay, Clanwilliam and the western coastal districts. It was pleasant and peaceful, and Mrs Gray went with him..."⁷ Only five names were recorded at his first meeting in Clanwilliam but many more came to the services which Gray conducted in the local court. The people pressed Gray to send them a resident priest and Gray responded with the words, "When one becomes available". Not long after the visit, the Bishop commented over a breakfast to Mr Thomas Browning, a clergyman master at the Diocesan College, "A priest is needed at Clanwilliam and I have none to send." Browning responded, "I will go." Gray had asked "When?" and Browning's reply was, "Tomorrow." He borrowed a horse from the Bishop, rode back to the school to tell the headmaster and rode to Clanwilliam the following day.⁸ The parish was duly constituted and Browning served as the priest until 1868.

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH (CHANCEL)

After the Gray's return from a two-year period in England between 1857 and 1859, they made a second visitation to church communities in the western part of the Diocese. A short report of the visitation stated, "At Clanwilliam a small, but very earnest congregation, has been gathered by the zeal and devotion of the Rev J Browning, and a School established for the coloured people. The English inhabitants of that village so long neglected by their mother Church, have now resolved upon the erection of a Church."⁹ The report added that a donation of a site for both church and churchyard had been received from one of the settlers and that subscriptions totalling £600, including gifts from the Bishop and the SPCK, had been received.

The date of Gray's visit is given as "the 19th Sunday [1859] after Trinity", usually about early October.¹⁰ He held a confirmation service which was reported as "...the first... which has ever taken place in Clanwilliam..." During his sermon, the Bishop "...suggested the erection of a Church, which was so cordially received that in a few days nearly £300 were subscribed, and a spacious site for Church and Churchyard given in the most conspicuous and central part of the village, besides a bell, and all the lime required for the building."¹¹ At Clanwilliam, the "British Settlers... had saved enough to be in a position to ask Sophy for a plan for a church."¹² Langham-Carter wrote of the October 1859 visit: "...she [Sophia] undertook to provide a design for a church while the bishop discussed finance with the rector and the leading men... By December he had persuaded the SPCK... to make a grant and no less than £1600 had been subscribed or pledged." The site on the west side of the Main Street had been given by John L Sharp "and Sophy Gray sent up plans for a building which would seat 70 and could later be converted into the chancel of a larger church."¹³ Mrs Gray recorded the site transfer, "On the 14th March [1860] a piece of ground at Clanwilliam... was transferred to the See of Cape Town as a site for a church

⁷ A. Brooke, *Robert Gray*, p74.

⁸ R. Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam*, p9.

⁹ *SA Church Magazine*, December 1859, p480.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p483.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p484.

¹² T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p175. The source of Gutsche's comment is presumed to be a personal letter of either the Bishop or Mrs Gray.

¹³ R. Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam*, p10.

by Mr J L Sharpe."¹⁴ According to an inscription on the reverse of the mensa, the building operations commenced on 30 October 1859. Exactly what work was done is questionable, as Mrs Gray's plans had only just been discussed. The first Building Committee was also only elected on 28 May 1860. The minute reads: "The Vestry then proceeded to elect a Building Committee to assist Mr Browning in the raising and disbursing of monies required in the erection of the chancel... to be dedicated to S. John *the Baptist*."¹⁵ Two local Irish settlers assisted with the building the final cost of which was reported as about £900.¹⁶ The furnishings were largely made by Browning.

Building operations must have proceeded slowly between 1860 and 1863 because at a Vestry Meeting in late 1863, Browning mentioned that there was £250 in hand but that £300 was needed to complete the building of the church. The parsonage also needed to be bought. The minute reads: "...it was put to the meeting... which of the two proposals... should be accepted..." It was agreed that the £250 be put towards completion of the church, and that "all works shall be done by contract..."¹⁷ By 13 February 1865 the church was complete and Browning asked Gray to license the building for worship and about two months later the first service was held. A vote of thanks was sent to the Civil Commissioner for his courtesy in placing the Court Room at the disposal of the Church.¹⁸ Bishop Gray visited the town the following year and consecrated the church, St John the Evangelist, on 7 October 1866.¹⁹

THE ADDITION OF THE NAVE

Browning is said to have been "...the moving spirit in the building of the earliest part of St John's in 1864, [and he] made much of its furniture himself..."²⁰ Browning left Clanwilliam in 1868 and his place was taken by the second rector, Richard Brooke (1840-1926). During Brooke's 10 years' service he presided over the protracted negotiations for building the nave onto the original church which then became the chancel, as envisaged by the Grays. In 1869 the Grays undertook two arduous visitations, the second of which took them to Clanwilliam on about 8 October 1869. Gray wrote, "Clanwilliam, situated amongst the sands, though with a river on each side of it, is one of the warmest villages in the colony. Since I was last here Mr Browning has left, and Mr Brooke is now rector but Mr Browning's work still remains. The congregation is small, but very earnest. The beautiful but costly little church is, however, already too small. The services are amongst the most hearty in the diocese..."²¹ Gray's succinct comment is alarming considering all

¹⁴ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p205.

The Minutes of Vestry Meetings confirm that J. L. Sharp's name was without the "e" whereas another leading member of the church was Walter A. B. Sharpe.

¹⁵ Vestry Minute Book, p3. The naming of the church as "St John the Baptist" was presumably an error as it was referred to as "St John the Evangelist" in all subsequent documentation.

¹⁶ R. Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam*, p10.

¹⁷ Minutes of Vestry Meeting, 24 September 1863.

¹⁸ Minutes of Vestry Meeting, 17 April 1865.

¹⁹ *List of Consecration of Churches, 1827-1919*.

²⁰ R. Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam*, p15.

²¹ *The Mission Field*, March 1870, p76.

the efforts to build the church. At a meeting on 19 April 1870, the church leaders agreed that, with the Bishop's permission, a nave should be added to the chancel. A year later, in 1871, the Bishop visited Clanwilliam en route to Namaqualand, reaching the village on 15 September 1871. On 16 September, Gray's son-in-law, Rev Edward Glover wrote, "The little church, a perfect gem in its way, though much too small now, was crammed to its utmost... we found the people animated and united..."²²

After Robert Gray's death in September 1872, "...it was decided to erect the nave in his memory. Peter Penketh was commissioned as architect, a man of much experience who had designed... St John's [Long Street] Cape Town, St Paul's Rondebosch (?), St Mary's Stellenbosch..."²³ Penketh's design of the nave followed the lines of Mrs Gray's chancel so that the two components match each other to perfection. On 1 August 1874 approval was given to remove part of the west wall of the chancel to commence work on the nave²⁴ and on 17 August 1874, the cornerstone was laid. From the outset of building operations, the committee had an ongoing tussle with the two contractors, Mr Cane, responsible for most of the stonework, and Mr Crowley who made the roof and other woodwork. Minutes of 5 April 1875 indicate how close the church building came to being an architectural failure. Rev Brooke "submitted plans sent by Mr Crowley from which it appeared that the lines of roof in Mr Penketh's plan were not parallel to the lines of the present Chancel roof." It was resolved, "to ascertain the opinion of an architect on the necessity or otherwise of the lines of the Nave roof being parallel to those of the Chancel."²⁵ Fortunately the nave's roof was constructed at the same pitch as the chancel roof. The church was completed on 22 November 1876 and consecrated by Bishop West Jones the following day.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE CHANCEL

The two-bay chancel, measuring 9,3 x 5 metres, and built of random rubble, stands on a pronounced ashlar plinth with angle buttresses at its eastern end and a buttress between the windows. A small vestry, approximately 4,3 x 3,8 metres and built against the north side, has two diagonal buttresses with an east-facing door. The east wall of the chancel carries a quoined triplet lancet with the apex surmounted by a Celtic stone cross (Refer Drawing 67). Windows of the chancel are simple lancets with sandstone quoining. The high-pitched roof of 61 degrees is supported on three arched scissors trusses that rest on plaster corbels of various designs (Refer Figure N, Truss 6).

Whether the plans used were Sophia Gray's own work (as suggested in secondary sources), or one of the plans from the portfolio, does not detract from the fact that the Bishop was controlling the project and Sophia the design, the evidence being the style of church that was built, a building with features that were consistent with those found in her other churches and that followed the standards set by the Ecclesiologists.

²² *The Mission Field*, April 1872, p114.

²³ R. Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam*, p12.

²⁴ Minutes of Building Committee, 1 August 1874.

²⁵ Minutes of Vestry Meeting, 5 April 1875.

Clairmont, the suburb of Durban where the Parish of St Stephens was founded in 1851, was renamed Montclair in about 1910. Clairmont is not to be confused with Clermont near Pinetown where St Andrews church was built and Claremont, Cape Town where St Saviours was built.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

In late 1851, probably December, an appeal was sent to Bishop Gray by "members of the Church resident at Clairmont" for a clergyman for their district. Gray replied to their memorial on 2 January 1852, the day before he sailed for England where he remained until the end of 1853. A covering note to the reply was addressed to R B Willy Esq. because, as the Bishop explained, "...your name stands first on the list of signatures." The note continued, "I shall feel obliged by your communicating it to the subscribers in such way as you may think desirable..."¹ Gray wrote, "I have received your memorial applying for a clergyman... At present I have no one whom I can send to you, but I am on the eve of my departure for England, & I am not without hope that I shall be able soon after my arrival... to despatch one or two clergymen to Natal, who will be placed at the disposal of the Rural Dean... Neither the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, nor myself, will be able to do more than assist them in the maintenance of their ministers..." Gray requested them to let "one of their number to offer the Prayers of the Church" until a minister arrived. He commented that he was glad that they were about to "erect a respectable Church building and a comfortable residence for the Minister" and concluded by telling them to continue to co-operate with and be guided by the Rural Dean. This correspondence shows that a church-minded group had already got together in 1851 and as such Clairmont represents a self-planted church.

THE WOODEN CHURCH OF 1855

The Grays were back in Cape Town on 20 January 1854 after two years in England. It was three months later that the *Natal Mercury* reported on 12 April 1854, that Bishop Colenso, "in the presence of the leading government officials of the Colony consecrated a large burial ground at Clairmont, part of the farm, Seaview. The following year, the same newspaper reported that the first church service was to take place in St Stephen's Church on 21 October 1855 [which date is regarded as the founding date of the church]."² The brief report referred to the church as "this temporary edifice constructed from the materials of our former printing office..." which would be opened by the Colonial Chaplain, Rev W H C Lloyd. The report stated that the church's "situation in the Churchyard at Clairmont offers an opportunity of attending... service to the residents at Wentworth, the Bluff, the Umlaas, Clairmont and Sea View. The church will accommodate forty people."³ This final comment indicates just how small the church was and how inadequate if it was to serve the settlers in the five areas named in the report.

Some days later on an unspecified date in November of 1855, Rev Lloyd took the chair again at a public meeting at which "he called upon the people living to the south of the [Durban] Bay to make a strenuous effort to build a place of worship... His stirring appeal appears to have gone unheeded... for in the next year [1856] the faithful were meeting again... to accept a gift of land

¹ Letterbook Vol.2, CPSA Archives, AB1162/A1, p278.

² *140th Anniversary Commemoration Brochure*, Parish of Woodlands, Montclair, Yellowwood Park, p1.

³ *Natal Mercury*, 19 October 1855.

for a church [presumably at Isipingo] and the £27 which was at once contributed towards the cost of its erection." Before the end of 1856 Robert Robertson of Umlazi was conducting services in a church at Isipingo "and at the little wood-and-iron church of St Stephen at Clairmont."⁴

Bishop Colenso's 1856 journal confirms the existence of "the new wooden church of St Stephens at Clairmont...[which] derives its name from the fact of its being used as an architects office for the works of the new Houses of Parliament..."⁵ The "office" had first been erected as a house in Durban and then later transferred to the large burial ground at Clairmont to be utilised as the church. Colenso's entry of 3 June 1856 describes the church: "It was lined with calico, and supplied with appropriate benches and fittings in rough style: the whole expense amounted to 50 Pounds of which 40 pounds had been advanced on loan by myself..."⁶ This church was the forerunner of the *second* church, believed to be the church designed by Sophia Gray. Further confirmation of the existence of the first church is found in the autobiography of Rev Alfred Rivett. He commenced duties on the first Sunday of 1859 as the acting Military Chaplain "by having a service at the Point Chapel, and at St Paul's... after which... I exchanged duties with the Rev R Robertson, of the Umlazi mission station, by taking the service at St Stephen's, Clairmont, a small, pretty wooden church, built near or on the grounds of a wealthy gentleman... about six miles from D'Urban."⁷

Following the trial of Bishop Colenso on 17 November 1863 and his subsequent deposition from the office of Bishop in December, Colenso was given four months to retract. Colenso refused to recognise Bishop Gray's authority and "On 16th April, the day on which the sentence became operative, Bishop Gray sailed for Natal to take charge of the Diocese bereft of its head."⁸ These were the unhappy circumstances surrounding Bishop Gray's 1864 Visitation to Natal. On 30 April 1864, three days after arriving in the colony, the Grays rode out about nine miles to Umlazi Mission Station. The Bishop wrote, "We turned off the road at one place to look at the little church of Clairmont, situated in a picturesque churchyard."⁹

THE NEW CHURCH BY SOPHIA GRAY

About half way through his visitation, Gray recorded on 20 June 1864 that he spoke to the church people at Berea in the morning and then left for Clairmont at twelve. He says, "The church is a small wooden building, almost eaten up by the white ants. The ground on which it is built, though consecrated, has never been secured to the church."¹⁰ He noted on meeting with the parishioners, "They wish to erect a brick church, for which they already raised some portion of the funds.

⁴ B. B. Burnett, *Anglicans in Natal*, p58.

⁵ *140th Anniversary Commemoration Brochure*, p1. This refers to the House of Commons, Westminster, which had previously been housed in St Stephen's Hall.

⁶ *Ibid*, p2. *The Mission Field* carried the identical extract from the Bishop's journal in the issue of January 1857, p3.

⁷ A. W. L. Rivett, *Ten Years' Church Work in Natal*, p96.

⁸ B. B. Burnett, *Anglicans in Natal*, p73.

⁹ Gray's Journal, 1864, p7.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p89.

Promised that my wife would furnish a plan for a small English church (author's italics)."¹¹ In a letter to Dean Green at the time, Sophia Gray stated that she was working on designs for other churches in Natal besides St Peter's. The first one mentioned was for the Clairmont church - plus two for Umzinto.¹² This fact prompted Beddy to comment in his listing of Gray churches, "During vacancy of See, S(ophy) G(ray) plans rebuilding."¹³

There is no absolute proof that Sophia's design for a brick church was eventually built. Unfortunately, "St Stephen's, Clairmont, must have been declared Colenso property under the judgement of 1867 and the history of the period 1867 - 1906 is lost."¹⁴ There are vague notes on two churches that were destroyed by fire during this period. The dates given are 1883 and 1906. The first date could have been when the wooden church of 1855 was burnt down or it might have been Sophia's church, assuming this had been built about 1864/1865.¹⁵ The church that was destroyed by fire in 1906 is referred to by Fuggle as "the original Church building"¹⁶ but considering Bishop Gray had already noted in 1864 that the 1855 wooden church was "almost eaten up by white ants", it is unlikely to have survived another 42 years until 1906. The church that burnt down in 1906 is more likely to have been the more substantial structure erected some time after 1864. The construction date could have been as late as 1878 because in that year, Archdeacon Barker stated in a report that "there is a small iron church at Clairmont, consecrated by Bishop Colenso."¹⁷

After the 1906 loss by fire of the *second* church (possibly Sophia's church), "a fete was held in the Durban City Hall [in 1908] to raise funds for a [new] church on the same site. ...The new church of hollow cement blocks was opened in the same year."¹⁸ A fourth church was built on the site in 1958. Unfortunately, apart from Bishop Gray's promise to provide plans drawn by his wife for a church, there is little firm evidence that Mrs Gray's church was erected. In the absence of drawings or buildings, what may have been another of her designs, cannot be evaluated.

¹¹ Ibid, p90.

¹² B. Kearney, *Architecture in Natal*, p35. The source of Kearney's quotation is a letter of 1864 in the Natal University Library, Pietermaritzburg.

¹³ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...*

¹⁴ Notes on the Parish history by Rev Frank A. Fuggle. The inference is that records of churches under Colenso's control were filed beyond the reach of the Natal Diocese of the CPSA. In 1908, the congregation of Clairmont linked up with the CPSA again.

¹⁵ A. L. Pilkington, *Anglican Parish Churches in Natal: 1824-1910*, p A38.

¹⁶ Notes on the Parish history by F. A. Fuggle.

¹⁷ *140th Anniversary Commemoration Brochure*.

¹⁸ Notes on the Parish history by F. A. Fuggle.

HOW THE SCHOOL CHAPEL WAS BUILT

The Dean of the St George's Cathedral, W A Newman, conducted the first baptism in District Six on 24 January 1849. As there was no chapel in the area, it is supposed that services that included baptisms were conducted in private houses. Anglican authorities were obviously considering the eventual building of a church or school chapel as "on 7 June 1858 the Government of Cape Colony issued the grant of a site at 87 Tennant Street at its junction with William Street."¹ The *Chronicles of the Diocese* reflects that another two pieces of ground were transferred to the See within two years. Mrs Gray recorded, "On the 13th August 1860, a piece of ground in Kamaladorp, Cape Town... was purchased by the Bishop for £60 for Ecclesiastical purposes." Another site was purchased for £30 on 15 March 1862 from R Dobie.²

During his two years in England in 1858/59, Bishop Gray had recruited a Miss Sarah Cook to teach at his college at Zonnebloem where she started in 1860.³ In 1863 a lady teacher was wanted to take charge of the Anglican school run in "...an ordinary four-roomed cottage... in a suburb of the town called Kanaladorp, attended by children of all shades of colour. She [Miss Cook] was asked, and consented to do this."⁴ Extracts from letters written in the 1860's by Miss Cook, were published in 1866 in *The Net*. In one of these letters (1863) she writes: "The Bishop came into my school for one minute to-day and said, 'Fuller than ever! ...We have 195 children in regular attendance, and only a common dwelling house for them.' *We do need a school church built very much* (author's italics). My plan is humbly and trustingly to seize the present moment, to engage them [the poor people of the area] earnestly... to collect money for our school chapel... The present rooms are so small and inconvenient that numbers of persons say they cannot go to such a hot and draughty place... Now I must tell you, it is my secret plan by God's blessing, to be the little drop of water which, turned to steam, makes the mighty engine go. I pray daily that a year from this time, the first sod may be turned."⁵

Miss Cook's letter continues with an account of a meeting which Rev Thomas Lightfoot, an Anglican priest who was conducting mission work in the Bree Street area of Cape Town, had called to discuss the mission's future. They discussed the subject of a new school chapel, but agreed that definite decisions had to be deferred to

¹ R. Langham-Carter, *The Church on Clifton Hill*, p7. No record of this land transfer could be found in Mrs Gray's *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*.

² *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p206. The intended use of the sites acquired in 1860 and 1862 is not made clear in the record.

³ Sarah Cook (1827 – 1927) was the daughter of Rev. J. T. Cook of Ramsgate.

⁴ *The Net cast in Many Waters*, 1 March 1866, p44. This missionary magazine first appeared in 1866, published by Lothian & Co., Paternoster Row, and covered missionary activity throughout the world. It was edited by Anne Mackenzie who before she died in 1877, was mainly responsible for founding the Mackenzie Memorial Mission in Zululand. After 1896, *The Net* confined itself to mission work in Zululand (Note by Canon C.T. Wood, Provincial Archivist, CPSA, 1976).

⁵ *Ibid*, p45.

a public meeting. A letter written by Cook in early 1865 recounts that the Bishop, struck with the need and poverty of the suburb, had told the Dean to announce to the project committee that "he [Gray] would meet the first £100 we should raise with £50, and £100 for every £100 we collected afterwards..."⁶ Miss Cook tells of her own efforts to raise money for the 'Building Fund' and that Rev Lightfoot had informed her, "...after service on Sunday, our churchwarden took him over a piece of land on which we are all... hoping our new building will begin by, at least, another year." Miss Cook subsequently served on a committee, "...arranging the preliminaries for a public meeting... What has made it possible is, that we may borrow the money to begin with, on our only guaranteeing the interest."⁷ She wrote: "May 26. [1865] The day after Ascension Day – the happiest day I have known yet! – The first sod has been turned for laying out the foundations of our new mission School Chapel. The real laying of the foundation stone, by the Bishop, is to take place in about a fortnight."⁸ Another extract from a letter of 13 June 1865 opens with the words, "A most brilliant day" which obviously refers to the stone-laying ceremony that had taken place on that day. Miss Cook remarked, "...the Bishop is so good as to give us £300 and yet let us borrow."⁹

The event merited the attention of the public as the *Cape Argus*¹⁰ published a notice: "This afternoon, Bishop Gray will lay the foundation stone of the new school-chapel now in the course of erection at the junction of Tennant and William Streets. The service will commence at four o'clock and will be followed by a public tea meeting." The school-chapel was built in about four months as on 4 October 1865, the Dean and Archdeacon officially opened¹¹ the chapel school "... and the building soon became the scene of much activity."¹²

PUBLIC OPINION OF THE COMPLETED CHAPEL

An unknown eye-witness at the opening ceremony recorded the following impressions of the building: "October 12th – I must tell you about the opening of St Mark's School Chapel, in Miss Cook's district of the town. The building is very nice. It makes two large rooms, with high roof. One is for Miss Cook, the other for the boys' school, divided by a curtain, which can be drawn aside on the Sunday. The exterior I admire very much; it is a suggestion of the Dean's that the windows and

⁶ Published in *The Net* under the heading, 'Kanaladorp and St Mark's Mission' 2 April 1866, p53.

⁷ *Ibid.* p54.

⁸ *Ibid.* p55.

⁹ *Ibid.* p56.

¹⁰ *Cape Argus*, 13 June 1865.

¹¹ Beddy's *List of Churches, Chapels and Schools* only gives the year '1865' as the date when 'First chapel consecrated.' As a school chapel, St Mark's should not have been consecrated. The only church consecrated in 1865 was St Mary's Church, Papendorp with which St Mark's may have been confused.

¹² R. Langham-Carter, *The Church on Clifton Hill*, p8. Langham-Carter states erroneously that 'Gray held the opening service on 4 October' whereas *The Net* says of the opening of the Chapel 'the happy day arrived, marred only by the absence of the Bishop who was away on a three month's tour...' (January 1867, p9.) Between 17 August and 8 November 1865, the Grays were in the Southern Cape.

doors *should* be of red brick. And that bands of red brick *should* be mixed with the rough sandstone of which the school-chapel is built.”¹³ Just how practical the Dean’s suggestion was when the report states the chapel was already open, cannot be explained. Another witness commented: “October 13th “...the building is neat and spacious, and for sound could hardly be surpassed... The building is church-like, and regularly used for divine service, and for the general purposes of the Mission schools of the district; and it seems well suited for the twofold purpose... But proper seats have still to be provided...”¹⁴ The editorial comments were not all complimentary: “The walls of the building are bare; the altar cloth is of the commonest material, and the vessels for... the Eucharist are borrowed. The east window is very large, and the light is glaring. A painted window is... not to be thought of when so much else is wanting; but one of diaphanie for present use would be most acceptable...”¹⁵

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

St Mark’s school chapel was a rectangular building “with two interior spaces divided by a curtain. On the west the larger room could accommodate 150 scholars on weekdays or worshippers on Sundays... The smaller section was Miss Cook’s bed-sitter but on Sundays the curtain was drawn aside and it became the sanctuary with an altar and a priest’s chair.”¹⁶ The west end had in its apex, an oval window with a quatrefoil light and below this a row of four blind lancet windows (Refer Drawing 69). “The north and south walls were each lit by two small arched windows and a taller window at their west ends.” Frames were of timber. In the absence of a photograph of the east end, one must rely on Langham-Carter’s description: “The east window consisted of four lights with circular tracery at its apex and there were three small lancets under the east gable.”¹⁷

In keeping with the style for most school chapels, there were no buttresses. The original roof was of slate; the type of roof truss is unknown. Photographs show a steeply pitched roof – possibly 55 degrees. Nave walls were of random rubble Table Mountain sandstone while end walls were of dressed stone. Langham-Carter mentions “bands of red brick” on the walls as well as for “dressings of the doorways and windows” though these are not visible on photographs. The chapel school was demolished in the 1960’s during the extensive removals of residents from District 6.

THE ARCHITECT

The history of St Mark’s, in particular the letters of Sarah Cook, revealed the extent to which Bishop Gray was involved in starting the chapel. Churches commenced in the Cape Town area do not feature in the Bishop’s journals of visitations as do the many

¹³ *The Net*, January 1867, p10. The Dean’s suggestion of polychromatic banding for the walls of the chapel indicates that he was aware of Butterfield’s All Saints Church (1849-1859), London, in which “the mingling of the coloured bricks, the white stone, the pink granite... is very happy.” The *SA Church Magazine* (of which the Dean was editor) ran a 10-page article on the opening of All Saints, London in the August 1859 issue.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p11.

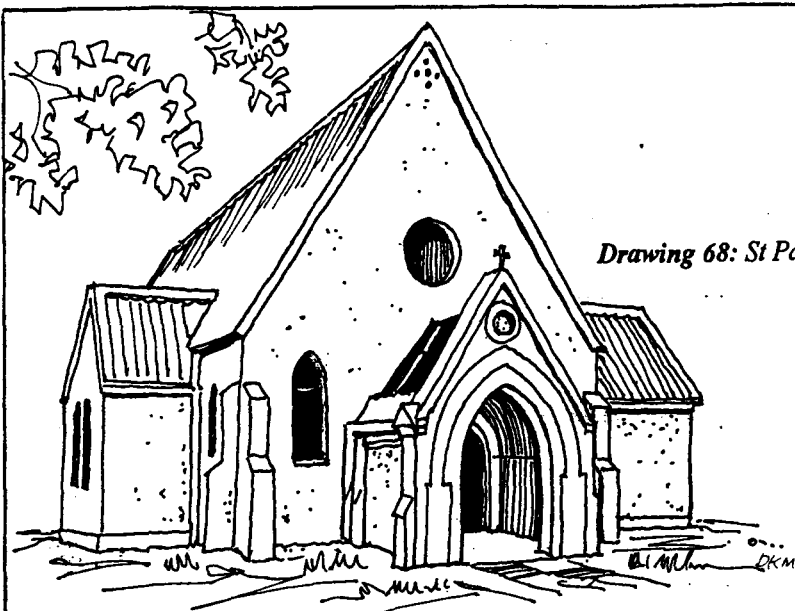
¹⁵ *Ibid*. Diaphanie is presumed to be a partially see-through material such as calico.

¹⁶ R. Langham-Carter, *The Church on Clifton Hill*, p8.

¹⁷ *Ibid*.

churches in the country areas thus primary source documents confirming the role Mrs Gray played with the design of the chapel appear to be non-existent. Credit is given by Langham-Carter, however, to “the bishop’s architect wife [who] supplied the plans and working drawings” though the source of his statement is not known.¹⁸ It is reasoned that as Sophia was intimately aware of the churches and chapels needed in her husband’s diocese, she would have been the first to be consulted by him during 1863/1864 when the possibility of building the chapel was seriously discussed. Without intending to demean her technical skill, it was also more likely that she could have supplied her own plans for a simple chapel than for a church. Her name is furthermore associated with other school chapels. Features of St Marks, such as the irregular arrangement of the windows in the long walls, and the double lancet couplet on the west wall, are not found in Sophia’s other churches thus do not, in this instance, support the contention that this was one of Mrs Gray’s chapels. All the evidence considered, however, it is highly likely that she was author of the building project.

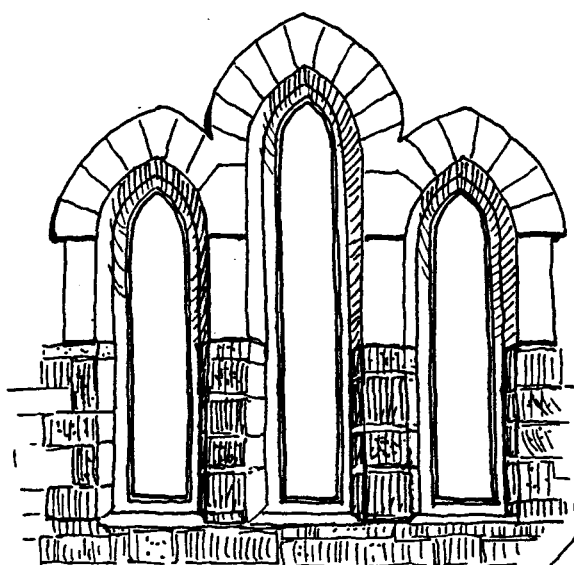
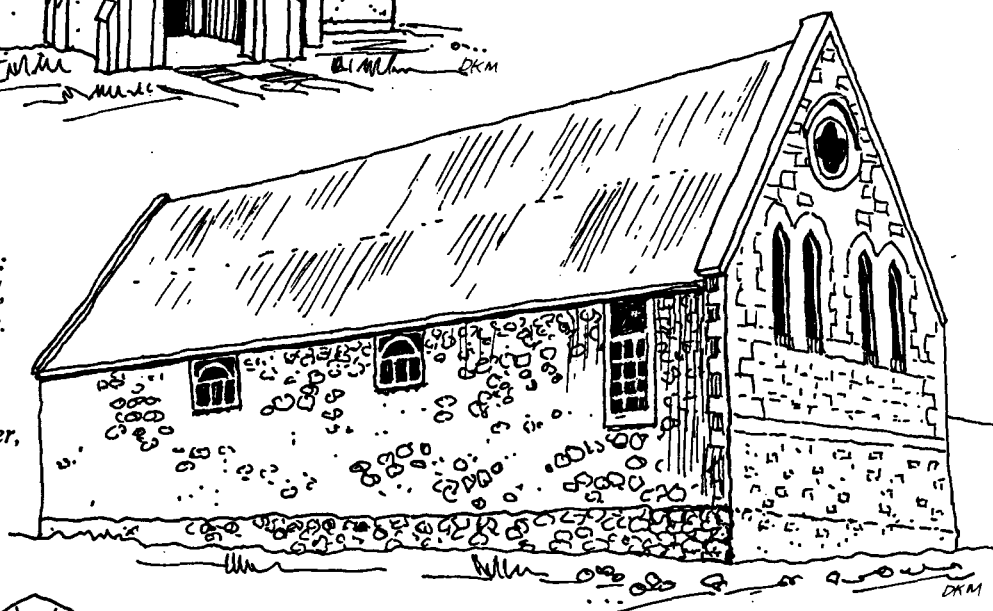
¹⁸ R. Langham-Carter, *The Church on Clifton Hill*, p8.



Drawing 68: St Patrick's Church, Umzinto, KwaZulu/Natal

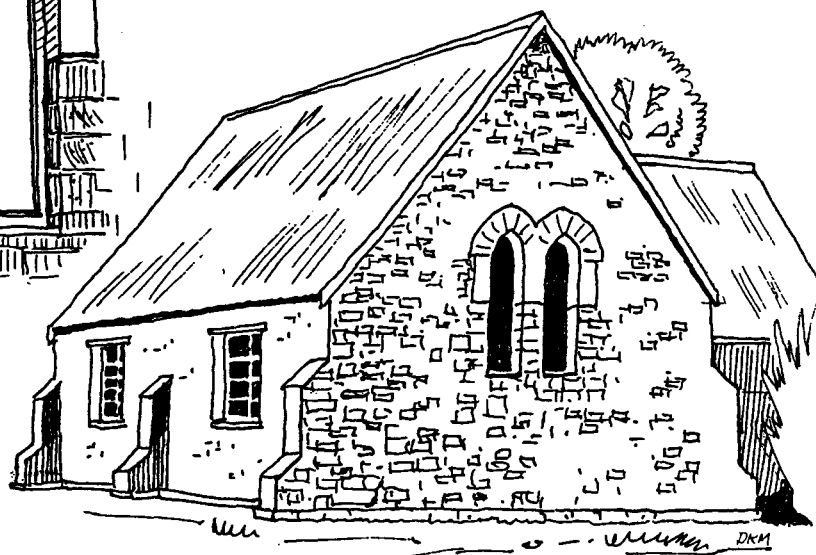
*Drawing 69:
St Mark's Chapel,
District Six, Cape Town.*

*From a photograph
c1940, R.Langham-Carter,
The Church on
Clifton Hill, p27.*



*Drawing 70 (left): St Augustine's Chapel, Fraserburg.
Detail of triplet lancet, East wall.*

*Drawing 71:
St Augustine's Chapel,
Fraserburg, West wall.*



ALL SAINTS CHURCH, SPRINGBOK & ST AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH, OKIEP

C40

C41

HOW THE PARISH WAS ESTABLISHED

The early history of the church is closely linked with the discovery and development of the copper mines of Namaqualand. Although Governor Simon van der Stel investigated the "Copper Mountain" near Springbok in 1685, it was only in 1852 that copper ore was mined on any significant scale. The first Anglican curate in Namaqualand was Rev Henry Whitehead who was sent up to minister in Namaqualand by Bishop Gray. Whitehead left Table Bay in December 1855, travelling up the coast in a boat of only 30 tons, to Hondeklip Bay on the Namaqualand coast.¹ He was in office by September 30th 1856 when he solemnized the first marriage at Springbokfontein.² Whitehead served until 1862 when Rev W J R Morris became Rector of the Parish of Namaqualand where he remained until 1883.³

THE CHURCH AT SPRINGBOK

The church founding date is 18 November 1864, two years after Morris had replaced Whitehead as rector. "The Rev W J R Morris designed and built the Church, and it is only from Mr Morris' time that we have complete records of Baptisms and burials."⁴ Building began in earnest in 1865 and the church was first used under a license on Advent Sunday (usually late November) 1865. Bishop Gray's first visit to Namaqualand was in 1866. He wrote, "We went there by sea in H M ship Valorous, had beautiful weather, a rough journey over barren sands and mountains. I consecrated a nice little church at Springbok and held many services at different places."⁵

A letter from "a Missionary" (presumably Morris) in Springbok, dated 10 October 1867, gives an account of conditions in "Far away Namaqualand. ...a remote part of the Cape Colony..." He wrote: "Springbok... is but a small village; with a population of 300, of which one-third are English, the remainder being coloured... The most striking object in the village is the Church. This building was commenced in November, 1864; and used under a license on Advent Sunday, 1865; and consecrated by our beloved Bishop on Ascension Day, 1866."⁶ The date of consecration, 9 May 1866, and name, "All Saints Church", is recorded in the *List of Consecration of Churches*. The letter stated that the church was "built of granite, and still needs a bell, gable, and south porch. Inside the floor still waits to be planked, and altar-rails and font are needed. The seats have carved fleur-de-lis heads, and the windows have been painted in rich colours to subdue the light. The effect is quite church-like."⁷ Gray's second visit to Springbok was in 1871, soon after his wife's death in April. Together with his son-in-law, Edward Glover, they travelled the West Coast via Clanwilliam, reaching Springbok after an arduous journey on 25 September. On

¹ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p101.

² *All Saints Church Centenary Brochure*, 1964, p1.

³ J. W. L. Lavis, *Namaqualand Centenary Leaflet*.

⁴ *All Saints Church Centenary Brochure*, p1.

⁵ C. Gray, *Life of Bishop Gray*, Vol. II, p261.

⁶ *The Net*, August 1868, p123.

⁷ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p101.

27 September they visited O'okiep, eight kilometres away. While at Port Nolloth, Gray took seriously ill and after some days recovering in the port, they returned to Cape Town on the *Florence* about 25 October.⁸ Sophia Gray is credited with the design of the Springbok church by Langham-Carter in two documents of 1967 and 1974.⁹ Whether the omission of Springbok from his list of 1977 has any significance is not known. No other researcher has similarly named the architect. The author of the *All Saints Church Springbok Centenary Brochure* is specific as to who the designer was (Morris). Considering that the church had already been started in early 1865 and Gray's first visit was only in May 1866, it seems unlikely that the Grays would have been directly involved with supplying plans. Together with Bishop Gray's matter-of-fact reference in 1866 to consecrating "a nice little church at Springbok", further doubt is raised that All Saints was to a Sophia Gray design. Certain architectural features, such as the buttresses with three tiers, and the unusual arrangement of buttresses on the long wall of the nave, are aspects not seen in other Sophia Gray designs.

THE CHURCH AT OKIEP

The October 1867 letter from 'a Missionary' referred to earlier, mentions the "Ookiep Mine... the most important out-station... only five miles distant from Springbok" where, it was stated, "We have a neat School-chapel, St Augustine's..."¹⁰ Bishop Gray's role in encouraging the planting and building of this first school chapel at Okiep, possibly during his 1866 visit, is open to speculation. With the development of mining in the 1870's at Okiep, church activities at Springbok followed the move of miners and their families to the new village. In November 1875, four years after the death of Bishop Gray, Namaqualand was visited by the new bishop, West Jones who recorded that "...in Springbok's palmy days a very pretty little church was built and consecrated, which is now almost deserted. The mines there have been abandoned for the present, and the material of cottages carried off to O'okiep."¹¹ In the same passage West Jones stated that the church at Okiep was unconsecrated.

On 4 November 1880, during another visit to Okiep, West Jones "...consecrated the Church of St Augustine's."¹² For some years the service had been held regularly in an unconsecrated building, but during the bishop's last visitation the foundation-stone of a church was laid, and it was with much pride that nave, chancel with apsidal end, and the bell-turret were all ready for consecration.... It cost £1300...¹³ The above extract was taken from a fuller account of West Jones' visit in 1880, which stated, "The Church is built of brick covered over with plaister and stands in a very commanding position. The plans were furnished by the Rev G Pinker, of Capetown, and the details worked out by the Rev W J R Morris, the rector of Namaqualand, and Mr Wilson, the contractor."¹⁴ The influence of the Grays in this second church is improbable.

⁸ *The Mission Field*, May 1872, pp145-148.

⁹ R. Langham-Carter, 'South Africa's First Woman Architect', *Architect and Builder*, March 1967; *List of Buildings wholly or partly designed by Mrs Gray*, 1974.

¹⁰ *The Net*, August 1868, p124.

¹¹ M. H. M. Wood, *A Father in God*, p99.

¹² *List of Consecration of Churches...*

¹³ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p103.

¹⁴ *The Church Chronicle*, January 1881, p29.

PHASE 5: Churches (8) commenced between 1867 and the death of Bishop Gray in 1872.

For most of 1867 and 1868, the Grays were in England where Robert attended the first Lambeth Conference in September 1867. A new bishop for Natal had been elected amidst controversy but after Gray's return to Cape Town (in late 1868), Bishop Macrorie was consecrated by Gray in St George's Cathedral on 23 January 1869.

Having dispensed with the drawn out problem in the Natal diocese, the Grays undertook between 9 March and 12 June 1869, a visitation of 1700 miles in which they called at some of the remotest corners of the diocese such as Victoria West, Carnarvon and Fraserburg. In September/October a shorter visitation was made to St Helena Bay, Clanwilliam and Ceres. Mrs Gray began showing signs of exhaustion and the illness to which she succumbed in 1871. The building of churches at Fraserburg, Victoria West, Montagu and Uniondale can be directly attributed to the 1869 visitation.

In January 1870 much time was given preparing for the Provincial Synod held between 31 January and 26 February. During March, Robert was very ill and his wife was slowly weakening. No visitations were made although it is thought that the little chapel at Black River, Cape Town was built about this time (C53). In July 1870, the Grays sailed for England for the last time. They returned on 1 December 1870 and Mrs Gray died on 27 April 1871. Bishop Gray, despite his own poor health left for Namaqualand on 4 September 1871 returning by sea on 18 October. The Bishop undertook his last visitation to the Knysna district, between April and May 1872. He died at his home "Bishopscourt" on 1 September 1872.

No building projects were begun in the last two years of the Bishop's ministry.

Churches in Phase 5 are:

- C41. St Augustine's Okiep*;
- C42. St Patrick's Umzinto, Natal;
- C43. St Augustine's Fraserburg;
- C44. St Luke's Swellendam;
- C45. St John's Victoria West;
- C46. St Mildred Montagu;
- C47. All Saints Uniondale;

C53. St James' Black River, Cape Town (History appears at the end of Phase 6).

*(History appears in the previous phase with (C40), the history of the church at Springbok, with which it is linked).

BISHOP GRAY'S VISITS TO NATAL

Bishop Gray only made two visitations to the Province of Natal - in 1850 and fourteen years later between 16 April and 13 July 1864. On the first visit to Natal in 1850, Gray was accompanied by his servant/driver Ludwig using a cart and six horses. On the second visit, Robert and Sophia had sailed on the *Dane* from Cape Town on 16 April 1864, arriving in Durban on 27 April. In Gray's words, his duty on the 1864 visitation was "to take immediate charge of the Diocese *sede vacante*." This arose from the unfortunate Colenso affair in which the Bishop of Natal had been excommunicated on a charge of heresy, an action that had divided the Anglican Church, not only in Natal but also in the rest of the Anglican community in South Africa.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The credit of initiating Anglican work in the Umzinto area is given to a layman, James Arbuthnot who came out from Scotland in 1849 and eventually settled with his wife on the coast of Natal. It is said that "...he felt the need for the Church's ministrations of the little colony of go-ahead settlers... They had formed the Umzinto Sugar Company, with the first steam-powered mill, at... Kelso, and they planned to process... sugar grown on... some 50-100 estates."¹ Another key figure in the planting of the church was Joseph Barker from Kidderminster, England, who came to Natal to teach at the invitation of Bishop Gray. He landed in Durban in August 1853 and was involved initially in mission work among the Zulus. He is known to have attended a meeting at Ladysmith in 1854 to discuss the building of a church.² Barker was made deacon on 20 December 1857 and later in 1861, he was put in charge of the Umzinto District where he worked among the employees of the Umzinto Sugar Company. About the same time, 1861 or 1862, a wattle-and-daub church had been built. The first baptism was registered on 17 February 1861 and the second burial on 5 May 1861.³ Rev Barker was ordained priest on 23 March 1862. He is officially recorded as being in service at Ladysmith between 1858 and 1863 and at Umzinto from 1864 to 1886, the latter a noteworthy service as "pastor and priest" of twenty-six years.⁴

From the foregoing snippets of history it is clear that the church as an organisation had been planted before Gray physically arrived in Natal. Gray's only mention of the work at Umzinto appears in the journal of 1864. Towards the end of his three months in the Colony, Gray travelled from Durban to Umzinto on 22 June 1864 after holding a service at Umkomanzi. The Bishop and his wife, who were met by Barker, recorded that the "inhabitants are anxious to erect small churches."⁵ The following day, 23 June 1864, the Grays walked down before breakfast to look at the Umzinto River mouth, prompting the Bishop to record, "It was very beautiful and S— made a sketch of it." Although it was a Thursday, a service was held in the schoolroom where the Bishop met the parishioners. Gray noted that the people were from two districts that were about seven miles apart. "At each they are anxious to erect a church. At the more distant point, the

¹ B. B. Burnett, *Anglicans in Natal*, p87.

² B. N. W. Greenwood (ed), *One Hundred Years* (St Patrick's Centenary Leaflet -1961).

³ The first burial was conducted by James Arbuthnot on an unspecified date in 1860.

⁴ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p898.

⁵ Gray's Journal, 1864, p97.

Upper Umzinto, it was decided not to attempt the erection of a church for a few months as there was a difference of opinion about the site."⁶ Concluding his entry, Gray stated, "In the immediate neighbourhood of Mr Barker's house... it was resolved to attempt at once the erection of a church, towards which I led them to expect the SPCK would make a grant, *and for which I offered to provide them with plans* (author's italics)." This last statement is validated by the letter that Sophia wrote to Dean Green in the same year, 1864, in which she mentioned to Green "that she was working on designs for other churches in Natal besides St Peter's. One was to be for Clairmont and two for Umzinto..."⁷ Some three years after Gray's visitation, tragedy struck the little settlement of Umzinto in October 1867 when the wattle-and-daub church was carried away in a flood. This calamity is recorded by Dean Green: "There is the church at Umzinto where Mr Barker, in charge of the district, had long been using a wattled building as his school and chapel. It was laid low by a storm... and he and his people built one of stone [?] with England's help."⁸

It is presumed that the plans Mrs Gray provided some time after their 1864 visit were on hand after the loss of the existing church because "In 1868 tenders were called for a stone building to replace the wattle and daub church on the banks of the Umzinto River which was washed away... A new site was chosen, on a high promontory overlooking the river valley. By March 1869 the shell was complete..."⁹ On May 6th, 1869, St Patrick's Church was consecrated by the Lord Bishop of Maritzburg (Macrorie).¹⁰ In addition to the promise of Bishop Gray to provide plans and the corroboration found in Sophia's own letter to Dean Green, the building exhibits characteristics of her work. These are "the pitch of the roof, the small entrance porch on the north side and the vestry on the south, together with the roof structure, which is almost identical to that of St Peter's... The plastered walls should perhaps be attributed to the absence of suitable building stone."¹¹ There is thus no doubt about Sophia Gray's authorship of the Umzinto church.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The church as originally built comprised a six-bay nave, measuring 15 x 6 metres, with angle buttresses at the four corners and buttresses at the midpoint of the nave. Although of brick and plaster, the church is built on stone foundations.¹² A vestry and a porch (now a baptistery) abutted the nave on the south and north sides respectively, one bay from the west end (Refer Drawing 68). The existing porch on the west wall is probably a later addition. The original lancet windows in the east end were reinstated in the east wall of the chancel, which was added in 1892. Lancet windows in the nave have been replaced with round-headed steel windows. The high-pitched roof (58 degrees) is supported on six arch-braced trusses on timber corbels.

⁶ Ibid, p98.

⁷ B. Kearney, *Architecture in Natal*, (1973), p35. Kearney refers to 'Letters of Mrs Gray to Dean Green, 1864. Natal University Library.' These could not be traced in 1998.

⁸ B. N. W. Greenwood, *One Hundred Years* (Pamphlet).

⁹ A. L. Pilkington, *Anglican Parish Churches in Natal: 1824-1910*, (MArch thesis), p A126.

¹⁰ B. N. W. Greenwood, *One Hundred Years*. Macrorie had been consecrated by Bishop Gray in Cape Town on 25 January 1869 as Bishop Colenso's replacement.

¹¹ B. Kearney, *Architecture in Natal*, p35.

¹² A. L. Pilkington, *op cit.*, pA126. Pilkington states that there is "...no sign of any 'stone' church [as called for in the tenders] but if one crawls under the flooring there are signs of stone foundations."

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

A history of Fraserburg¹ states that "the English-speaking section of the community at Fraserburg has always been, comparatively speaking, very small and the Church of St Augustine parish is not very much larger today [1927] than it was 50 years ago."² Although Bishop Gray travelled three times via Beaufort West (about 120 kilometres south of Fraserburg) on visitations in 1848, 1850 and 1855, it was not until 1869 that he and Mrs Gray included the village on their itinerary. In a letter from Oudtshoorn to his sister, dated 24 April 1869, Gray said, "Sophy and I have been out nearly seven weeks, during which we have traversed a very rough part of the Diocese, and visited localities which I have never been able to reach before. We have been nearly five weeks in the Karroo." He continued, "You would have been moved to see how the coloured people clustered around me at Fraserburg, a village created within the last twelve years..." and added, "They have undertaken to build a school chapel, I giving them wood and iron and glass."³

THE BUILDING PROJECT

The community was quick to honour the commitment made to their Bishop. Within five weeks of his visit, on 2 June 1869, the foundation stone of the school chapel was laid by Rev Guy Gething, the rector of Beaufort West who also had the supervision of the English church in the Fraserburg area. The event, as reported by the *Cape Argus*,⁴ stated that the ceremony "...was attended by about four hundred people of all shades and colours..." The service at the site of the chapel was heartily joined in by those present who came in procession from the residence of the village's respected townsman, Robert C Henning. The Civil Commissioner, F E Balston, in his speech, "...congratulated the coloured people on the zeal shown by them in meeting the Bishop's kind offer of assistance, and thanked the members of the English Church for their hearty co-operation and the aid afforded to the poorer coloured people in bringing the building as far as it was⁵... He trusted ere long to witness the inauguration of the building... a memorial of the good Bishop's visit." The newspaper article also stated that John Findlay of the firm Lamb Brothers and Co. had "...kindly undertaken the supervision of the building. Mr Findlay has had some experience in this, the new Dutch Church having been erected by the firm of which he is a member." According to Dekenah the "chapel itself was built in about the year 1870 by Mr Adam Jacobus Jacobs..."⁶

¹ In 1821 the London Missionary Society recruited men in Scotland to fill vacant pulpits of the DRC in the Cape. One of these was Colin Fraser who came to the Cape in 1824 to serve at Beaufort West where he was inducted as a minister of the DRC in January 1825. In 1850, as a tribute to Fraser's good service, the Governor sanctioned that the new parish of the DRC of West Nieuwveld "will bear the name of Fraserburg."

² I. Dekenah, *A History of Fraserburg*, p22 (unpublished notes), National Library, Cape Town.

³ C. Gray. *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.2, p467.

⁴ 8 June 1869.

⁵ These remarks confirm that the congregation comprised all races.

⁶ I. Dekenah, *A History of Fraserburg*, p22.

The Bishop commenced his last visitation on 14 March 1872, a journey that took him to the northern and eastern parts of the Diocese. About 23 March, he reached Fraserburg having travelled via Paarl and Ceres. Gray wrote: "It is Karroo country from Ceres to Fraserburg. We were five days in accomplishing the journey."⁷ Scarce forage for his horses, poor food, brack water and horse sickness turned this section of Gray's journey into a trial of endurance. He recorded, "We were very glad to reach Frazerburg on Friday evening, but what a country must this be in which one village is distant 200 miles from another!" Of the building he wrote, "In the evening [Saturday] I opened the school chapel, which is a neat stone building, of which the plans were given by my dearest wife."⁸ The following day the village experienced "a fearful storm of thunder and lightning" in which torrential rain threatened to destroy everything with the water running about two feet deep past the magistrate's house. The Bishop wrote, "Happily very little damage has been done; a few walls have fallen, and some gardens destroyed." The newly opened stone chapel was unscathed.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

There is little doubt that Mrs Gray was responsible for designing the Fraserburg school chapel, one of 8 such chapels reviewed.⁹ The school chapel comprises a two-bay nave (13,3 x 6,4 metres) with a small porch (4,5 x 2,5 metres) on the south-west corner. The east end gable wall has three lancet windows; the west wall has two. These have prominent rusticated cement surrounds on the upper half of the window (Refer Drawings 70 and 71). As in all the Gray school chapels, there are rectangular casement windows in the long side walls (two on the north side and a single window on the south). These have yellowwood lintels, approx. 2,3 metres long. Although some school chapels were built without buttresses (Refer *Buttresses* in Section 3.1), two-tier stone buttresses with sloping cement copings were built at the ends and the midpoint of the nave walls.

Although the Grays would have preferred the roof of the chapel to have been of thatch or slate, corrugated iron was used, a material which appears on later churches. As reasoned by Radford, "...it seems that the Grays had no objection to it [corrugated iron] in circumstances where other materials were not available or were too expensive."¹⁰ The roof pitch is 53 degrees. The timber ceiling has been largely renewed and roof trusses are not visible. All external walls are of dressed local stone with prominent pointing. A freestanding bell tower still retains the original dressed stone pillars.¹¹

⁷ *The Mission Field*, 2 September 1872, pp259-261.

⁸ *Ibid*, p262.

⁹ The original chapel was in a poor condition in the 1980s. It was sold by the CPSA to the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk whose members thoroughly restored the structure in 1990. None of the architectural elements of the Gray church of 1870 have been radically altered.

¹⁰ D. Radford, *The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901*, p187.

¹¹ Only two other freestanding bell towers were noted during the research. These were the iron bell tower at Woodstock, since removed, and the brick plastered tower still in use at Victoria West. It is possible that others were built but have not survived.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel reported in 1863 that "the Clergy in the diocese [of Cape Town] now numbered 45, and more than one half were engaged in Mission work".¹ It was also reported "the coloured congregation of Wesleyans at Swellendam came over in a body, with their teacher, to the Church, and three years later 82 of them were admitted to confirmation".² In 1865, the Grays undertook a tour as far as Plettenberg Bay and Willowmore, returning via Swellendam where they arrived on 28 October. It was noticed that the existing Christ Church, which had been built between 1852 and 1855 and consecrated by the Bishop on 14 November 1855, was in need of considerable repairs. On Monday 30 October 1865, Gray wrote, "the new stone Mission School, which is also to be used for services was publicly opened..."³

There are two references in Bishop Gray's account of his 1869 visit to Swellendam to mission work in the town. He wrote on 15 March about the several disastrous fires, the last of which swept over nearly half the village. On 17 March 1869, while still in Swellendam, Gray went with Mr Bramley and Mr Edwards, the Missionary curate, to examine the new town school. Gray recorded, "There is as great a Mission work to be done in that school as in the village."⁴ In the afternoon, Gray examined the second set of mission-schools and wrote, "The coloured congregation is still without its chapel and worships in a building which could only serve for a school-room."⁵ The Grays continued their extensive tour of the diocese, returning to Swellendam on Saturday 29 May 1869.

The Bishop conducted a morning service on Sunday 30 May, presumably in Christ Church (Refer C15). He noted that the congregation was smaller than on former occasions: "The English in this village have decreased... owing to the many calamities which have overtaken both town and country. They have literally been burnt out - by droughts... by repeated fires..."⁶ He recorded, "In the evening, I confirmed at a Dutch service, eighty-two coloured people. This is the first confirmation since the coloured congregation, formerly in connexion with the Wesleyans, came over in a body, with their teacher, to the Church. The little church [it must be assumed that the service was conducted in the *stone mission school* built in 1865] was crammed. It is only built for 150, but 240 were present... Unhappily, we have not, as yet, a chapel for these people. They worship at present in a temporary building, erected as cheaply as possible, because there were insufficient funds to *complete* the chapel." This comment confirms that construction on a mission chapel had begun some time before the 1869 visitation. It is possible that the start of building

¹ C. F. Pascoe, *Two hundred years of the SPG*, p292. 'Mission work' may be described as "the process... begun by the missionaries... by which the majority of South Africans were converted to Christianity..." (H. Bredekamp & R. Ross, *Missions and Christianity in South African History* (1995), p1). Very broadly speaking, 'mission' work was directed at the unconverted while all other 'church' activities were for the converted.

² *Ibid*, p293.

³ Gray's Journal, 1865, pp55, 56.

⁴ *The Mission Field*, October 1869, p288.

⁵ Presumably this was the small stone school opened on 30 October 1865.

⁶ *The Mission Field*, December 1869, p358.

operations was as early as 1865 as Fransen and Cook state that St Luke's Church, 12 Voortrek Street, was "An Anglican mission church, built in 1865 (though it started as a Wesleyan Mission)."⁷ (It would be more accurate to state that St Luke's was *commenced* in 1865). Gray's entry for 30 May 1869 gives details of the funding available for the chapel: "I have £100 in hand, given anonymously in England for the erection of the chapel, but I suppose at least £400 are required. I have promised another £100, but I fear that in the present distress, the remaining £200 will not be forthcoming."⁸

After the death of Mrs Gray in 1871, the Bishop made what was his last visit to the diocese in autumn 1872. He gave a sad account of Swellendam where he was on 17/18 May: "The English work is not advancing here. This is partly owing to the removal of men to the Diamond Fields... death amongst leading members... drought... repeated fires. Half the houses that were burned still remain in ruins. But beyond this there is a coldness and indifference about religion..."⁹ Gray wrote positively, however, regarding the 'mission' work: "Out of 67 confirmed, 56 are coloured people. This part of the work is evidently growing. A contract has at last been entered into with a respectable builder here *to complete the Mission chapel; but the building already commenced* (author's italics), will not be large enough for the growing congregation." The building is also said to have been built in 1874 although the building activity in that year was most likely the completion of what had already been started in 1865/67.¹⁰

Bishop West Jones, Gray's successor consecrated the completed church 11 March 1875.¹¹ A newspaper reported, "The Bishop of Cape Town arrived here on Wednesday [10 March 1875]... During his stay St Luke's Mission Church, in charge of the Rev F D Edwards, was consecrated; and confirmation services holden both in St Lukes and Christ Churches."¹² This confirms that the two Anglican churches of the Swellendam parish functioned with separate congregations in separate buildings. As more fully covered in Section 2.1, Bishop Gray did not advocate separate congregations. He wrote in his 1869 journal while at Swellendam, "...the difference in language alone justifies our worshipping in separate buildings; that it is against the spirit of Christianity, and an evil as regards the social condition of the country, to have one church for the black man, another for the white; that as we have but one faith, one God and Father of us all, so, where it is possible, we should worship together as one household of faith... in one church, in each place."¹³

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

Gray's comment in his journal of 17/18 May 1872 is that, at last, a builder was to complete a chapel. Gray never alluded to any plan for St Luke's being supplied by his wife as he did for other

⁷ H. Fransen & M. A. Cook, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, p359.

⁸ *The Mission Field*, December 1859, p358.

⁹ *The Mission Field*, September 1872, p272.

¹⁰ M. Attwell, Report, 2 October 1984, prepared for the National Monuments Council when the church was threatened with demolition by the Swellendam Municipality after a storm in May 1984 tore off a section of an end gable.

¹¹ *List of Consecration of Churches, 1827 - 1919*. M. H. M. Wood, *A Father in God*, p82, also records that West Jones "drove on to Swellendam, where on Thursday March 11, he consecrated the Mission Church of St Luke..."

¹² *Cape Argus*, 18 March 1875.

¹³ *The Mission Field*, December 1869, p358.

churches on a number of occasions but Gray's intimate knowledge of the funding for the building, revealed in his 1869 Journal of 30 May, shows that this 'mission' project was particularly close to his heart, a project in which his wife was possibly also involved. Beddy's listing of Gray churches states simply of St Luke's: "1867 - Bldg S[ophy] G[ray]-designed." The source of this is given as the Diocesan Records of Mrs Gray although the exact reference within these records could not be established.¹⁴ Assuming 1865 or 1867 was the year when the foundations were laid, it is possible that during the Grays' talk with the Swellendam churchwardens in 1865, a plan for the St Luke's Church was given out or promised. Other historians do not list St Luke's as Mrs Gray's work.¹⁵

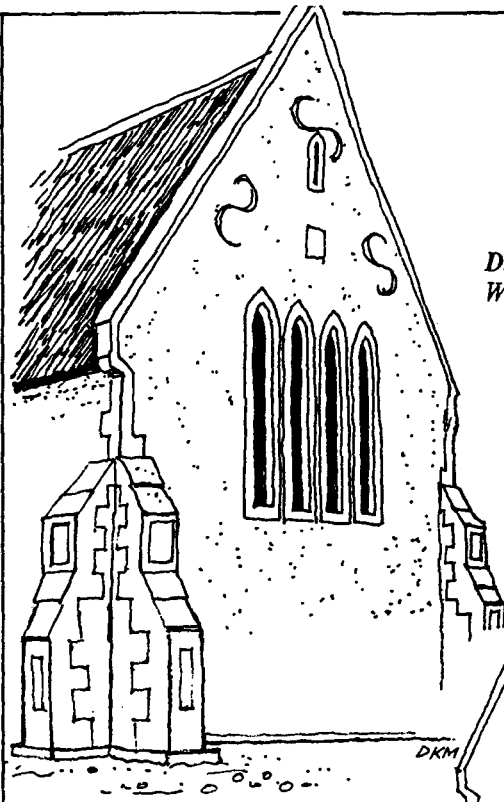
ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

It is the building itself that contributes towards the opinion that St Luke's was one of Sophia's designs as it exhibits most of the features found in Early English churches for which she had authorship. The church comprises a five-bay nave, measuring 18,3 x 7,6 metres and a small vestry under a hipped roof on the south-east corner, one bay from the east wall. There are angle buttresses at the west end and single buttresses at the east corner and buttresses against the nave wall between the windows. In addition to the lancet triplet on the east wall, the west wall carries a rare quadruplet lancet (Refer Drawing 72). A single quatrefoil is set above the centre lancet on the east wall (Refer Drawing 73). The pattern of single plain lancets between the buttresses was varied with a triplet lancet in the second bay on the north side. The fourth bay contains a doorway within deep plaster responds, all in the form of a pointed Gothic arch.

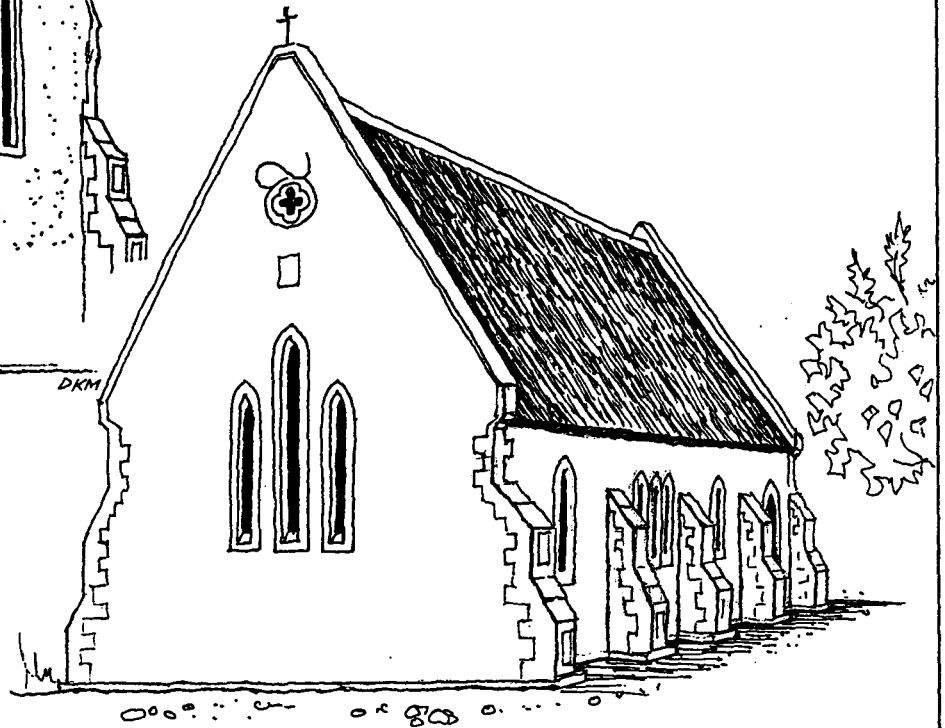
The eastern gable is slightly truncated; the horizontal surface thus formed supporting a cross. The thatched roof (a pitch of 57 degrees) is supported by six scissors trusses with collar and tie beams. The ceiling is closed above the tie beam. The building material for the walls was brick with a plaster finish. Buttresses, decorated with plaster rustication, are currently painted in white and deep cream. Possibly on account of lack of space, no chancel was ever built.

¹⁴ A.J.R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...*

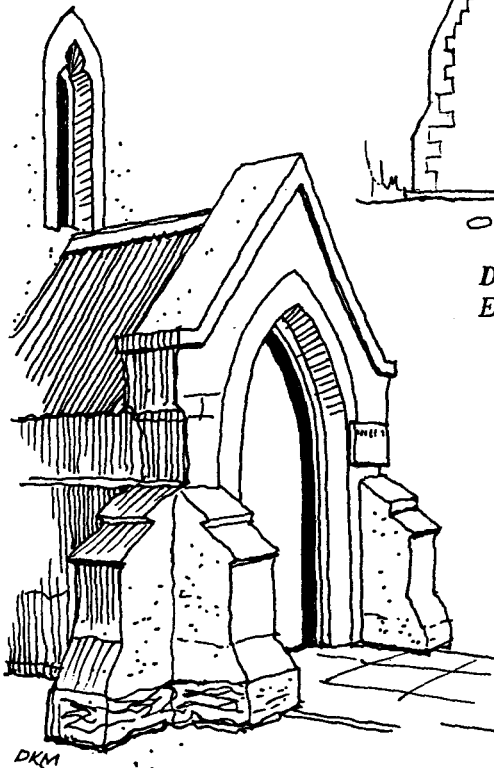
¹⁵ Langham-Carter does not include St Luke's Church on any of his lists neither is there any mention of the church in Gutsche's biography of Mrs Gray, *The Bishop's Lady*.



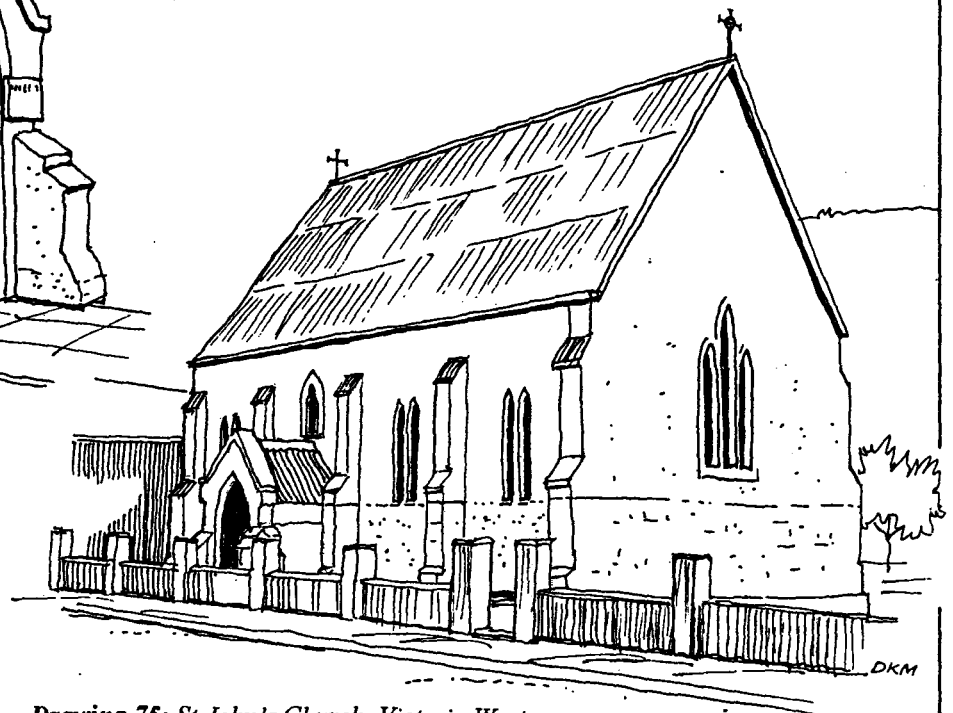
*Drawing 72: St Luke's Mission Church, Swellendam.
West end with quadruplet lancet.*



*Drawing 73: St Luke's Mission Church, Swellendam.
East end with triplet lancet.*



*Drawing 74:
St John's Church,
Victoria West
Porch.*



Drawing 75: St John's Church, Victoria West.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

The Anglican minister of Beaufort, Rev W Bramley, began services at Victoria West¹ in 1862, these being held in the Magistrate's Court.² In October of 1863, Bishop Gray and his wife made their first visit to the village. The Bishop's own words of the trip were, "In great heat after great cold and rain last week...I have been to Victoria, 100 miles further north than I have been before."³ It is not recorded what contact Gray made with local church people but two years later, the Grays returned to Victoria en route to Cape Town during the 1865 visitation. At 4am on 4 October they left Beaufort West for Victoria, reaching a Mr Jackson's house by nightfall. The next day they arrived at the village of which Gray wrote, "We have neither clergyman nor school in Victoria."⁴ During the weekend in the village the Bishop conducted services in the Courthouse and the local church community took the opportunity to express their need of a minister. Gray must have acted quickly after his return on 8 November 1865 to Cape Town for "...in 1866, the Rev Thomas Randall Walters, who was obliged to leave Cape Town and Tulbagh by ill-health, was appointed the first resident clergyman [at Victoria West]."⁵ Walters died within three years in August 1868 and in 1869 the Rev Robert Brien took up the post in Victoria.

Leaving Cape Town on 9 March 1869, the Grays undertook another three-month visitation, reaching Victoria on 10 April. Gray recorded on Sunday 11 April that "...the work does not seem so flourishing as when I was last here. We had a very valuable clergyman in this village, who however died after but a short time here... We need a priest."⁶ Gray told of his efforts to contact parishioners, recording that on Monday afternoon 12 April 1869, he held a meeting at which it was considered "that between the offertory and subscriptions the village would provide £100 a year towards the support of a priest." Adjoining villages were intending to provide another £25 to which total Gray undertook to add £50 and £20 for the Mission school. Gray recorded, "The meeting also resolved to attempt at once the erection of a church; looked at sites afterwards."

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

According to parish records, the foundation stone of the church was laid on 27 December 1869⁷ by John Adams, Member of Parliament for Victoria West between 1869 and 1880, using the

¹ In 1843, when the DRC started a new congregation on the farm "Kapokfontein", they requested that the newly created village be named after the reigning queen, Victoria. The word "West" was added in 1855 to distinguish the village from the district of Victoria near Queenstown and in 1859 a municipality was established.

² *Cape Church Monthly*, March 1893, p10. The date given for the first services, '1860', was amended in the April 1893 issue of the Monthly to '1862'.

³ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p82. The reference begins, "In September *that year*..." with the last date mentioned being 1860. The events to which reference is made occurred in 1863, not 1860. The eleven-week trip was made between 20 August and 3 November 1863.

⁴ Gray's *Journal*, 1865, p40.

⁵ *Cape Church Monthly*, March 1893, p10.

⁶ *The Mission Field*, November 1869, p320.

⁷ 27 Dec. 1869, is also given by Dr J. A. Pringle in his document, "*Brief outline of the life and work of John Adams*".

silver trowel now in the Victoria West Museum. The church, built over a period of five years, cost about £1000.⁸ The extended building period is attributed to lack of funds at the time.⁹

The plight of the church is confirmed in a letter that Rev Brien sent to the *Cape Argus* just over a year into the building project.¹⁰ The minister's letter dated 28 March 1871 is headed "An appeal to English Churchmen." He wrote: "Will you kindly allow me a short space in your paper to appeal to the sympathies of English Churchmen in particular and the public generally, on behalf of a small, and by no means wealthy congregation, who have been for some time making strenuous exertions to build themselves a place of worship?" Brien continued, "It is... well known now that the real sufferers by the late inundation have been cared for, and that our fellow colonists have not had such calls upon their liberality as they were really ready to meet." Brien asked for £200, the amount needed "...to complete the building which is beam high and exposed to all sorts of weather..." He suggested that if the Churchmen in the Colony would contribute "...say, a shilling, our difficulties would be removed..." and asked that the clergy "...kindly take this matter in hand..." The letter ended, "Robert Brien, Curate in Charge, Victoria West, 28 March 1871." The mention in Brien's letter of 'the late inundation' refers to 'The Great Flood' of 27 February 1871. A cloudburst six miles above the village developed into a flash flood of frightening proportions that claimed the lives of 62 people and destroyed buildings and whole rows of cottages.¹¹ It must be assumed that progress with the church since 1869 had been minimal as at the time of the flood it stood 'beam high'. No damage to the unfinished church was recorded.

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

Mrs Sophia Gray supplied a plan as confirmed by the Bishop in the tribute he paid to his wife in Victoria West at Easter, 1872. Between 14 March and May 1872, Bishop Gray undertook his last visitation before his death in September of that year. The journey to the eastern and northern districts of the Diocese started in Paarl and continued into the Karoo via Fraserburg where Gray opened the school chapel and then on to Victoria, which Gray reached on 28 March. The following day, Gray recorded, "On Good Friday I preached in the morning and confirmed sixteen candidates in the evening in the court-room: the church, which is a neat early English building, *for which my dearest wife gave the plans* (author's italics), not being roofed in. Nearly all the skilled labourers have gone to the Diamond Fields, and they are obliged to send to Beaufort for workmen. Funds are in hand for everything but internal fittings."¹² An article on the history of the church, published in 1893, recorded that "...the members of the English Church worshipped for a time in the Court Room... At length, the difficulty about a site being overcome, *a church from the designs of Mr Butterfield was erected in*

⁸ E. Immelman, 'Die St John-Anglikaanse Kerk, Victoria-Wes', *Contree*, Vol. 1, 1977, p29.

⁹ *Ibid.* "Weens die gebrek aan fondse het dit vier jaar geneem om te voltooi en met die *inwyding* op 3 Januarie 1874 was daar nog £60 skuld". "Inwyding" can mean dedicate, consecrate, or 'take into use.' On the assumption he meant 'take into use', the building period was five years, i.e. from 1870 to 1874. The consecration date was 13 May 1875.

¹⁰ 6 April 1871, p3.

¹¹ E. Rosenthal, *One Hundred Years of Victoria West 1859-1959*, pp27-31. One of the two stained glass windows in the nave is dedicated to E. E. Loxton, "who was drowned in the inundation of 27th February 1871."

¹² *The Mission Field*, September 1872, p263.

the year 1873 (author's italics)"¹³ In compiling his *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools*, Beddy probably used this source as he states that Sophia Gray supplied a 'Butterfield' plan.¹⁴ Whether Sophia originated designs herself or whether she amended a Butterfield plan from the Grays' architectural drawings portfolio is largely irrelevant as her authorship of the design is confirmed by both the quoted records and architectural features of the church.

Other researchers credit Mrs Gray with the design: Fransen & Cook state, "The church dates from 1869-74 after a design by Sophia Gray."¹⁵ Langham-Carter, in listing the church as a Sophia Gray design, also records the period of construction to have been between 1869 and 1874.¹⁶ The consecration of the church was conducted by Archbishop West Jones on 13 May 1875.¹⁷

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The church was described by the *Cape Church Monthly and Parish Record* as having "a dignified appearance when seen inside, but has two (sic) stunted an effect when viewed from the outside. It is built of stone and brick, with a structural porch, the floor is of beaten clay covered with matting, and the funds do not admit of a wooden one being laid, the roof is a very substantial one covered with thatch."¹⁸

This is a simple rectangular building (approximately 15 x 7 metres) comprising four bays with a small porch (1,9 x 1,8 metres) on the south side (refer plan in Figure J2). The church is oriented to the east. The east end has three lancets, the centre window higher than the flanking windows; the west wall has two elongated lancet couplets spaced well apart. Each bay of the nave has a lancet couplet with trefoil heads, approx. 2,3 metres high (Refer Drawing 75). The door in the porch is set in a pointed archway. Two-step buttresses on a plinth are built between the side windows and at the east end. The west end has angle buttresses and the porch has angle buttresses at each corner (Refer Drawing 74). Five arch-braced roof trusses on timber corbels support the splayed ceiling of timber ceiling boards (Refer Figure N, Truss 2). The roof of 50 degrees is of corrugated iron¹⁹ with two wrought iron crosses at the apex of each end wall. The church is built of stone up to the dado with the walls above of plastered brick. The east end windows are fitted with stained glass. Architecturally this building exhibits all the basic features of an Early English parish church that Mrs Gray regarded as essential, the exception being the chancel that is still to be added.

¹³ *Cape Church Monthly and Parish Record*, March 1893, p10.

¹⁴ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches Chapels and Schools...*

¹⁵ H. Fransen & M. A. Cook, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, 1980, p429.

¹⁶ *List*, 16 October 1974.

¹⁷ *List of Consecration of Churches, 1827-1919*. A. J. R. Beddy, quoting from M. H. M. Wood, *A Father in God*, p87, confirms the consecration date as 13 May 1875.

¹⁸ *Cape Church Monthly and Parish Record*, March 1893, pp10, 11.

¹⁹ Corrugated iron must have replaced the thatch later in the life of the church.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

During Bishop Gray's visitation to the eastern parts of his diocese in 1855, the party travelled back via Swellendam, turning inland to visit Worcester en route to Cape Town. They left Swellendam on 15 November 1855. Gray wrote, "The day was oppressively warm; and the horses... seemed to feel it greatly. We had appointed a Service at the new village of Montagu, distant about forty miles, at three o'clock but were not able to reach it till five."¹ Gray proceeded immediately with the service, noting that of the 40 attending, about ten were English. His entry for 15 November reads, "After Service I had some conversation with them... They consist for the most part of young men who are living as tutors in Dutch farmers' houses..." He makes no mention of attempting to found a church, possibly because he recognized that the nucleus of a church could not be built on young itinerant teachers. The following day the Grays journeyed via Robertson to Worcester.

Montagu had been founded in 1851 "...as one of many speculative villages and towns to be developed at around that time, following a precedent set by examples such as Wellington."² Montagu's founder was D S van der Merwe, from Wellington. The farm Uitvlugt had been purchased by him and then subdivided for the village that was settled by some of his relatives and others from Wellington.³ It is understandable that Bishop Gray encountered so few English on his first visit as the village was scarcely four years old. No references to English church activities in Montagu in the years between 1855 and 1859 could be found. In 1859 the Rev W J R Morris had arrived in Cape Town to begin his service at Robertson.

Documentary evidence of the deliberations of 1869 to build a chapel exists in the form of a minute book at the church (to be discussed overleaf). A secondary source, however, states that in 1859, Sophia "...gave plans for a church at Robertson and a chapel at Montagu" to Rev Morris, which Morris later stated, "were both built accordingly and without alteration."⁴ Usually prior to the start of church building operations, Sophia would record in her *Chronicles of the Diocese*, the details of the sale of the piece of ground and its transfer to the See of Cape Town. There are, however, no references to a sale of land for the Montagu chapel.

During their late 1865 visitation to the eastern parts of the diocese, the Grays spent a few days in Swellendam. They set off on 31 October "by a new road" to Montagu. Gray stated that he went immediately on arrival in Montagu to visit a sick parishioner "...with Mr Mortimer, the catechist, who has charge of this village and of Robertson..."⁵ In the evening Gray held a service in the Court House. He commented that there had been "some agitation" about the mission work and that the Wesleyan Society had taken over the work some years previously, "...when I shrunk from

¹ Gray's Journal, 1855, p119.

² D. & V. Japha & F. Todeschini, *Conservation Survey of Montagu*, p11.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, p174. As stated in the history of Robertson's church (C33), this secondary source is the only reference to plans being given to Rev Morris for the church at Robertson and the chapel at Montagu.

⁵ Gray's Journal, 1865, p57.

doing so, on account of the difficulties in which I was placed with regard to funds. Two St Augustine's men were actually engaged with a view to Robertson and Montagu, and I was obliged to counter-order them.⁶ Then the Wesleyans took up the work." The Wesleyans in turn withdrew, selling their buildings to the Dutch. Some of the congregation were most unhappy with the arrangement and asked members of the English church whether the Bishop could "take them up". Gray considered that the Anglican Church was quite competent "...without offence to anyone, to take up a work abandoned by the Wesleyans..."⁷ Gray admits that "It is exceedingly difficult to know what to do for these villages... Some of the inhabitants of Montagu came to see me before I left and expressed a hope that I would place a catechist amongst them, who should keep school, hold service in English for them, and in Dutch for the coloured people..."⁸ The Bishop responded as best he could but reminded them that the Church had scarcely sufficient income to maintain one man for two villages (which were 18 miles apart). Difficulties of language and "...the scantiness of the population in each place" were further complicating factors.

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

During the Gray's 1869 tour of the eastern parts of the diocese, they reached Montagu on 1 June. Gray wrote, "At Montagu there is neither church nor school. We rent a wretched building which serves for both purposes." He added, "The usual services are held by the schoolmaster, but the place is periodically visited by the curate of Robertson... and the rector of Swellendam..."⁹ Early on 2 June 1869, Gray held a service and later a meeting with leading members of the congregation. He wrote, "Resolved at once to commence the erection of a school-chapel. Our work is very weak here, but there is a great disposition on the part of the coloured people to join our Mission."¹⁰ This comment by the Bishop is the only direct reference in his journals to the building of the church. The first minute book, however, records in detail the positive decisions taken at the meeting of 2 June at which "the Lord Bishop of Cape Town" was in the chair.¹¹

"It was resolved,

1st That the erection of a building suitable for a school and place of worship was more desirable than purchasing or continuing to hire;¹²

2nd Messrs. Beatty, Harris, Sagar, Mollett and Joseph Moses were chosen as a Committee first to consider the best means of erecting such building and then to carry it out *on the plan already provided* (author's italics);¹³

⁶ Rev Morris left Robertson/Montagu in 1864 (SPG Records, p892). It is likely that the Bishop had no priest in these villages and thus had appointed two 'St Augustine's men'.

⁷ Ibid, p58.

⁸ Gray's Journal, 1865, p59.

⁹ *The Mission Field*, December 1869, p359.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ The minutes of the earliest Church Meetings and Building Committee meetings are contained in a small book in the vestry at the church in Montagu.

¹² The first minutes are of a Vestry Meeting on 22 April 1869 at which the Chairman and seven members considered hiring another building as a chapel. A building owned by Mr I. D. Grissel was on offer but not taken.

¹³ The minutes do not reveal who provided the plan but it is highly likely that the Bishop provided it or that 'the plan already provided' refers to the plan supposedly given in 1859.

3rd The Bishop promised £100 towards the erection of the building payable as follows: one third when the walls are raised as high as the window sills, one third when the building is ready for the roof and the remaining third when the roof is on and covered with thatch.¹⁴

4th The Committee to raise subscriptions towards the remaining amount and to see what the coloured members of the congregation will give in the way of free labour or otherwise.

5th The Bishop having mentioned that 2 possible sites had already been transferred to the see of Cape Town, it was left to the Committee to determine as to the suitability of such sites or whether another should be purchased, the Bishop promising £10 towards such purchase.”¹⁵

Six days after the successful get-together of 2 June 1869, the Building Committee held its first meeting at which Rev R Martin was elected Secretary.¹⁶ The Committee continued to meet regularly during the following two years, calling for and awarding tenders and monitoring the chapel's progress.

The above minutes show that a very positive community spirit prevailed in the project with opportunities for all the members to contribute ‘in the way of free labour or otherwise’. At a meeting on 21 February 1870, it was agreed to accept the piece of ground that had been offered by the firm of Barry and Nephew¹⁷ “for the purpose of building a School Chapel.” The minute goes on to list eleven names of members who “promise to give a man each to work for one day for the purpose of digging the foundation of the church.” This indicates that building operations only commenced some time after February 1870.¹⁸ Painting of the chapel was being considered in March 1871 and the last meeting of the Building Committee was held on 30 June 1871. Thus it can be safely assumed the building was ready for use between April and June of 1871.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The school chapel comprised a nave of three bays, measuring 12,6 x 5,5 metres, with a vestry/porch on the south-west corner. There are single angle buttresses at the four corners of the nave and vestry/porch. Windows are flat headed, as is the case with all of the Grays' school chapels, there being two on either long side wall. The east gabled wall carries a large single lancet with a small lancet above it in the apex (Refer Drawings 76 and 77). Before the addition of a porch, the west wall had an oculus above the entrance. The thatched roof has a pitch of 55 degrees and is supported on 13 trusses consisting of ‘A’ frames with every fourth truss braced with a strut, similar to Fig.1 in Figure M. The building is of plastered brick throughout. These stylistic features, supported by the evidence of the Grays' involvement in the building project, confirm Sophia Gray's authorship of the chapel.

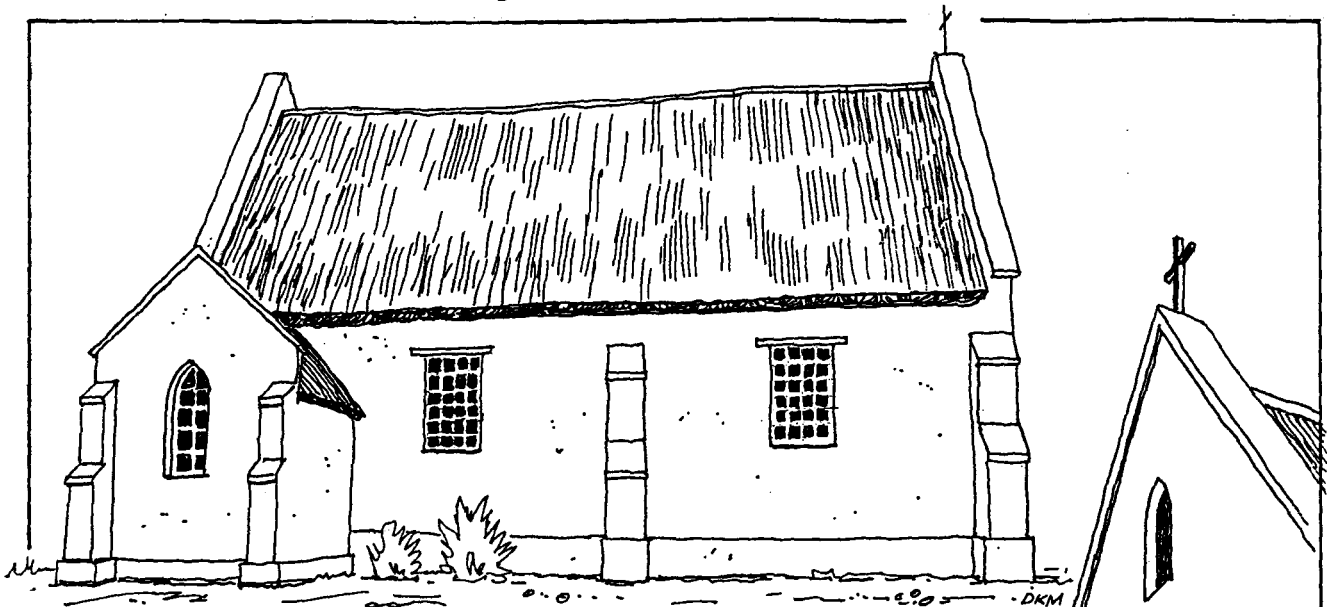
¹⁴ The church has had a thatch roof for the last 130 years.

¹⁵ Another three resolutions were passed relating to general matters such as the date for the next meeting.

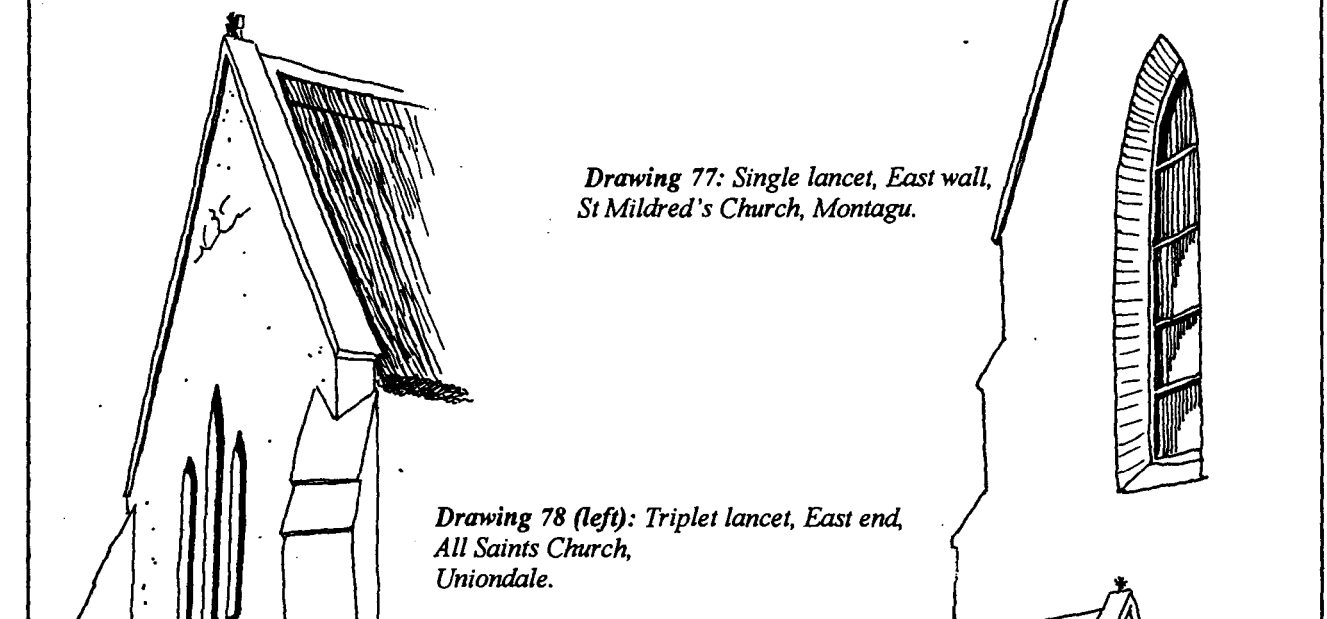
¹⁶ Minutes of Building Committee, 8 June 1869.

¹⁷ Joseph Barry had founded and built the Barry Church at Port Beaufort in 1849.

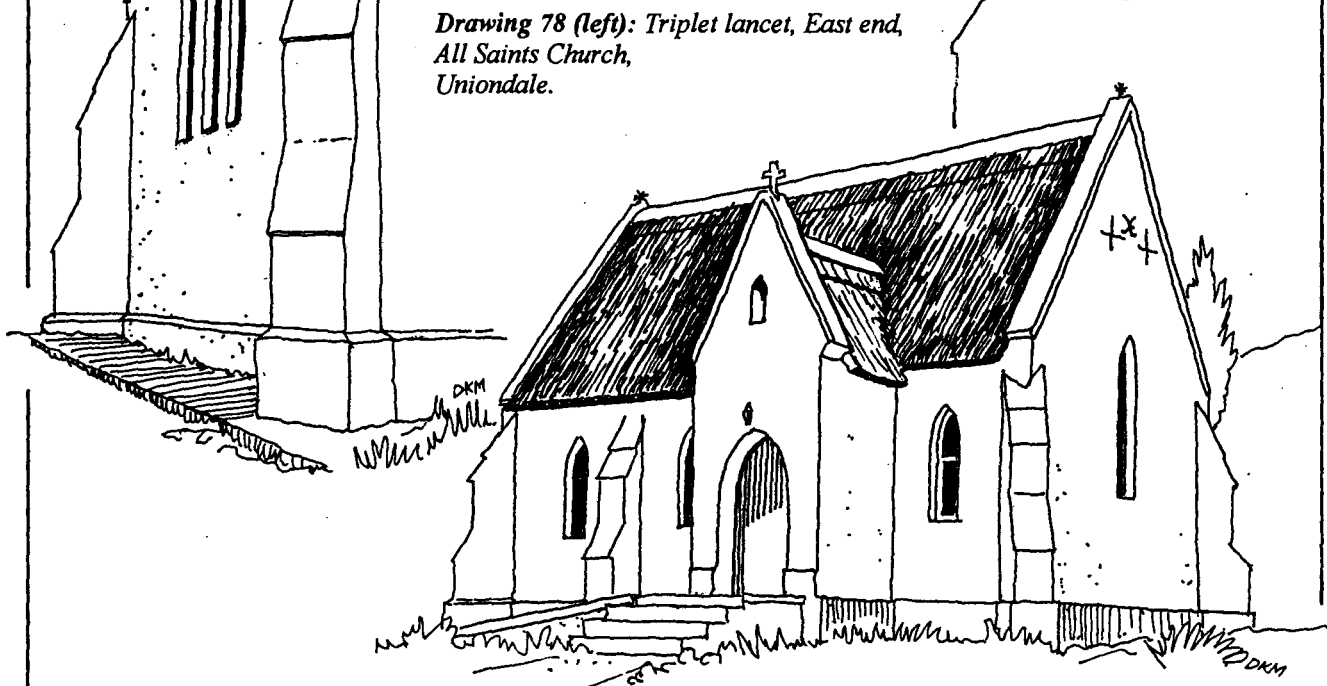
¹⁸ Langham-Carter in his 1974 List records two years, ‘1860 or 1869’, as possible dates for the laying of the foundation stone. In view of what the Bishop recorded in his journal of the 1869 visitation as well as the above quoted minutes, the first date is incorrect. The second date is also not accurate as the chapel began in 1870.



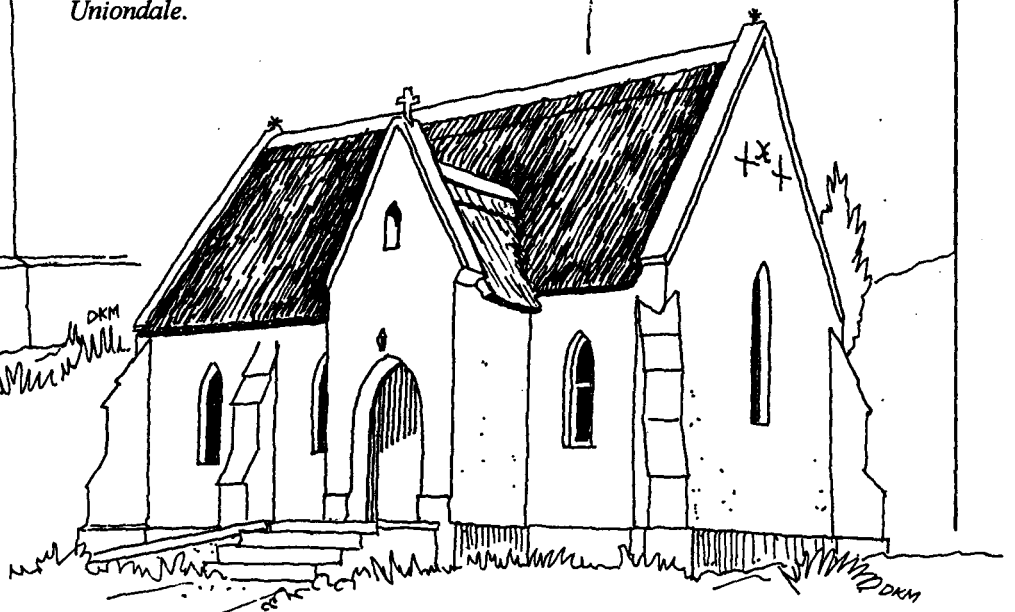
Drawing 76: St Mildred's Church, Montagu, with vestry (left).



Drawing 77: Single lancet, East wall, St Mildred's Church, Montagu.



Drawing 78 (left): Triplet lancet, East end, All Saints Church, Uniondale.



Drawing 79: All Saints Church, Uniondale.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Bishop Gray first became aware of the people in the remote regions above the mountains of George when, on his first visitation of 1848, he met Mr Percy Richardson, an English farmer who had settled in the area above the newly opened Montagu Pass (Refer St John, Schoonberg – C16). In 1857 Gray sent Edward Glover, a young missionary "who came out to the Cape in 1854 in response to Bishop Gray's appeal for workers..." to Schoonberg... a district seventy miles long.¹ He had learnt Dutch "so that he could talk to the Malays and Eurafrican." Glover's district included the farm Rietvallei, portion of which was cut up into erven, which in turn became the rival little dorps called Lyon and Hopedale.² Rev Herman Hirsch took over from Glover at Schoonberg in August 1859 and concentrated his energies on the little village of Oudtshoorn.

In July 1860, Hirsch was succeeded by Rev Arthur Morris in whose ministry, on 3 April 1862, a portion of ground at Lyon was transferred to the See of Cape Town for ecclesiastical purposes.³ It is unknown what part Morris played in motivating Gray to purchase of the land. Meanwhile, owing to some controversy that had sprung up among the members of the Dutch Church, the two hamlets in 1865 decided to join together, "thus Lyon and Hopedale were amalgamated and renamed Uniondale."⁴ In the same year, the Grays were undertaking yet another of their visitations to the eastern portion of the Diocese of Cape Town. After travelling as far as Plettenberg Bay, the Grays turned back to Knysna and headed for Avontuur in the Langkloof on 22 September 1865. Robert wrote on reaching Lyon, "...a new and small village, with about 300 souls... we are doing nothing here."⁵ There is a journal reference on the following day to a roof being put onto a chapel. (This is presumed to have been a very temporary accommodation for services as nothing further is mentioned of this structure by any church historian). Two days later on 25 September 1865, the Grays journeyed to Willowmore.

It was nearly four years later, in 1869, before the Grays could visit Uniondale again. In February 1869, a disastrous bush fire started near Mossel Bay and had swept for scores of miles along the coast, devastating the districts of George and Knysna and Plettenberg Bay. Between 9 March and 12 June 1869, the Grays travelled in exceptionally dry, dusty conditions via Riversdale and the Karoo to Fraserburg and Victoria West and then via Oudtshoorn and George to reach Uniondale on 5 May 1869. The Bishop wrote, "We reached the village just as it was getting dark, taking up our quarters at a quiet little inn, where we were once before. We are doing nothing in this village, which is nominally in the parish of George... The *London Society* has long had a station here. On arriving I received a kind message from the Missionary offering hospitality, and the use of his chapel for service tomorrow, which latter offer I accepted."⁶

¹ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, pp737, 739. Glover had his headquarters on the farm "Ezeljachtsfontein", which belonged to Bishop Gray.

² W. Tapson, *A History of the Diocese of George*, p33.

³ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p247.

⁴ W. Tapson, *History of the Diocese of George*, p33.

⁵ Gray's Journal, 1865, p30.

⁶ *The Mission Field*, December 1869, p353.

THE CHURCH'S ARCHITECT

A service was held with the parishioners on the following day, 6 May 1869 (Ascension Day). Gray stated that he was able to meet confirmation candidates at "half-past nine, and to have service at half-past ten... the confirmation was in the afternoon."⁷ According to a secondary source, Beddy's *List of Churches, Chapels and Schools*, in 1869, a "Meeting with G[ray] chooses SG plan for bldg."⁸ In a letter written from Plettenberg Bay (no date given), the Bishop recalls the events of that eventful Ascension Day: "Communion, Confirmation, two services, an evening service, looking up people."⁹ Gray added in his journal, "I purchased for £7 11s. an erf at Lyons before I left, as the site of a future church."¹⁰ These three snippets of history from related but dissimilar sources do not contradict one another. As Gray bought a plot for a church, it is quite possible that a plan by Mrs Gray, as claimed by Beddy, was discussed and chosen.¹¹

The following year between 14 March and late May 1872, Gray undertook his last journey to his diocese. He wrote on 15 April, after a brief stop at Schoonberg, "We left again early for Lyons, distant nearly fifty miles... Mr and Mrs Dorrell, who have begun the work in this village amidst some opposition, insisted upon taking us in. They are supported partly by a school... A room fitted up in their house very reverentially serves for school and chapel... An attempt will be made to erect a *small school chapel*."¹² The Bishop died on 1 September 1872 thus neither he nor his wife lived to hear of the start of building operations of the church they planted. Bishop West Jones, successor to Gray, visited the area in 1876. A newspaper reported, "Our beloved Bishop arrived here on Saturday afternoon, the 7th instant, accompanied by his chaplain, and the Rev A A Dorrell¹³ and Mrs Dorrell, who went out to meet him." West Jones consecrated the little church on Sunday 8 October 1876.¹⁴

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The church comprises a three-bay nave measuring 11,3 x 5,2 metres, with a small porch on the north side and a vestry at the south-east corner, (the latter added in 1976). In addition to the diagonal buttresses at the corners, there are single buttresses against the nave walls. The east window has a triplet lancet and the west wall, a single lancet. Apart from a lancet couplet on the north wall of the nave, all other windows are plain lancets (Refer to Drawings 78 and 79). The thatched roof of 56 degrees is supported by 12 scissors trusses, identical in design to the ancient truss (Fig 12) shown on Figure M. The church is built of brick and is plastered throughout.

⁷ *The Mission Field*, December 1869, p353.

⁸ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools*... Beddy's source was the Parish Records but their whereabouts are unknown.

⁹ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p734.

¹⁰ *The Mission Field*, December 1869, p353.

¹¹ Despite the absence of plans or direct reference to her involvement, the design of All Saints, Uniondale is attributed to Mrs Gray by Langham-Carter (1977) and Radford (1979).

¹² *The Mission Field*, September 1872, p265.

¹³ C.F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p892. Dorrell was Rector of Uniondale from 1873 to 1878.

¹⁴ *The Mossel Bay Advertiser*, 18 October 1876. The consecration date of 8 October is also recorded in the *List of Consecration of Churches, 1827-1919*.

Radford regards Uniondale as typical of Sophia's "simple rectangular plan", used by her for churches "where it was thought that extension was unlikely."¹⁵ The distinguishing features of a Sophia Gray church are also readily recognised: the high-pitched roof, diagonal buttresses at the four corners and lancet windows and the triplet lancet in the east wall. The porch has an unusually high elevation on account of the small scale of the church, the entrance having to fit in between two windows. Although documentary evidence is suspect, together with the above stylistic features, Sophia Gray's authorship of the design is considered likely.

¹⁵ D. Radford, *Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901*, p186.

PHASE 6: Churches (5) built shortly after the deaths of Mrs Gray (1871) and Bishop Gray (1872).

At least three churches, which had been initiated by Bishop Gray long before he died, were built in the decade after his death. In two of these, plans drawn by Mrs Gray were used, i.e., Willowmore (C49) and Plettenberg Bay (C50). The third church, Mossel Bay (C48*), was the successor to the school chapel that had been erected in 1855. Using plans by John Welchman, it was begun in 1877 and consecrated on 15 October 1879. The fourth and fifth churches in this phase were Oakhurst Chapel (C54) at Hoekwil, near George, possibly a Sophia Gray design, and the conversion of parts of Fort Peddie into a church (C55).

Churches in Phase 6 are:

C48*. St Peter's Church **Mossel Bay**;

C49. St Matthew's **Willowmore**;

C50. St Peter's **Plettenberg Bay**;

C54. Oakhurst Chapel **Hoekwil**;

C55. St Simon and St Jude **Peddie**.

(Histories of churches C51, C52, C53, C54, C55, C56, C57 and C58, appear in a section entitled "Other Churches Associated with the Grays", following C50).

* The data in Tables I to V refers mainly to St Peter's *School Chapel*, Mossel Bay, of 1854-55, which carries the number C48. Where the number is followed by an asterisk, C48*, the data applies to St Peter's *Church* of 1877-79.

HOW THE SCHOOL CHAPEL WAS BUILT

It is acknowledged that though "the records of the early days are sparse, ...it would seem that there was an Anglican community in Mossel Bay before 1850, because the Government then granted land for the purpose of building a church, which was opposite the site of the Rectory."¹ This supposition is confirmed in the Bishop's journal. He recorded that when he was in Mossel Bay during his first visitation on 7 September 1848, a promise of £100 per year was received from a Mr Elliot towards the church. Gray encouraged the formation of a committee "to raise the means for a Church and Pastor."² The *Chronicles* state, "On the 1st February 1850, a piece of ground at Aliwal, Mossel Bay... was granted by the Governor to the Bishop of Cape Town and his Successors for a site for a church and school."³ It is apparent that, once again, the Bishop was the moving force in the establishment of an Anglican Church group and "set parochial activities in motion although the usual scarcity of cash precluded any structural developments."⁴

The first Rector of Mossel Bay parish was Rev Thomas Sheard who arrived in 1854. An English church school was started in the same year in Mitchell Street where the Parish Hall now stands⁵ and, according to parish records, a temporary chapel was opened on 3 July 1855.⁶ On 7 September 1855 (exactly seven years after his 1848 visit), Bishop Gray recorded in his journal that he was heading for Mossel Bay "where a School-chapel [is] ...in the course of erection."⁷ After a harrowing experience the same day during which the wagon and horses were nearly lost crossing the Gouritz River, the Grays arrived in Mossel Bay on 8 September 1855 where they lodged with Rev and Mrs Sheard. After breakfast, the Grays went to look at the school chapel and house. Gray noted that "... the former is an exceedingly neat building, with open roof and with a portion railed and curtained off for a Chancel. It is very neatly and reverentially fitted up. The building will serve for a few years the double purpose of School and Chapel."⁸ The entry continues, "When the congregation is large enough, and rich enough, we shall, I trust, have a good stone church similar to those rising up on every side. We have an excellent site for a Church already secured; it commands a fine view of the Bay." After holding services on the Sunday, the Bishop met with the Building Committee on Monday 10 September 1855. On 22 January 1856 the Parish at Mossel Bay was constituted.⁹ As mentioned, the school chapel had been completed

¹ E. Merchant, *St Peter's Centenary Brochure*, p3.

² Gray's Journal, 1848, p12. On a lighter note, Gray mentions that after the meeting he had "a sumptuous tiffin with English..."

³ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p49.

⁴ W. Tapson, *A History of the Diocese of George*, p21.

⁵ E. Merchant, *St Peter's Centenary Brochure*, p3.

⁶ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...*

⁷ Gray's Journal, 1855, p29.

⁸ *Ibid*, p32.

⁹ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...*

in the latter half of 1855, thus the first recorded Vestry Meeting could be held in the building (in March 1856). Mrs Gray's involvement with the design of the chapel is not certain but as she was responsible for chapels at Willowmore, Newlands, Fraserburg and Montagu (the chapels in District Six, D'Urban and Constantia are also probably her designs); it is considered that she had a hand in the Mossel Bay building. The Bishop, however, when they visited in September 1855, made no reference to his wife's connection and wrote in his journal as if it was the first time they had had anything to do with the building. In his report to the SPG of 31 March 1862, Rev Sheard stated that the English Congregation's service "...is held in a Chapel School erected in 1855 but which has during the present quarter been lengthened by 20 feet to afford accommodation... The building is now 50 x 20 feet."¹⁰

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE CHAPEL

The chapel has been altered through the years, the last renovation taking place in 1951. The chapel is approximately 13,2 x 6 metres and is one of only two chapels in the survey without buttresses.¹¹ In keeping with other school chapels, however, there are four flat-headed windows in the long north wall and a large casement window in the east wall. The chapel was built against the end wall of the rectory thus has no windows on the south wall. A solitary ornamental cast-iron vent cover in the wall has a four-leaf design. The four-panelled ceiling of ploughed-and-grooved timber covers the earlier open roof (51 degrees). The walls are of plastered brick.

THE SUBSEQUENT BUILDING OF A STONE CHURCH (C48*)

Moves to start the stone church that the Bishop had in mind are recorded in the Minutes of the Easter Vestry Meeting of 1861. It was agreed to raise funds for laying the foundations of a church and in September 1861 the parishioners met to consider two plans that were submitted to Bishop Gray.¹² As the congregation was small, funds for the ambitious undertaking were insufficient and the idea of building was deferred for thirteen years until 1874. The Case Study in Section 2.5 carries a detailed account of how the Bishop handled this issue that was regularly debated by the Building Committee. Neither the Bishop nor Rev Sheard saw the eventual outcome of the building project as Sheard died on 19 November 1871 and the Bishop on 1 September 1872. On 3 May 1875, Mr J F Hudson's offer of a site for the church was accepted and a committee was formed to raise funds, obtain plans and estimates for the building.¹³ The design of the church is attributed to John Todd Welchman, an architect and civil engineer who arrived in Cape Town in 1859. Some time after 1868, he went to Grahamstown where he had an architectural practice until 1882, when he returned to England on account of poor health. Welchman designed Dale College and St Aidan's in Grahamstown and St Peter's Church, Mossel Bay.¹⁴ The nave of the present St Peter's Church "was completed and dedicated in 1879 and church services... ceased to be held in the English Church School which had been opened in 1854 [should read 1855]."¹⁵

¹⁰ USPG Archives, S A Library, (Cape Town, Vol.E. Pre/J E).

¹¹ The school chapel in District Six (St Mark's) had no buttresses.

¹² E. Merchant, *St Peter's Centenary Brochure*, p3. The source of the author's statement is not given.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ D. Radford, *Architecture of the Western Cape*, (unpublished thesis) 1979.

¹⁵ W. Tapson, *A History of the Diocese of George*, p21. The *List of Consecrations* confirms the consecration date by Bishop West Jones as 15 October 1879.

HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

In Bishop Gray's journal of 1865 he wrote, "On Monday [25 September 1865] we had a long day's journey over very bad roads to the new and rising village of Willowmoor (sic), situated on the edge of the Karroo. It presented, as we approached a most dreary appearance, lying on a small plain of Karroo soil, surrounded by low, barren mountains, and without a tree to be seen anywhere."¹ The account continued, "Mr Lehmkuhl, the founder of the village, was good enough to take us in. The present inhabitants are nearly all English. The land in the surrounding country belongs almost entirely to Dutch farmers. Some of them are reported to own immense tracts of land - one 70,000 morgen, or 140,000 acres, and to be very rich." Mr Lehmkuhl was instrumental in erecting a church for the Dutch and he "made a present of it to that community. He has also given certain erven both to them, and to the English Church." Gray recorded that at the evening meeting "...it was unanimously resolved to erect a School Chapel, *for which my wife had drawn a plan* (author's italics), and to obtain either a deacon-schoolmaster or catechist. I promised help both towards the erection of the building and the support of a teacher."² One man, a Mr Theron, promised 10 000 bricks for the building of the school chapel.

In the Gray's visitation during March/June 1869, they came close to seeing Willowmore again when they travelled from George to Schoonberg on 4 May. They reached Lyons (Uniondale) on 5 May and the following day celebrated Ascension Day also in the village. Gray wrote: "Fifty miles to the north of this [Lyons] is the village of Willow Moor, which I visited on my last tour, and to which I sent a valuable clergyman, who, however, was starved out. That village at present is in a state of decay, but there is a large coloured congregation in the neighbourhood utterly untaught and uncared for. The only thing that can at present be done for these two villages, with our scanty means, is to visit them once a quarter. I should rejoice if I could afford... a Missionary between them, but it is impossible."³ The Grays did not reach Willowmore on this tour.

The earliest recorded baptism in Willowmore (the village became a parish within the Diocese of George in 1911) is 1866.⁴ It would have been reasonable to assume that the Willowmore church was started some time after Bishop Gray's September 1865 meetings, particularly as the first rector at Willowmore, Rev J L Samuels, was appointed in 1866. No church building however was erected at Willowmore for at least 11 years after Gray's visit. This is confirmed by a newspaper report of Bishop West Jones' visit to the area in 1876, four years after Gray's death. West Jones consecrated All Saints, the Uniondale church on 8 October 1876 and two days later left for Willowmore. The report continued: "About 5.30pm the Lord Bishop arrived [in Willowmore] accompanied by his chaplain... On Wednesday morning [11 October 1876] there was a service at 10 o'clock, when the Bishop preached, the Rev Mr Samuels presiding at the harmonium... Owing to the want of a Church, the services were held in the Court-

¹ Gray's Journal, 1865, p31.

² Ibid, p32.

³ *The Mission Field*, December 1869, p353.

⁴ W. Tapson, *A History of the Diocese of George*, p34.

room..."⁵ Thus the building of the chapel at Willowmore took place some time between 1876 and 1881 because it was not until 9 August 1881 that the chapel was consecrated by Bishop West Jones. It is possible that the building was completed closer to 1876 and that, as the building served as a school chapel, the consecration was delayed until alternative accommodation could be found for the school. This would have been in keeping with the Church's policy regarding the consecration of school chapels.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES AND THE ARCHITECT

Although the design of St Matthew's is very basic, consisting of a four-bay nave measuring 13,7 x 5,7 metres, a small vestry (later addition) and a tiny entrance lobby, some architectural features are typical of Sophia Gray's designs. These are the diagonal buttresses at the four corners of the building and the five arch-braced roof trusses (Refer Figure N, Truss 3). The roof is of corrugated iron and has a pitch of 47 degrees. Visible on the inside of the east end wall there is a "blind" or closed arch that Sophia probably expected would be opened at a later stage to link with a small chancel. This extension however has never transpired. The windows in the church are also typical of the Early English style, with single lancets in the nave walls and a lancet couplet in the west wall (Refer Drawings 80 and 81). The church is of plastered brick throughout.

The Bishop's reference to his wife providing a plan and the stylistic features of St Matthew's Church, confirm Mrs Gray's authorship of the design. Other historians crediting Sophia with the design include Beddy and Langham-Carter.⁶

⁵ *The Mossel Bay Advertiser*, 18 October 1876.

⁶ A.J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...* (1985); R. Langham-Carter, *Lists of 1974 and 1977*.

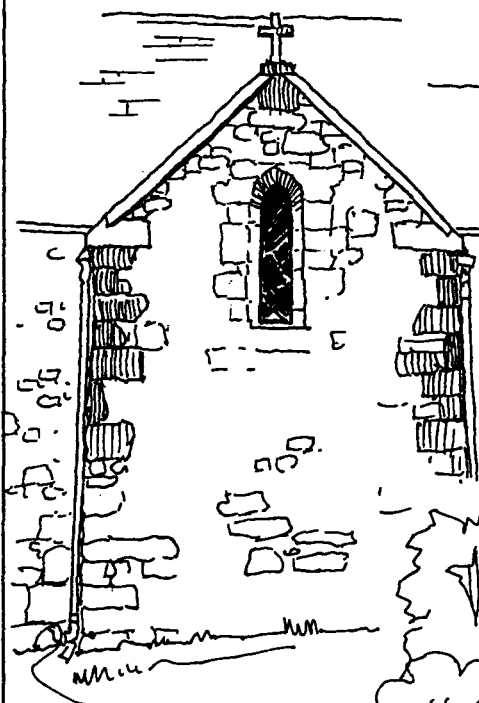


*Drawing 80:
St Matthew's Church, Willowmore,
vestry on left, porch on right.*

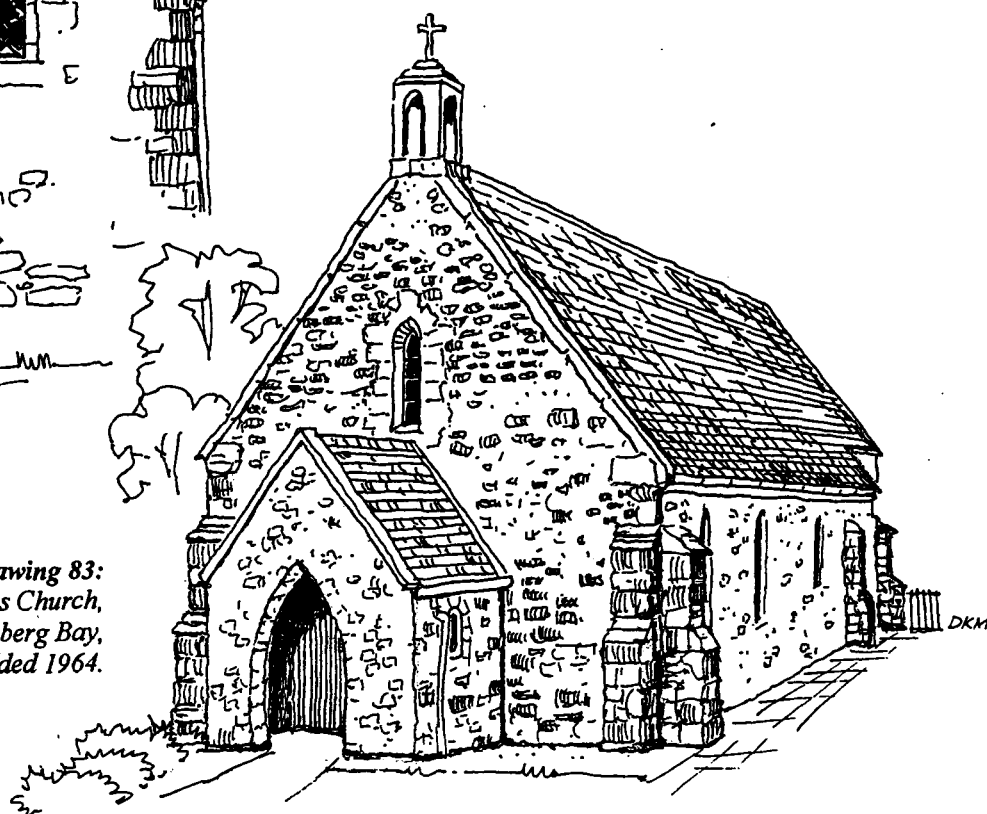
*Drawing 81:
Nave and vestry,
St Matthew's Church, Willowmore.*



*Drawing 82 (left):
Vestry wall, St Peter's Church, Plettenberg Bay.*



*Drawing 83:
St Peter's Church,
Plettenberg Bay,
Bell-turret added 1964.*



HOW THE CHURCH WAS PLANTED

Although the Newdigates had achieved the building of a charming chapel for the small English community at Redbourn (refer C9), neither William Newdigate nor his father had abandoned the idea of a stone church "suitable for the use of the whole community of Plettenberg Bay. The one designed by Sophia Gray was what they had in mind."¹ As for the essential component of any building project, finance, the Newdigates were well placed to provide. William turned to friends and family in England to contribute funds "pointing out that at Plettenberg Bay, with an increasing English population besides a considerable number of Dutch and Hottentots, there is no Place of Worship." There was an impressive response from Newdigate's affluent connections and the money raised was handed to Bishop Gray as the nucleus for building a stone church in Plettenberg Bay. In addition to the building fund, personal donations were made by William's father (£500), Bishop Gray (£250) and another donation from William's father of £250. William's plan was to have the permanent church erected at Redbourn in the little Piesang River valley just above the bay itself but not everyone in the community was of like mind. The more obvious place was somewhere above the recognised landing place.

In 1856, a year after the Redbourn Chapel was licensed, the Grays stopped briefly at Plettenberg Bay during the visitation to the Eastern Cape following the death of Bishop Armstrong on 16 May of that year. On 15 September 1856, they proceeded on horseback to Plettenberg Bay reaching the Newdigate's house, 'Bucclough', by evening. The following morning the Grays visited the school conducted in the ruins of the Old Residency. Afterwards they "proceeded to the opening of the new schoolhouse [in Plettenberg Bay], which is intended both for school and a place of worship for our coloured congregation, and which has been erected in a time of great scarcity." Gray added that "the school is not quite finished, but the poor people have been labouring... to complete it... during the whole of this week, to have it ready for my arrival. The school is of wood, and is to be lined with brick..."² The Bishop had been confronted on every occasion when he was in Plettenberg Bay regarding the poverty of the coloured people. They had turned to him to attempt to purchase land "on which they could settle in a self-contained community."³ But Gray's modest funds could not stretch beyond financing the clergy and the building of churches in his vast diocese. He was obliged to disappoint the coloured parishioners in their request.

Nine years later, in 1865, the Grays returned to Plettenberg Bay during their visitation to the Eastern Cape. From Knysna they travelled through Plettenberg Bay on 12 September to visit the Newdigates in their new house, 'Forest Hall'. After a service at the house on 14 September 1865, Gray recorded that they "arranged for the erection of a small wooden School Chapel [at "The Craggs"] which is to be built upon a piece of land bought by Mr Newdigate and given to the church to be the site of a future village."⁴ On Friday

¹ P. Storrar, *Portrait of Plettenberg Bay*, p142.

² Gray's Journal, 1856, p72.

³ P. Storrar, *Portrait of Plettenberg Bay*, p146.

⁴ Gray's Journal, 1865, p24.

15 September 1865, they returned to "the Bay" (Plettenberg) and noted with concern that "their wooden School-Chapel, [erected in 1856] which being in an exposed situation and but badly built at first, is in danger of falling down." The journal continued, "After service we met in the Chapel and resolved to build a new one, which will cost about £300. The foundations to be laid the first year; the bricks to be made and the walls built, the second; and the roof put on the third. By that time, it is supposed that the old chapel will be unfit for use."⁵ On the Sunday, 17 September 1865, the Bishop held services at the Mission Chapel at Plettenberg in the morning ("filled to overflowing") and at Redbourn in the afternoon ("The little wooden Chapel was full").

Four years later the Bishop and his wife called at Plettenberg Bay during their visit to the Archdeaconry of George between March and June 1869. Sophia was already in the grip of the disease from which she was to die two years later. During February, the area around George, Knysna and the Bay had been ravaged by a mammoth fire that had devastated the landscape and the Bishop wrote depressing accounts of the damage to the environment.⁶

The Bishop undertook his last journey to the George area some six months before his death in September 1872. He started on 14 March visiting villages in the Karoo and then travelled down to Plettenberg Bay. Gray's published account of the visit reads: "Next morning the little wooden church, placed on a most commanding situation, was crammed... After Confirmation I met the people, white and coloured, in the school to consider as to the possibility of erecting a church, in lieu of the little wooden chapel, which is now too small for the congregation and is showing signs of decay. The high winds have driven it out of the perpendicular. *A plan of a church given some time ago by my dearest wife was produced* (author's italics), and it was resolved to attempt to carry it out... They promised what they could, some giving money, others undertaking to cut wood, or make bricks, or provide thatch. I promised what help I could. They hope to carry out the plan." The Bishop commented about the Redbourn chapel: "The little wooden church in the charming burial ground at Redbourn was full in the afternoon but nearly all the English have left the place."⁷

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

Despite the deaths of both Mrs Gray and the Bishop, the founding work of the Bishop and the plans drawn by Sophia credit them as major contributors to the building of St Peter's Church between 1878 and 1881. The stylistic features of the church also support Sophia's authorship of the design.⁸ As had been feared by many including Gray, the wooden chapel built in haste at Plettenberg Bay in 1856 was blown down by a gale in 1875. The event had been anticipated by the parishioners as a building committee had met for the first time on 12 June 1872 to consider erecting a new church, inspired probably by Gray's visit in April 1872. The plan which was considered was the one

⁵ Gray's Journal, 1865, p25.

⁶ *The Mission Field*, December 1869, pp354, 355.

⁷ *The Mission Field*, September 1872, p267.

⁸ Beddy quotes Storrar (p151) as his source for attributing the design to Mrs Gray. Langham-Carter credits Sophia in his Lists of 1974 and 1977, but gives the date of construction as 1872, possibly assuming a stone-laying following the Bishop's visit in that year.

"which had been drawn up [in 1849] by Mrs. Sophia Gray for a small stone church."⁹

Stone was plentiful and timber could be salvaged from the fallen chapel. An enthusiastic building committee was formed with Rev Edwin Gibbs as Chairman and Aaron Toplis and William Jones, the churchwardens, as members.¹⁰ By July 1874 tenders were invited for the building of the church. At another meeting of the Building Committee on 26 April 1875, chaired by the new Bishop of Cape Town, William West Jones, it was agreed that the building project must proceed. There appears to have been little concern for completion dates, however, as the tender of £350 to build the church within two years was awarded to Mr William Jones in July 1875 yet the written contract was only finalised in August 1876. Building started towards the end of 1878 and a stone bearing the date "1879" was built into the archway of the main entrance.¹¹

On 5 May 1881, Rev Gibbs wrote to his bishop in Cape Town: "I am pleased to inform your Lordship that the Church here is so far completed that we used it for Divine Worship on Easter Sunday... having put in temporary windows as it is the intention of the Churchwardens to send to England for windows."¹² St Peter's was consecrated by Bishop West Jones on 14 August 1881.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The church as built in 1881, for reasons unknown, was sited with its 'west' entrance towards the east and the ecclesiastical 'east' facing west. This is still the current situation. The church comprised a three-bay nave (15,5 x 7,1 metres) and a vestry against the south-west corner. It is presumed the semi-circular apse was a later addition, as this feature is uncharacteristic of Sophia Gray's work.¹³ The porch over the main entrance was added in 1973. The fenestration of the original western wall is unknown as this was lost when the apse was built. There is a single lancet above the level of the porch roof (as well as a stone bell arch, erected in 1964, on the apex). The three lancets on the north and two on the south wall are positioned without any apparent relationship to lancets in the opposite wall. The vestry is lit by a single lancet (Refer Drawing 82). Two-tier angle buttresses stand at the corners of the east wall and two single buttresses at the end of the long walls, which anticipate the building of a chancel. The exterior random rubble walls are of local brown stone that contrast strongly against the white dressed stone of the quoined windows (Refer Drawing 83). The interior is plastered. A steeply pitched nave roof (52 degrees) is supported on 13 scissors trusses that rest on shaped wallposts on square stone corbels. The original thatch roof was replaced with slate in 1973.

⁹ P. Storrar, *Portrait of Plettenberg Bay*, p151. Storrar is quoting from Gray's published journal of 1872.

¹⁰ Welcome Leaflet, *St Peter's Church*.

¹¹ P. Storrar, *Portrait of Plettenberg Bay*, p153.

¹² Welcome Leaflet, *St Peter's Church*.

¹³ Rounded apses were introduced into Anglican churches in the Western Cape in the 1880s. Of 24 Anglican churches surveyed in the Cape Peninsula, 14 had semi-circular or splayed apses (D. K. Martin, *The Cape Town Church Building Boom, 1880-1909*, p105 [unpublished thesis 1993]).

OTHER CHURCHES ASSOCIATED WITH THE GRAYS

The common factor in the churches grouped in this section is that the role of the Grays in planting and/or designing the churches is vague. The association of the Bishop and his wife with these churches nevertheless needs to be noted to complete the account of their church building programme.

C51. St Augustine's Church, Villiersdorp

During the Bishop's visitation "in the Autumn of 1855", he called at Caledon on 25 August for the consecration of the Caledon Church. He stayed with Mr Wilshere, the Clergyman of the parish and while there resolved to erect school chapels at the four chief stations of the parish.¹ A three-bay chapel was built in Villiersdorp in 1858 (Refer Drawing 84). It is believed that a farmer in the area, Francis Brett, endowed St Augustine's.² A solitary vault in the grounds of the present church (rebuilt in 1933, presumably on the foundations and walls of the 1858 chapel) carries an epitaph to Brett's wife, Wilhelmina Engelbrecht who died in 1857 which indicates that the ground must have been acquired by the Diocese soon after the Bishop's 1855 visit to Caledon. A brief reference is made to the chapel in Gray's biography: "Villiersdorp... where there is a Catechist and a new stone school chapel [1858]."³

During the 1865 visitation, the Grays left Worcester about 5 November for Villiersdorp. Robert wrote, "We reached the village by one o'clock and had service in the pretty little stone chapel at two."⁴ Whether Mrs Gray provided drawings for the chapel is unknown though the Bishop's role in motivating the building project is fairly convincing. The photograph in the State Archives (Jeffreys Collection 9235) shows a simple thatched structure with a triplet lancet in the east wall, a triplet lancet and lancet on the south wall and a pointed doorway, features that Sophia Gray would not have objected to. The chapel, built of large squared stones, stands on a plinth without buttresses.

C52. All Saints Church, Somerset West

In 1850, Rev Frederick Carlyon was appointed by Bishop Gray "to the cure of souls in the Parish of Stellenbosch, including Eerste River and Somerset". Services were held on the second Sunday of the month in an old coach house.⁵ Efforts were no doubt made to acquire land for a school chapel as Mrs Gray recorded in her records that "on the 3rd January [1855] a piece of ground at Somerset West...was transferred to the See for Ecclesiastical Purposes being purchased from Mr H Boase for £66."⁶ At a meeting

¹ The entry in Gray's Journal, Saturday 25 August 1855, refers to the four chief stations of "Villiers Dorp, Houw Hoek, River Zonder End, and the Strand-veldt" (p10).

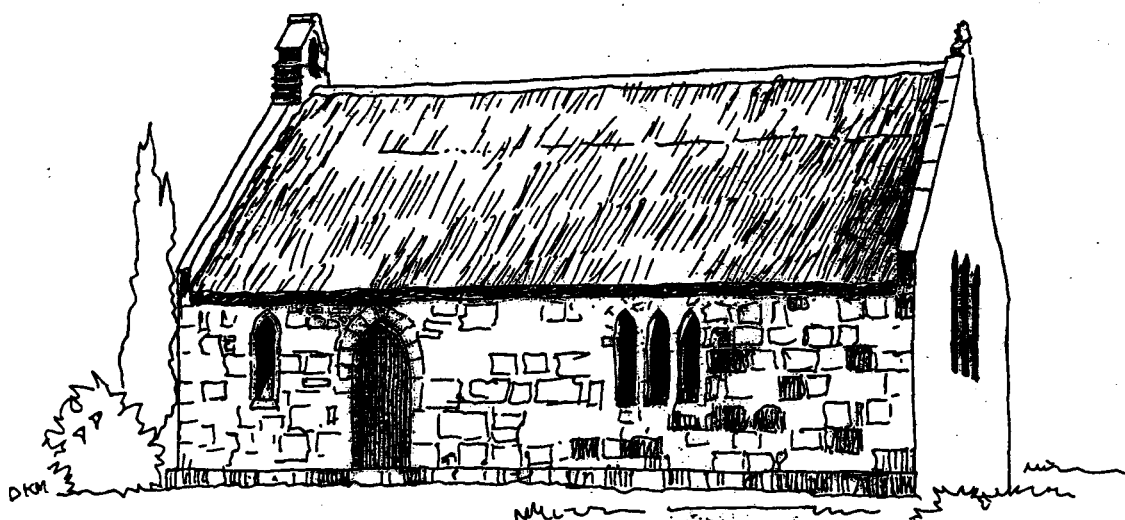
² Margaret Williamson quoting Joan Norton in the *Cape Argus*, 20 September 1988.

³ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol.1, p459.

⁴ Gray's Journal, 1865, p67.

⁵ P. Heap, *A History of All Saints Church, Somerset West*, p6.

⁶ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town*, p142. Mr Boase was the first Magistrate of Somerset West.



*Drawing 84: School chapel of St Augustine, Villiersdorp.
Chapel was largely rebuilt in 1933.
Source: Jeffereys Collection 9235, State Archives.*



*Drawing 85:
All Saints Chapel, Somerset West, 1861-1902.
Source: P. Heap, A History of All Saints Church, p8.*

All Saints Chapel in 1874.



*Drawing 86: (Retouched photo)
St James' Church, Black River, Rondebosch.
Source: Photograph by M. Cairns, Looking Back, (1978), p7.*

of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Missions held in Cape Town in 1856, Gray reported on progress of the Church, "The first piece of church work that meets us outside the Cape peninsula is a small church at Eerste River... At Somerset [West] we are doing nothing; the number of English is but small, though a watering-place is springing up near and may bring more."⁷ The Bishop's report underplays what had already been done through him to establish a church at Somerset West.

In May 1860 the Bishop and his wife rode 300 miles round the parish of Caledon. Gray wrote to his sister a few days after their return on 19 May, giving an account of the 'minor visitation'. After calling at Eerste River, he wrote, "we rode to Somerset (a most lovely village...) to breakfast. There I arranged to have a service and meeting on my return about a school, chapel and teacher." On their return from Caledon the Grays missed out Villiersdorp on account of Robert being ill and called again at Somerset. Gray wrote, "In the evening we had service in the courthouse, and then our meeting. The people are poor; but entered heartily into my plan, and we are to have a school chapel and a Catechist schoolmaster immediately."⁸ These developments were reported in the local press in June 1860: "Bishop Gray has recently held two meetings at Somerset West with the view of establishing a church and school there."⁹ The following month's news was even more positive: "A school has been opened by Bishop Gray at Somerset West and tenders have been invited for the erection of a church."¹⁰ The *Cape Argus* carried a similar report but added that the school was 'an English Church School'.¹¹

The laying of the foundation stone took place, according to Rev J R Godfrey, "late in the year 1860."¹² He recalls that "the stone was laid, with much ceremony, by the... Dean of Capetown (Douglas)... I was catechist. It [the chapel] was opened by the Bishop (Gray) in the following year, 1861. In the interim we worshipped in an old Coach House."¹³ I may say that the Chapel as it was first was never dedicated to All Saints, nor even formally so named ... I asked the Bishop if I might call the Chapel by that name and he assented..." The 1961 history of the church makes no reference to the architect of the church. The architectural features of the church are indistinct both on the watercolour of Somerset West by Haverfield (1862)¹⁴ and on a line drawing of the Chapel dated 1874, the latter, which is captioned, "First Church: 1861-1902".¹⁵

⁷ *South African Church Magazine*, 1856.

⁸ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. 1, p458-460.

⁹ *Cape Chronicle*, 1 June 1860.

¹⁰ *Cape Chronicle*, 13 July 1860.

¹¹ *Cape Argus*, 12 July 1860.

¹² Letter from Rev Godfrey to Rev W.F. Taylor, 30 March 1896 (as quoted in the history by P. Heap).

¹³ Bishop Gray was on Visitation between 7 August and 18 October 1860, which could account for the stone being laid by the Dean.

¹⁴ Africana Museum, Johannesburg.

¹⁵ P. Heap, *A History of All Saints Church, Somerset West*, p8.

The Bishop's part in the founding is very clear but there is neither documentary nor stylistic evidence pointing to his wife's participation in the project. This is a case where it could be argued that the simplicity of the building (from what little can be seen in Drawing 85), and the proximity to Cape Town and the fact that the design of 8 other school chapels are attributed to Sophia Gray, the chapel was possibly Mrs Gray's work.¹⁶

C53. St James' Church, Black River, Cape Town

Church activity in the area known as Black River (developed as "Park Road Estate" under the Rondebosch Municipality from 1886) commenced in 1865 with school and church services being held "...in the Church Pondok."¹⁷ In March 1876 Archdeacon Badnall, Rector of St Paul's Rondebosch, had taken six months' sick leave in England. On his return in September 1876 he "...brought a font and set of sacramental vessels for the Black River Chapel... and other church equipment."¹⁸

In the absence of primary source information, a number of histories by local researchers were noted: Beddy's list states that in 1870 the "chapel standing is SG-designed", quoting as his source the Diocesan Records.¹⁹ A photographic file in the CPSA Archives²⁰ gives the year in which the church was built as "1854" which date no doubt refers to the building of the first wattle-and-daub chapel. Millard writes that "...the original wattle-and-daub building gave way to a well constructed chapel, dedicated to St James by the Archbishop [West Jones] on 23rd June, 1905."²¹ There is no entry however of this event in the *List of Consecration of Churches and Burial Grounds*. The only reference is to the dedication of the Black River Cemetery on 24 November 1881 by West Jones. The history by Cairns of the Park Road Estate states that "...the little church of St James [was] built well prior to 1897."²²

In April 1899, Herbert Baker made additions to the existing chapel by extending the 5-bay nave by a further three bays.²³ The chapel was "...a simple rectangular eight-bay chapel of plastered brick, under a steeply pitched thatch roof. There were no windows in the sidewalls of the original five-bay chapel until Baker's three-bay addition, when two rectangular flat-headed windows were fitted to the sixth bay. Both end walls carried three lancet windows... Angle and nave buttresses were of the two-tier variety, with a short one-step buttress in the middle of either end wall. The original chapel had a single entrance through a small porch occupying the third bay of

¹⁶ Beddy does not regard Sophia as the architect whereas Langham-Carter does (List, 1977).

¹⁷ P. A. Millard, *St Paul's Rondebosch Centenary*, p12. His facts are presumed to have been gleaned from the Church records.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p13.

¹⁹ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools...*

²⁰ CPSA File AB 150.

²¹ *Ibid*, p18.

²² M. Cairns, *Park Road Estate, Rondebosch - Looking Back*, p6.

²³ Baker Plan No. 60, Jagger Library, UCT,

the south wall. The open roof consisted of seven scissors trusses and bamboo rafters."²⁴

As the earliest structure was of 'wattle-and-daub' it is unlikely that Sophia would have been asked to design it as the preference of the Grays was for stone or brick churches. The precise date of the construction of the first five bays of the later chapel of brick is also unknown. If it was built, as mentioned by Beddy, about 1870, then *it is possible* that Sophia could have been responsible, though this date was a year before her death in 1871. Certainly the high pitch of the roof (60 degrees), the open trusses and trio of lancets on the east gable wall (Refer Drawing 86) point to a Sophia-type of design.²⁵ (The plan by Baker shows three lancets on the west wall, which would not accord with the principles of the Ecclesiologists). The ecclesiastical status of this church/chapel was lost "when St Mark's (its sister church in Athlone) was built on a more convenient site... and a small primary school operated in its stead until even that became redundant. Finally it was laid to waste in 1978."²⁶ There is no record of the participation of Bishop Gary in the founding of the chapel, which situation makes the involvement of Mrs Gray in the design less likely.

C54. Oakhurst Chapel, Hoekwil, near George

The *List of Consecration of Churches and Burial Grounds* contains a reference to the consecration of "Oakhurst" on 2 November 1876 by Bishop West Jones. This is the church, which still stands on the farm of the same name that was purchased in 1840 by Henry Dumbleton. Dumbleton's eldest son, also Henry, came to South Africa in 1847 and built what is known as the "Old House" on the farm. In 1860 the junior Henry's second eldest son, Walter Douglas Dumbleton, arrived from England to view the estate. He was responsible for providing a dependable water supply for the farm, erecting a workshop and building the "new house" between 1866 and 1868. In 1876, Walter built the church.²⁷

The farm was well known in its day and the Dumbletons were noted for their hospitality as recorded in 1914 by John Widdicombe²⁸: "Some fifteen miles from George... a traveller comes upon... Oakhurst, the residence of Mr W D Dumbleton... Mr Dumbleton is not only a hospitable host, he is a devoted churchman, and has been from the first a voluntary lay reader of the diocese. There is a neat little church at the end of the avenue in which he holds Services Sunday by Sunday in the absence of the rector (of George)..."

Bishop Gray first experienced the beauty of Oakhurst during his 1848 visitation. The following year when Robert and his wife were in George for the inauguration of St

²⁴ D. K. Martin, *The Cape Town Church Building Boom, 1880-1909*, A-29b.

²⁵ Visible on a 1978 photograph in *Park Road Estate, Rondebosch – Looking Back* by Margaret Cairns.

²⁶ M. Cairns, *Park Road Estate, Rondebosch – Looking Back*, p7.

²⁷ Notes written in 1991 by Karen Crowther, current owner of the farm, in NMC File 9/2/030/22. The CPSA leaflet AP1986-209 lists the Oakhurst Chapel's founding date as c1868. The date given by Crowther of 1876 is probably more accurate.

²⁸ *Memories and Musings*, (1915), p96. Widdicombe was Canon Emeritus of Bloemfontein.

Mark's Church, Dumbleton rode in on 26 October 1849 to guide them to his farm. Another stopover at Oakhurst was made in May 1869 after the widespread fires had ravaged the local districts. After Sophy's death in 1871, the Bishop paid his last visit to Oakhurst in April 1872. During the overnight stays at Oakhurst between 1848 and 1871, the Dumbletons and Grays had ample opportunity to talk about church matters. It is not unlikely that plans for a church were discussed and provided, given that Dumbleton was such an ardent churchman, although there is no record of this happening. The church that was built some four years after Mrs Gray's death does exhibit many of the so-called Sophia Gray features. Its design is attributed to her by Beddy who stated that the chapel was "based on plan found by Bishop West Jones in 1875".²⁹ The more likely date of the completion of Oakhurst Chapel is 1876.³⁰ Until solid support for Sophia's role is found, her authorship for the design is doubtful.

The original church built prior to the addition of the transepts consisted of a nave and a chancel under separate roofs, the pitch being about 52 degrees. The eastern gable wall has three lancets whereas the west wall has two. There are diagonal buttresses at the chancel end (Drawing 87a). The west end wall has two large wedge-like supports presumably added not for aesthetic reasons but to brace the west wall against collapse (Drawing 87b). The finish both within and without is whitewashed plaster.

C55. St Simon and St Jude Church, Peddie

According to Bishop Gray's journal of 1848, he arrived at Grahamstown on 5 October and left early the following day for Peddie. He recorded that "two individuals offered £20 each towards a church".³¹ A grant of land from the Governor was requested. Gray went on to King William's Town to meet Black chieftains and after holding a service for soldiers on the Sunday, returned via (Fort) Peddie to Grahamstown on Monday 9 October. Gray wrote, "I fixed upon the site of Church, school and parsonage, which Sir H. [Smith] ordered to be immediately surveyed." After a church service he recorded that he "endeavoured to form a committee for the erection of a church, towards which I was offered on the spot £50."³²

On 30 June 1849, the resident magistrate sold certain erven in Fort Peddie and these are marked on an old town map as reserved for the Bishop. During Gray's return from his epic visitation to Natal in 1850 he called at Peddie the second time, arriving on 3 August. There was further discussion on the procedure to be taken to erect a church. Gray held a service in the Methodist Room on 4 August (Sunday) and on the Monday before leaving for Grahamstown, he held another meeting of which he recorded, "They entered into a subscription towards the erection of a church amounting to nearly £100."³³ Towards the end of 1850 another Frontier war was in the offing and nothing further was done to build a church.

²⁹ Personal notes provided by Rev Beddy to the author, 1998.

³⁰ Refer footnote 27.

³¹ Gray's Journal, 1848, p30.

³² Gray's Journal, 1848, p36.

³³ Gray's Journal, 1850, p120.

When the Imperial troops were withdrawn from Peddie in 1862, the old fort was temporarily given to the Anglican Church for use as a church. On 7 August 1879, the War Office relinquished the Military properties at Peddie to the Colonial Government and the Anglican Church was permitted to continue using the buildings. On 1 July 1881, freehold title of the old Star Fort was granted by the Colonial Government to the Anglican Church and "during the course of the ensuing years additions and structural alterations were made to the plain and unpretentious Commissariat Store to transform it into a place suitable for Divine Worship."³⁴ A chancel and porch were added in 1886 by the builder, George Clifford. The main body of the church and the adjoining guard room, "was built in 1835 by the Imperial Government as part of the old Star Fort complex" and in 1972 were regarded as the oldest surviving buildings in Peddie."³⁵

The *Church Chronicle* carried an informative article on the church at the time of its consecration: "On Thursday the 28th of October [1886], the Lord Bishop of the Diocese [Bishop Webb] consecrated the Church of S. Simon and S. Jude, Peddie. *The building was originally part of the fort erected at that place* (author's italics) for defence of the frontier. After the removal of the military it was granted for the use of the English Church, and it had been used for Divine Service, for many years, showing evident tokens of the purpose for which it was built, and like many other military buildings, making no pretence to architectural beauty. A Chancel has lately been added to the original building and the windows altered into an ecclesiastical shape, which has given an entirely different character to the fabric."³⁶ The SPCK made a grant of £25 towards the building fund.

Although Bishop Gray was at the forefront of the initial efforts to build a church in the 1850's, no record could be found which indicates that his wife provided plans.³⁷

C56. Amalienstein Lutheran Church, near Ladysmith, Cape

It was Bishop Gray's intense interest in mission stations that led him to visit the German Moravian missions beginning with Genadendal outside Caledon in 1848 and also the work of the Berlin Missionary Society (BMS) at Bethanie in the Orange River Colony in 1850. He never lost the opportunity to call at missions irrespective of the denominational authority. During his three-month visitation to the Southern Cape in 1855, Gray called on 2 November at the German mission at Zoar where he was quick to notice "...a neat and ecclesiastical looking Chapel, with buttresses."³⁸

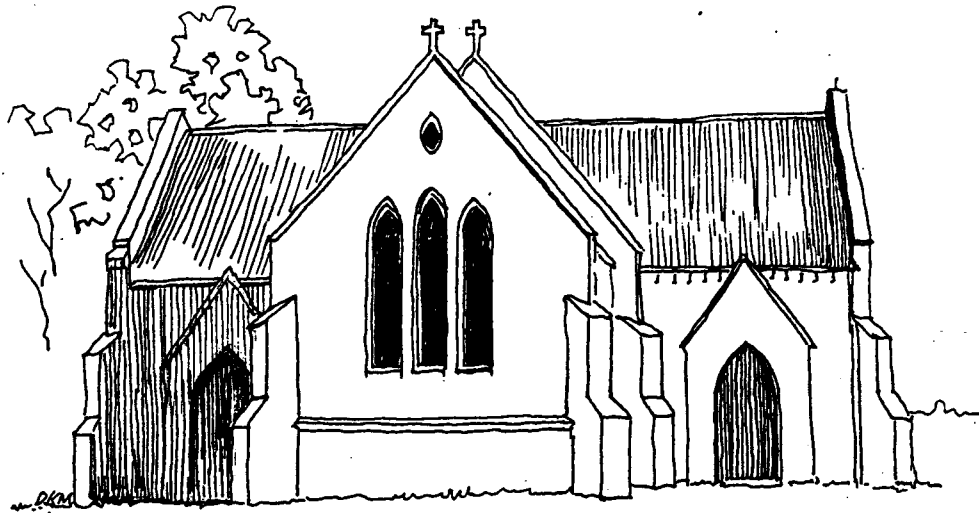
³⁴ J. M. Donald, 'St Simon and St Jude's Church, Peddie', *The Coelacanth (Border Historical Society Journal)*, April 1972, p12. Donald lists his sources as: Registers of the Anglican Church, Peddie; Note book of some early events by one James Bartholomew, one time Steward of the church; old Minute Book of the Divisional Council, Peddie.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p11. Donald records that Colonel Peddie, Commanding Officer of the 72nd Seaforth Highlanders during the 1834-35 Frontier War, was the person after whom Peddie is named (p14).

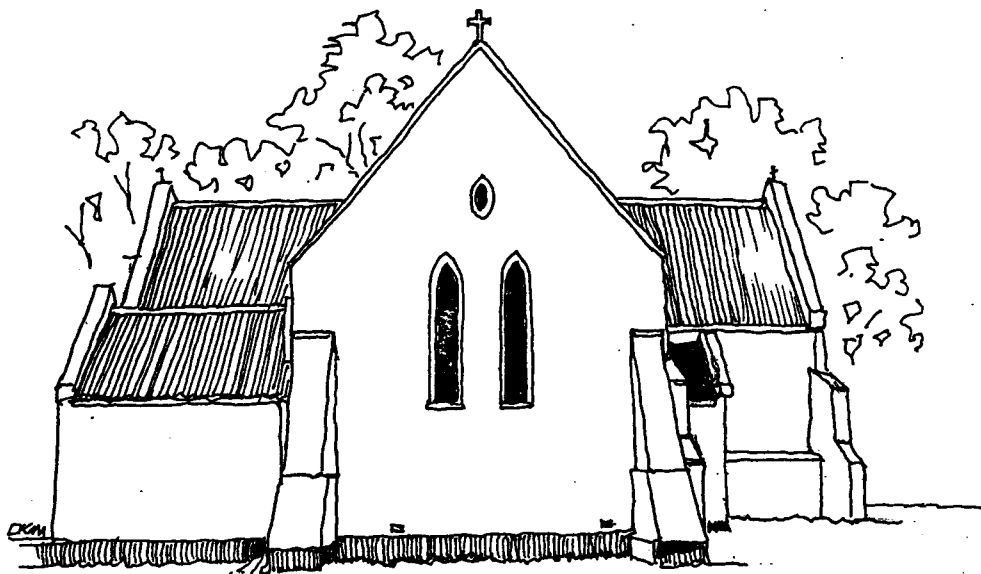
³⁶ *The Church Chronicle*, December 1886, p387.

³⁷ Betty listed the church as one of Sophy's designs though the source of this claim is not given. The church at Peddie does not feature in any of Langham-Carter's lists.

³⁸ Gray's Journal, 1855, p101.



Drawing 87a: Oakhurst Chapel from the east showing triplet lancet of the chancel, and the south and north transepts.



Drawing 87b: Oakhurst Chapel from the west showing the nave with lancet couplet and enlarged sloping buttresses.



*Drawing 88:
Lutheran church, Amalienstein,
Southern Cape.
Source: Ein Reise-Jahr
in Sud-Afrika, Berlin,
(1868), p62.*

Kirche von Amalienstein.

In 1842 the BMS, which had established itself in the Cape initially at Zoar, bought the nearby farm, Elandsfontein. The money for this came from the estate of a Mrs Amalie von Stein and the settlement was accordingly named after her. In 1849 a start was made to build a church that was inaugurated in 1853.³⁹

Mrs Gray is thought by Beddy⁴⁰ to have designed or helped to build the church at Amalienstein. The source for this claim is a paragraph in a book by the Mission Director of the BMS, Dr T Wangemann. The book, published in 1868, is his report of inspections carried out on the BMS stations in South Africa during the years 1866 and 1867. While in Cape Town, Wangemann was invited by Bishop Gray on 18 September 1866 to a dinner at Bishops court. The translation of the German of the relevant portion quoted by Beddy reads: "She (Sophia Gray) has sent 10 pounds sterling for the hungry on our mission station at Amalienstein, and *at the moment is helping to build a beautiful church* (author's italics) in Gothic style. Bishop Gray is very co-operative."⁴¹

If indeed Sophia was 'helping to build' the church it could not have been the 'Kirche von Amalienstein' as illustrated in Wangemann's report (Refer Drawing 88).⁴² The church was *already in existence* in 1866 as evidenced by the entry in his report for Sunday 14 October 1866: "... in the lovely big church of Amalienstein, Brother Schmidt delivered the sermon, and I gave an address from the altar in Dutch." If the 'helping to build' cannot be applied to Amalienstein, then Sophia's assistance was directed at an unknown church elsewhere, the place and the nature of her assistance, which are frustratingly vague. Except for the above passage, there is no reference to Sophia's connection with Amalienstein in any other records. Langham-Carter was probably the first researcher to note the Wangemann report and so quoted the source in his 1974 list.⁴³

C57. St Paul's Church, St Helena Island

On 22 February 1849, Bishop Gray sailed from Cape Town for his first visit to St Helena. He wrote, "All our places of worship, and there are five, are attended by crowded congregations."⁴⁴ Gray stayed six weeks on the island during which time "...he arranged that two churches and a school chapel should be taken in hand." It is presumed that 'taken in hand' meant upgrading to make the churches more fit for ecclesiastical use and possibly also transfer of the site to the Diocese. On 29 March 1849, the Governor of St Helena granted the Church and the Country Church to the Bishop and thus on 4 April 1849, Gray was able to consecrate St James' Church.⁴⁵

³⁹ Article by Nia Coetzee, *Die Burger*, 20 May 1989.

⁴⁰ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels and Schools...*

⁴¹ T. Wangemann, *Ein Reise-Fahr in Sud-Afrika - Inspectionsreise durch die Missions-Stationen der Berliner Missions-Gesellschaft*, p8.

⁴² *Ein Reise-Fahr in Sud-Afrika*, pp60 - 62.

⁴³ Langham-Carter omits Amalienstein church from his 1977 List (*Architects & Builders of Some Churches in S.A.*). Gutsche (*The Bishop's Lady*) also makes no reference to the church.

⁴⁴ C. Lewis and G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p47.

⁴⁵ *Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape town*, p29.

In 1849 there were two clergy already on the island, Rev W Bousfield whom Gray had sent in 1847 while Gray had been on the SPG Committee, and the Colonial Chaplain, R Kempthorne. "A military chaplain (Helps) was also appointed and the bishop ordained a fourth, Mr Frey, a German, who had been a missionary in India."⁴⁶ One congregation met at St James' at Jamestown, another met at Longwood in Napoleon's billiard room while a third met at the 'country church' that was to be replaced by a new building which later became the cathedral (St Paul's). In a letter of 10 April 1849, six days after the consecration of St James, Gray stated: "I have been busily employed ... in consecrating the church and various churchyards... The church, though not by any means perfect in point of architecture, is nevertheless a pleasing building, with a neat well-proportioned tower and spire, and is in excellent order... The country church is an inferior building, and not in good repair; but the inhabitants have just determined upon erecting a new building *for which Mr Ferry has been kind enough to furnish plans* (author's italics). The cost is to be £2500"⁴⁷

Evidence of Gray's vital contribution to the early days of the Anglican Church on St Helena is contained in his 'visitation charge'. He stated: "There must be one clergyman whose duty it was to visit every house periodically and to supervise education... That besides St James' and the 'country church', small chapels were needed..." He said that there should be not less than four collections yearly for church building, the ministry, the missions of the diocese..."⁴⁸ In January 1852 while *en route* to England, Gray called at St Helena for his second visitation.

In 1857, some eight years after Gray's first visit, an article in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*⁴⁹ stated that some changes had been made to St James' Church: "A church which was built by the East India Company, and altered of late, to suit the wishes of the Bishop of Cape Town, into a rather gloomy building, almost adjoins the tavern..." The article then referred to "...the parish church [presumably St Paul's], *which has been recently built* (author's italics) and will contain about four hundred persons. Much cannot be said for its architectural beauty although it was erected at a very considerable expense to the parishioners. The Bishop of Cape Town who selected the site, has given great offence to the inhabitants in having had the ground granted by the Government, transferred to the See of Cape Town, instead of the parish..."

Bishop Gray's third visit to St Helena was also in 1857, some five months after being criticised in the press. The Grays left Cape Town on 18 October arriving ten days later and on 9 December, the Bishop consecrated St Paul's Church.⁵⁰ Gray stayed on the island for over two months and while waiting for the steamer wrote on 8 January 1858 to an unnamed person, presumably Rev E Hawkins, the Secretary of the SPG. "It is nearly six years since I was last able to visit this island... My chief public duties, in

⁴⁶ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p386.

⁴⁷ Gray's Journal, *Visitation to St Helena in 1849*, p80.

⁴⁸ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p387.

⁴⁹ 'Sketches of St Helena', *Cape Monthly Magazine*, May 1857, pp283-288. Author: 'An immigrant'.

⁵⁰ *List of Consecrations of Churches, 1827-1919*.

addition to... unceasing preaching... have consisted in consecrating the very handsome country church [St Paul's], built upon a plan furnished by Mr Ferrey⁵¹, and at a cost of upwards of £4000; ...in taking steps with the parishioners for the completion of St John's Church, which when finished, will cost at least £2000, and which... may even yet be greatly delayed for lack of funds; in forming plans and raising means for the erection of another church near Longwood."⁵²

To summarise, by 1858 the Bishop had been involved with three named churches: St James' in Jamestown, which he consecrated on 4 April 1849; St Paul's, the 'country church', which he consecrated on 9 December 1857; and St John's, under construction during 1857-58.

Historians Langham-Carter and Beddy credit Sophia with some assistance with the design of the last two churches: Langham-Carter lists an 1850 church on St Helena as the design or partial design of Sophia Gray but he gives no indication of the name⁵³ though this was probably St Paul's. Beddy notes in his *List* against the church, 'Country St John', that in March 1849 "Revd L Frey⁵⁴ furnishes plans to rebuild derelict church". Beddy added that the foundation stone was laid in 1851 "by Sir Patrick Ross for SG-planned restoration."⁵⁵ These comments are somewhat contradictory. It suggests Frey's (Ferrey's) plans were superseded by Sophia's 'planned restoration'. Beddy adds, "In 1859 with the formation of the new See, the dedication changed to St Paul's Cathedral Church."

According to Bishop Gray's letters 10 April 1849 and of 8 January 1858, Mr Ferrey had supplied plans in 1849 for the St Paul's church. As Sophia did not accompany her husband on the 1849 visitation to the island, the Bishop would have had to take Ferrey's plans to Cape Town for modifications by his wife, which seems unlikely. The Bishop made no comment in his journal about his wife's contribution to church designs.⁵⁶ It must be concluded that Sophia did not design any churches on St Helena. Referring to the architectural features of St Paul's in Drawing 89, it is much more likely that Benjamin Ferrey was the architect than Rev Frey, the ex-missionary from India. The church consisted of a four-bay nave and chancel, with rarely seen clasping buttresses at the nave corners and angle buttresses on the chancel. Windows comprised a triplet lancet on the east wall and lancet couplets in the nave walls. A bellcote with three openings on the western wall is reminiscent of Butterfield's designs for St Saviour's, Claremont and St Paul's, Rondebosch.

⁵¹ Benjamin Ferrey (1810-1880), English architect, near contemporary of William Butterfield.

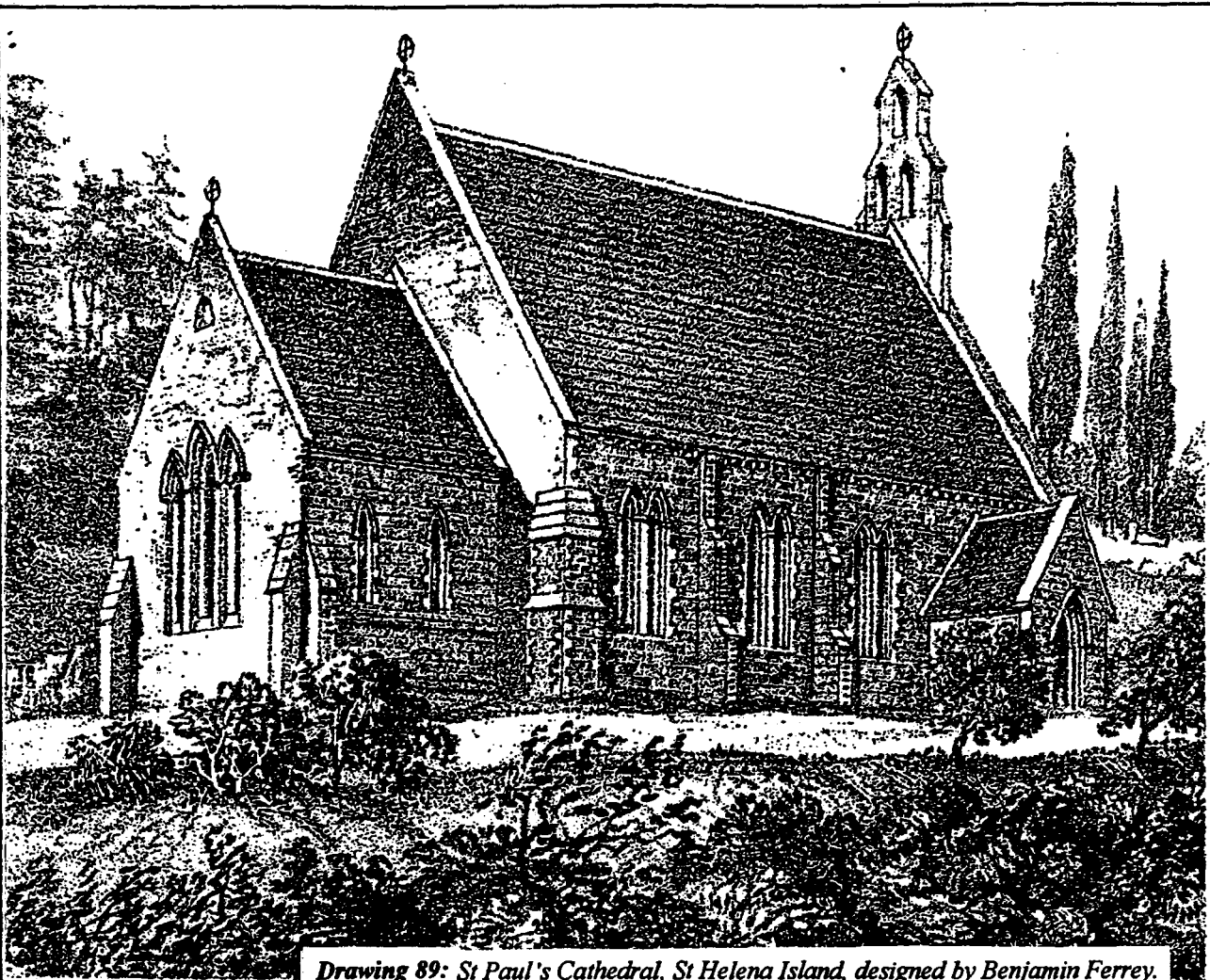
⁵² *The Mission Field*, 1858, p82.

⁵³ R. Langham-Carter, *Buildings wholly or partly designed by Mrs Gray*, 1974.

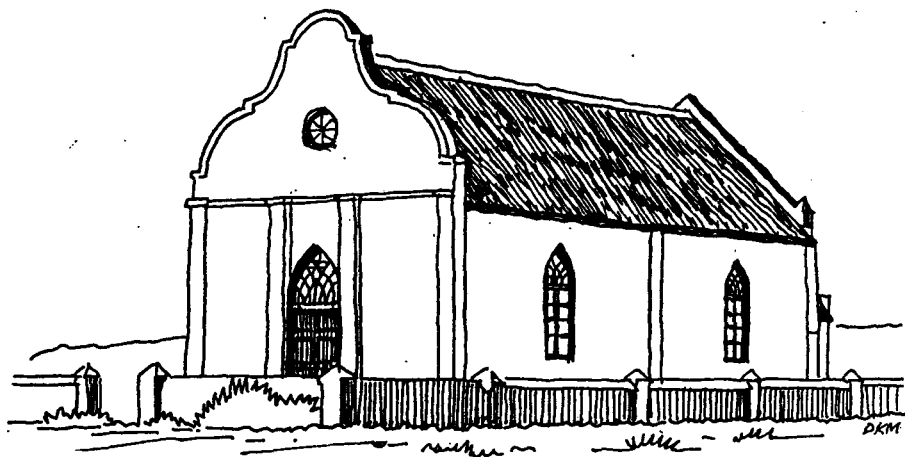
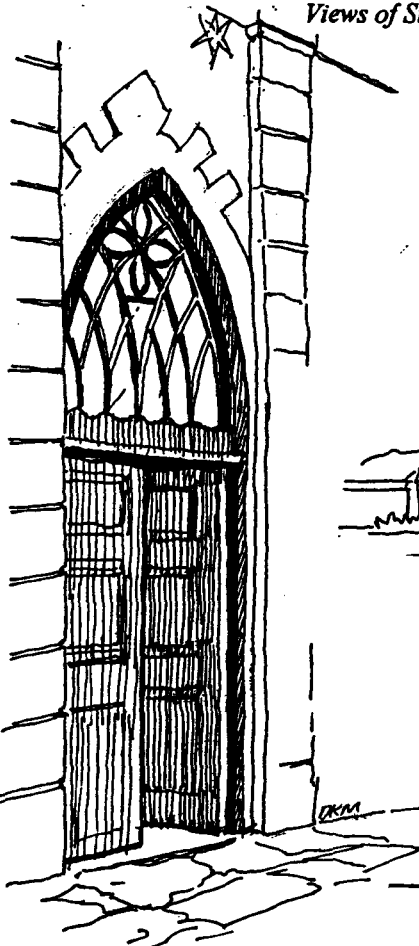
⁵⁴ Bishop Gray named Ferrey as the architect. Beddy, however, possibly confused 'Ferrey' for 'Frey', the German ex-missionary from India, who was ordained by Gray in 1849. Beddy's source is given as Gray's Journal, which contained the letter of 10 April 1849 in which Ferrey is named.

⁵⁵ A. J. R. Beddy, *List of Churches, Chapels & Schools*. Beddy's source is given as the *Church Witness*, October 1947.

⁵⁶ Gutsche's biography of Mrs Gray (*The Bishop's Lady*) carries many references to St Helena but none of these refer to churches.



Drawing 89: St Paul's Cathedral, St Helena Island, designed by Benjamin Ferrey. Clasp buttresses on nave. Source: G. W. Meliss, Views of St Helena from photographs, Plate XI, p47.



Drawing 90a: The Barry Church, Port Beaufort

Drawing 90b:
Detail of doorway with
intersecting tracery in
fanlight, Barry Church

C58. The Barry Church, Port Beaufort

The mouth of the Breede River was considered a potential port in 1800 when Faure, the landdrost at Swellendam, "strongly advised the authorities at the Cape that the mouth... should be exploited to facilitate the conveyance of the products of the Overberg to Cape Town..."⁵⁷ These sentiments were expressed again in 1803 and in 1817 Lord Charles Somerset had the estuary surveyed and gave his family name, Beaufort, to the newly founded port. Joseph Barry arrived in the Cape in 1819 and started a transport business in 1822, establishing a shop at the port in 1823 with his two nephews, John and Thomas. The firm Barry & Nephews flourished as the little port developed "by means of their own as well as chartered ships..."⁵⁸ Joseph Barry became one of the wealthiest businessmen in the Overberg and his business traded in virtually anything. His so-called empire centred on Port Beaufort and Swellendam.

The Bishop's first visitation took him via Caledon and Swellendam where he recorded on 4 September 1848, that he hoped to appoint two clergymen, one for Swellendam and one for Port Beaufort "to educate Mr Barry's children and others; to minister to the people there, and at Riversdale." He continued, "I have also engaged to furnish plans for a small Church there. We started this morning in Mr Barry's cart, having sent our wagon on and breakfasted with Captain Buchanan."⁵⁹ This entry indicates that Barry and the Bishop must have met on previous occasions if Gray was aware of his children's educational needs. The other point of note is that Gray promised building plans knowing that the church was to be run on inter-denominational lines for the residents of the port. It is known that Dr Robertson, the Dutch Reformed Minister at Swellendam regularly came to hold services.

On the return journey to Cape Town, Gray arrived in Riversdale on Friday 8 December 1848 and wrote in his journal, "We determined to go a little out of our way to Port Beaufort, which I missed when last here, to see Mr Barry and the foundations of his Church, according to plans furnished by me, which are already laid: we slept in his house and walked to the mouth of the Breede River. The want of good water will probably prevent its becoming ever a considerable port."⁶⁰ There are no records to show exactly when the church was ready for service though it is likely that it was completed in 1849.⁶¹ One history states that the small church "was completed in 1859 (?) by Thomas Barry as an inter-denominational Chapel for the people of the port."⁶² The church is mentioned by the Bishop again in his journal of 1855: "Port Beaufort ... where Mr T

⁵⁷ J. J. Oberholzer, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, p116.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p117.

⁵⁹ Gray's Journal, 1848, p10. The children referred to by the Bishop were probably Thomas Barry's children as he was in charge of the business at Port Beaufort at the time. "Mr Barry's cart" most likely belonged to Joseph Barry.

⁶⁰ Gray's Journal, 1848, p70. A shrewd observation as water problems inhibited progress for decades.

⁶¹ Brochure: *Port Beaufort Church*, p3.

⁶² E. H. Burrows, *Overberg Outspan*, p242. Burrows' source was the *Overberg Courant*.

Barry *has built* a School-chapel in which he holds a Service every Lords Day."⁶³ It is more likely therefore that the date "1859" quoted by Burrows should be "1849". The founding of a chapel at the port reveals something of Joseph Barry's nature – a clever and successful entrepreneur but one who was not without concern for spiritual values.

In 1865, the Bishop recorded something of his visit to the area around Bredasdorp while en route to the Eastern Cape. On 23 August 1865 he headed for Malgas, "a trading establishment on the Breede River, intended to have been the seat of a village ... as it is, the village is a failure."⁶⁴ The depressing note on Malgas is in keeping with the events of the time. Joseph Barry had died on 26 March 1865 and the Barry 'empire' began a slow decline.⁶⁵ The Bishop's journal of 24 September 1865 reads, "...reached Mr Barry's trading establishment at Port Beaufort in time for an early dinner... we had service in the evening, in the School Chapel erected by Mr Barry."⁶⁶

The provision of a plan by the Bishop⁶⁷ must be taken into consideration when assessing Mrs Gray's overall contribution to churches built in the period but considering that both Robert and Sophia Gray were steeped in the Gothic tradition, it is difficult to conceive that Sophia could bring herself to design a church with a Cape Dutch gable set between two pilasters. The church bears no resemblance to the Early English parish churches favoured by the Grays thus Sophia Gray's authorship of the plans is doubted. This raises the question, "Who was the architect if Bishop Gray provided plans?"

The Barry's Wool store that stands about 100 metres north of the church has gables identical to the one on the church's pediment. The same convex-concave design is also found on the "Oefeningshuis"⁶⁸ in Swellendam that was built in 1838. These buildings predated the church. It is possible that Barry wished his church to be identified with his other buildings, discarded the Bishop's plan altogether and relied on a plan *from a local builder*. This is unlikely because the journals state that Gray had promised a plan on 4 September 1848 and three months later, on 8 December 1848, he inspected the foundations of the church *already being built* according to plans "furnished by me". The Bishop, possibly as he did not wish to give offence to his non-Anglican friends in the Barry family, never commented adversely about the church's "pagan" architectural style as he was quick to do with structures within his own diocese that were "not correct in

⁶³ Gray's Journal, 1855. p26.

⁶⁴ Gray's Journal, 1865, p9.

⁶⁵ E. Burrows, *Overberg Outspan*, pp270, 271. The nephews John Barry died in January 1871 and Thomas Barry died in October 1876. Barry & Nephews eventually closed down in 1882.

⁶⁶ Gray's Journal, 1865, p10. The church building has been sold and re-purchased by Barry descendants through the years. In 1955, the church and its pulpit were restored through the efforts of Mr Dennis Barry. When the roof collapsed in 1986, it was restored by the Barry Trust.

⁶⁷ R. Langham-Carter, *Buildings wholly or partly designed by Mrs Gray*, (1974).

⁶⁸ The name 'Oefeningshuis' denotes that religious instruction (godsdiensoeffening) was practised there.

point of architecture.”⁶⁹ Bearing in mind the architectural features outlined below such as the flat-headed windows, it is possible too that, as the Bishop knew the building was to be multifunctional, serving as school, chapel and probably community meeting hall, he was unperturbed with its ultimate non-compliance with ecclesiological standards. Having been private property since it was acquired, the building did not feature in Anglican Church records and thus it never needed to be consecrated. Authorship of the design, however, remains a mystery.

The church is a rectangular building, 16 x 8 metres, under a thatched roof, with a convex-concave Cape Dutch gable over the north end wall that fronts an open stone stoep (Refer Drawing 90a). The east façade has pilasters on the corners up to the stringcourse with dentils at the top.⁷⁰ There is a Gothic timbered fanlight with intersecting tracery above the front door (Refer Drawing 90b). The west end has a pedimented gable with strap moulding. The long walls have two casement windows each with Gothic fanlights above. Walls are of plastered limestone. A small vestry and toilet were added to the west wall in 1993.

⁶⁹ An unlikely alternative as to who designed the church, is put forward by the author of the brochure quoted earlier. Gray's entry in his journal of 1848, "I have also engaged to furnish plans for a small church", is taken at face value and the author comes to the naïve conclusion: "...it is quite clear that he himself was responsible for drawing the plan for the church and not his wife Sophie..." There are other examples where the Bishop promised to provide plans but his words have not been interpreted as meaning that such plans were drawn by him.

⁷⁰ NMC File 9/2/039/004

2.3 FUNDING CHURCH BUILDING PROJECTS

Finance was an obvious and indispensable ingredient in the building programme; this section reviews the sources from which Bishop Gray drew support.

Robert Gray came to South Africa in 1848 with the assurance that the two great Church of England organizations, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), both recently quickened by the Oxford Movement, were committed to more energetic campaigning and had already since the 1820s, been sending significant donations, albeit on an *ad hoc* basis, for church building and general support of ministers and missionaries. Selected instances of SPCK and SPG grants, summarised below, indicate the mounting interest these societies were taking in the new British colony in Africa:

In 1820, the SPG sent £500 for a church in Cape Town, which the local government declined. The money was re-routed to Grahamstown for an English church (for which the Governor also gave £500). In 1821 the SPG sent their own missionary to the Cape who opened a school in Wynberg and also set up the first 'cottage chapel' in a temporary barrack. This building was eventually replaced in 1839 by the Wynberg Church through the SPG's gift of £200 plus a further unknown amount. The SPG granted £300 towards the first English church (St Mary's) in Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth) in 1825. In 1827 the SPCK gave £100 to Bishop James¹ who in 1827 initiated the move to build St George's Cathedral in Cape Town.² The SPCK made a grant of £2000 in 1829 for the building of churches and schools in the Cape, which funds were disbursed by the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, the churches receiving aid being Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Bathurst (£250 or £300), Wynberg (£450) and Simon's Town.³ During 1836-1846, the SPG assisted with the support of seven clergy in Cape Town, Wynberg, Stellenbosch, Fort Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet, George and Uitenhage.⁴

It was the SPCK that petitioned the House of Commons in 1839 "for an increase of bishops" in the colonies, "for the erection of new churches and chapels commensurate with the wants of the colonists... for the instruction of the inhabitants in the truths of Christianity, according to the principles of the Church of England".⁵ Largely through the efforts of the Bishop of London, Dr Charles Blomfield, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Colonial Bishops' Fund (CBF) was born on 1 June 1841, its aim to raise funds "towards providing for the Endowment of Bishops in such of the foreign possessions of Great Britain as shall be determined..."⁶ Both the SPCK and the SPG contributed to the CBF when the Fund was established, the former giving £10 000 and the latter £5 000.⁷ Rev Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the CBF, announced on the day of its founding that £80 000 was already available in the Fund. The fund was a voluntary organization, having neither Royal Charter nor parliamentary recognition. It was nevertheless a practical organization as it placed on the Bishops the responsibility of

¹ The Bishop of Calcutta began his episcopal duties in Cape Town while en route to India.

² C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CP&SA*, pp14, 16, 19.

³ J. A. Hewitt, *Sketches of English Church History*, pp61, 66.

⁴ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *op cit.*, p22.

⁵ *Ibid*, p24.

⁶ W. F. France, *Centenary History of the Colonial Bishops' Fund, 1841-1941*, p11. The CBF had agreed that the first six Bishops to be established should be New Zealand, Valletta (Gibraltar), New Brunswick, Cape of Good Hope, Van Dieman's Land (South Australia), and Ceylon.

⁷ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *op cit.*, p24.

directing the expansion of the Church.⁸ The funds of the CBF were expended on "episcopal incomes" from which the salaries of colonial bishops were paid so it is doubtful whether donations to specific church building projects were made.

The SPCK was to prove a loyal and generous supporter of Gray's building plans. Initially the objects of the SPCK, as set out in 1821, were the 'diffusion' and explanation of Scriptures, promotion of the Prayer Book, and the provision of books for Christian education. In 1832 and 1834, however, block grants were added for bishops of new dioceses. Later in 1847, the SPCK's objects included the founding and endowment of training colleges and in 1853, the SPCK reported that £89 339 had been granted for the building of churches in the Colonies.⁹

The exact number of Cape Colony and Natal churches established by Bishop Gray that were also part-funded by the SPCK, was not determined but there is ample evidence of the Society's regular giving in the church histories. Records of the following churches confirm that grants towards their construction were made: Caledon (C8), Bloemfontein (C11), Pietermaritzburg (C13), Stellenbosch (C14), Swellendam (C15), Beaufort West (C17), Worcester (C18), Somerset East (C19), North End, Port Elizabeth (C20), Paarl (C22), Cradock (C25), Constantia (C31), Clanwilliam (C37), Umzinto (C42), and Fort Beaufort (C55). It is suspected, however, that most churches were financially assisted. In a number of instances Gray remarked that the amount of the SPCK's grant, "will not be more than £100," as at Worcester, or "...will most probably give £100," as at Somerset East. This amount appears to have been the allocation for the average-sized church.

Bishop Gray's usual procedure was to apply to the SPCK for funds only after assuring for himself of the earnestness of the particular English community to build a church. A building committee was invariably elected from the parishioners, which committee would then be informed of the SPCK's stipulations for granting aid, these being, (1) that the plans of the church had to be approved by the Bishop, (2) that the site had to be secured and, (3) that the building had to be roofed in before the funds could be drawn. The committee would be informed by the Bishop at the time if there were other funds available, such as from the Colonial Government, or from the Bishop's public funds or from his own purse.

A variation of the usual procedure was taken by Bishop Gray in a situation involving four churches. In his letter to Rev J B Murray of the SPCK¹⁰ of 28 September 1850, Gray referred to the lump sum of £500 given to him by the SPCK for use at his discretion and wrote, "I feel much indebted to the Society for the liberal grants towards the churches at Beaufort and Bloemfontein... I have also to thank the Society for the grants of £75 towards the Church at Maritzburg... and £50 for Swellendam. I wish to ask you privately whether you think there would be any objection to my adding £75 to the former and £50 to the latter out of the sum of £500 originally placed at my disposal by the Society. I am anxious to do so, if you see no objection, because the Clergy & others at these places know what grants are given to their churches & may think I have not represented their cases as forcibly as some others." (Gray included his thanks in the letter for various book donations including 600 Dutch Bibles. He also mentioned to Rev Murray his intentions of returning to England the following year "with a view to raise

⁸ W. F. France, *Centenary History of the Colonial Bishops Fund 1841-1941*, p12.

⁹ W. K. Lowther Clarke, *A History of the SPCK*, pp150, 151.

¹⁰ Letters to Bishops, 1847-1850, pp278 - 281.

the means and select the men, for an extensive Mission work in Natal and in British Kaffraria”).

As stated in Section 1.5, Robert had himself been very active as the local secretary of the SPG from 1839 while at Whitworth and later at Stockton. The SPG had motivated for 13 new bishoprics in the Colonies and had thus played a leading role in placing Gray in South Africa as the first bishop. Although in the years after 1820, grants were made for particular churches, the SPG appears to have designated their support after 1848 for more general appeals, such as the 1852 grants for the new dioceses of Grahamstown (£5000) and Natal (£500) that had come into being on 23 November 1853.¹¹ As briefly mentioned in Section 1.2 (under *Evangelicalism*), Bishop Gray in a lengthy speech delivered in Cambridge in 1858, said that following his visit to England in 1853, missionaries “went forth to their labours, supported, in the first instance, out of funds placed by the private bounty of the Church in my hands for that purpose, and... by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which now maintains the whole of that part of our missionary work, and instead of £125, is spending full £7000 a year in South Africa.”¹² In 1865, Gray reported that the Church had 34 mission stations or outposts with schools, 53 schools (chiefly mission), 42 clergy, catechists and schoolmasters, nearly all employed in instructing the heathen. The “whole of this work is supported by a grant of £2645 from the SPG.”¹³ These references all point to the SPG’s focus being mission support rather than the building of churches.

In addition to the SPG and SPCK funds, Gray relied initially (for about 18 months only) on Government grants to augment funds from the Societies for church building. This was not presumption on the part of the Bishop as Ecclesiastical Grants *in support of ministers* were made to different churches as stated in a “Report of the Regulations and Expenditure in the Colony,” dated June 1847. Annual grants were made by the Legislative Council “to the Church of England, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Scotch Presbyterian Church, and the Romish Church.”¹⁴ These grants were £7000 for 33 Dutch Reformed ministers, £2945 for 12 chaplains of the Church of England, £203 for ‘Scotch and Lutheran’, £300 for the Roman Catholic churches in Cape Town and Grahamstown and £150 for the Wesleyan Church at Salem. The Report confirms that in the Cape Colony there was no one church acknowledged as ‘the Established Church’ as may have been suspected after Britain assumed control in 1806. The Government claimed no interference with the internal economy of the Dutch Reformed Church, which was “exclusively ruled by its own judicatories” but with respect to the English Church up to 1847, the Governor was, in the absence of a bishop, ex-officio the Ordinary.¹⁵ This explains the attitude prevailing amongst English churchmen in the Cape Colony, accustomed to the long rule of governors acting as Ordinary, that the Government “could and should direct the Church in all things.”¹⁶

The grants outlined above, however, were directed at support of ministers. Financial

¹¹ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *op cit.*, pp66, 67.

¹² Substance of a Speech, CPSA Archives, BX 5692. NI GRA.

¹³ Bishop of Cape Town’s Special Fund, Cape Town, May 1865, CPSA BX 5692 NI GRA.

¹⁴ W. A Newman, *Biographical Memoir of John Montagu*, p280. There was nominal ‘pecuniary support’ granted to ministers of the Lutheran Church.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp280, 281. After the appointment of Gray as Bishop of Cape Town, Government granted in 1849, £400 for the Bishop’s travelling expenses and another £400 for his Archdeacon in Grahamstown.

¹⁶ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *op cit.*, p25.

assistance for building projects had to be motivated on an individual basis. For example, Gray had addressed a letter on 16 January 1849 to the Governor with regard to the assistance he hoped his Church could expect from Colonial funds for building churches. In a detailed reply from John Montagu, Colonial Secretary, dated 13 February 1849, the promise was made that "...the Governor is prepared to grant sites for Churches in all places in which you can certify to the sufficiency of the congregation; and to grant a stipend to the Ministers appointed by you equal to the amount raised by private contributions. His Excellency will further grant from the Colonial Treasury *one fifth of the expense of erecting churches* (author's italics) in such places, under the existing conditions on which similar grants will be made to other religious bodies..."¹⁷ The letter also stated "His Excellency will grant one fifth of the expense of erecting churches at George, Knysna, Plettenberg Bay, Caledon and Zonder End and at any places with regard to which you are able to certify as to the sufficiency of the congregation..."

Montagu attached to his letter of 13 February 1849, a copy of the two conditions "on which the Colonial Government will contribute aid to the building of Churches..." These were "*1st That a proportion only of the expense of the building should be defrayed by the Government and the remainder by subscription of those who would benefit by it – that proportion to be fixed in reference to the wealth or poverty of the Inhabitants... 2nd That no aid should be afforded to any building... without the Government having first approved the locality and the description of building... and of the necessity of affording support...*"¹⁸

Bishop Gray recorded in January or February 1849,¹⁹ developments in the Church during the previous few months. He wrote that Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, was not able to grant glebes though Gray thought the Church was entitled to them considering what had been done for Dutch, Methodists and Moravians. The Governor also refused him sites for schools and parsonages but he "*grants me sites for churches wherever I ask and a fifth of the expense of building them* (author's italics). He grants me also £900 a year for 9 clergymen and means to lay down the rule, which I have been pressing him to do, of giving a fifth to all churches, Dutch and English, and half the stipend of the clergy, the remainder to be raised from private sources. Now... this may be more than the governor may be able to carry through..."

It appears that Government aid was short lived as on 22 March 1849, Montagu wrote to Gray informing him that the whole subject of grants of money for religious purposes would be submitted to the Legislative Council "with a view to the enactment of some fixed regulations under which such grants shall be... made"²⁰ On 11 August 1849, Montagu replied to Gray's letters of 7 and 11 July in which the Bishop had submitted plans of churches to be erected at George, Graaff-Reinet and Melville (Knysna). The Governor had approved the plans but Montagu pointed out that the one fifth contribution of the church expense at Graaff-Reinet was conditional on the congregation paying half the minister's stipend and contributing £50 for a house. As for the other two churches, Montagu said that the Governor had not brought the subject of ecclesiastical grants before the Legislative Council "and is not pledged by [his] letter of the 13th February to

¹⁷ CPSA Archives, AB1162/A1.2 Letters received June 1847 - July 1850.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *Historical Records of the CPSA*, p46. The precise date is not given.

²⁰ C.O. 5103, p299.

contribute our fifth of the cost of erecting those churches.”²¹ There are no further references to the ‘one fifth principle’ in subsequent extensive correspondence between Montagu and Gray, thus confirming the fear that Gray expressed early in 1849 that the Governor would have difficulty in maintaining the grant. The *Historical Records* verify the action taken by the Government, commenting; “These grants were not passed.”²²

A third source of funding was what Bishop Gray regarded as Biblical, the cheerful giving of the congregations themselves. In a letter dated 15 November 1849 to his children from Swellendam, Bishop Gray wrote of his intentions of addressing a Pastoral Letter to the clergy and laity on the subject of raising church funds: “The weekly offertory is what the Church in this land must depend on for her support. Pew rents are odious and insufficient. Freewill offerings in the Lords house are what we are driven to.”²³ As intimated to his children, Gray set out in his Pastoral letter of 1 January 1850 how finance for church projects should be obtained: “I have already sought to impress on you that the Church must... depend mainly on its own exertions. For the present we must be dependent in part on the voluntary offerings of our people... we are entitled to some measure of support from the State, ... we have a right to expect that the Mother Church will aid her spiritual offspring, and this she has done during the last two years, nobly and generously. But we must mainly depend upon God’s Blessing resting on our own exertions... so I feel disposed to suggest... the plan of making our Church work depend on the weekly offerings of the worshippers in the House of God. This is in accordance with the Scriptures (1 Corinthians 16), with the rubrics in the Communion Service, and ... if entered into cheerfully, is sure to be the most effectual method.” He advised further: “the weekly almsgiving should be used, (1) for the support of the ministry in each parish; (2) towards *the erection and repairs of the parish church* (author’s italics); (3) towards the conversion of... heathen; (4) for the poor, including... aged clergy, their widows, and orphans; (5) for the work of education.”²⁴ Gray stated these points less formally to Rev Edmund Pain at Somerset East on 15 December 1849: “...collect often for the Clergyman & the Church, occasionally for Missions and for the poor & schools as needed.”²⁵

There are a number of references in Gray’s journals to subscriptions, which may be regarded as distinct from the ‘weekly almsgiving’, discussed above, although the *source* of subscriptions would seem to be identical to freewill offerings, the pockets of the parishioners.²⁶ This fourth source of finance seems to have been no more than promises made by parishioners to subscribe to a building fund. The subscription list nevertheless allowed the building committee or church treasurer to budget for a church project that would not exceed the means of the congregation. When money was required to be paid to contractors, the subscribers would be reminded of the amounts committed on the subscription list. The system makes its appearance in the first building project the Bishop initiated, St Paul’s Church, Rondebosch (C1). Bishop Gray had chaired a meeting on 14 January 1851 to discuss the best means to complete the church being built at the time. At a second meeting on 21 January, “it was resolved that the first subscription list... be

²¹ Letters to Bishop Gray, AB 1162/A1.2

²² C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *op cit.*, p46.

²³ Letter AB1161/Ba, CPSA.

²⁴ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *op cit.*, p50.

²⁵ Letterbook Vol.1, 1848-1850, CPSA Archives AB 1162/A1.1.

²⁶ As occurred at St Paul’s Church, Rondebosch, however, the subscription list allowed for potential donors outside the church to be approached to contribute to what was a project of civic interest and value.

submitted to the original subscribers to the Building Fund, and to any other persons who might be interested in the completion of the church... the Building can & will be finished if the additional sum... can be raised by subscription."²⁷ Another instance of church leaders relying on subscription lists was at D'Urban (Durbanville) when it was decided to issue these to raise funds for the chapel.²⁸ Bishop Gray recognized, however, that tapping the parishioners for money through weekly offerings as well as via subscriptions was a delusion. In his letter to Rev Edmund Pain, Somerset East, quoted earlier, Gray stated, "As to the £60 for the Clergyman, I leave the Parish to raise it as they see fit, but I shall be glad if they do it by the offertory upon which... we shall ultimately have to depend for our whole Church work. *Subscription lists are but a makeshift, and will gradually fail* (author's italics)"²⁹.

A fifth means of funding was from Gray's private resources, funds that he was not hesitant to use for church building in urgent cases. An example of Gray's personal giving is seen when he was in North End, Port Elizabeth in 1850. He "promised his own help, that of Miss Burdett-Coutts, the SPG; and others *if they* [the parishioners of St Paul] would try to raise £500 themselves."³⁰ Gray had already promised McClelland that he would contribute £100 from his public fund and £50 *from his private purse*. Two years before the church at Worcester was commenced, Gray promised in his letter of 22 April 1851, that as soon as the parishioners attempt the erection of a church, he would give them £50 from his subscriptions "and £20 from my private purse," apart from applying for a grant from the SPCK.³¹ Another example of Gray's personal funding of projects arose in 1869, in the last years of his service at the Cape. The SPG had reduced their block grant towards the Diocese of Cape Town from £3000 to £2775. Bishop Gray reasoned with the SPG on 25 February: "It is impossible to break up work suddenly. Justice to the men employed would alone forbid it. I have made myself... personally responsible, for the present, for the amount of grant withdrawn by the SPG."³² Gray's letter described how the state of the churches in his diocese had weakened over the previous decade due to drought and fires. The English population had diminished, "they were more impoverished and thus could not give what they had ten years previously." This lead Gray to state: "I have already made myself personally responsible for a very considerably increased expenditure to that which I was committed to when I left England."³³

Private donations were another source of funding and obviously welcome but, by their very nature, were not to be relied on. When Bishop Gray was corresponding with Rev McClelland in connection with St Paul's Church, North End, he reminded the minister in his letter of 31 July 1849, of the "one old gentleman who was very eager... who said he could without difficulty raise £300. He came into the vestry after service to speak about

²⁷ Minute Book: Vestry of St Paul's Church, Rondebosch. 10 July 1848 to 29 March 1910.

²⁸ Minutes, 24 February 1857, D'Urban Minute Book.

²⁹ Letterbook Vol.1, 1848 1850, CPSA Archives AB 1162/A1.1.

³⁰ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *op cit.*, p59.

³¹ Letterbook Vol.2, pp74, 75.

³² *The Mission Field*, May 1869, p140.

³³ Gray took the opportunity to remind the SPG of the differences between the Cape and other colonies. "Our Ecclesiastical grants may be withdrawn [elections for a new Parliament were being held]. I should think nothing of this if we were a colony of English. But more than half the population is heathen. The English are not one tenth of the people... You cannot class this country with colonies like Australia and Canada."

it.”³⁴ These occasional gifts made in the course of his ministry in South Africa were completely overshadowed by the noteworthy donations and ongoing support Bishop Gray received in England during his periodic returns to his home country, largely to generate sympathy for a division of his mammoth diocese and to fundraise. On 15 November 1856, Bishop Gray wrote a Pastoral Letter of Summons to his clergy and lay members, calling them to the first Synod in January 1857. Among the issues for debate, he pointed out that the immense burden of financing the diocese had been borne by him, that he had been “personally liable for the expenditure, and the funds to meet it have been mainly raised *by his private appeals to the Church at home* (author’s italics).”³⁵ He probably had in mind the success he had had three years earlier with fundraising.

Gray worked tirelessly during his first period in England in 1852-53, addressing 150 meetings and preaching 130 sermons in the two-year stay. It is stated he raised £18700 and a further £2400 in subscriptions per annum for 5 years. In 1858-59 Gray returned to England during which time he raised £15000 and £1450 in five-year subscriptions. During a shorter stay in England between May 1862 and February 1863, donations of £5700 and subscriptions worth £900 were registered.³⁶ His appeals were directed at a wide range of personalities and church bodies, including those that were already supporting the Church in the Cape, such as the SPCK and the SPG, of which he said in the 1856 Pastoral Letter, “Societies have given comparatively little help. *This whole diocese has never had more than £600 a year from SPG.*” It is claimed that “during his lifetime he collected £130 000 for the work of the Church of the Province of South Africa.”³⁷

Bishop Gray, whose role was primarily spiritual, admitted it was onerous for him to bear the responsibility of obtaining funds to support his clergy as well as to finance building projects in his diocese. Accordingly, at the first Synod in Cape Town, held nine years after his coming to the Cape, the Bishop invited the Synod “to form a *Board for the management of the whole financial affairs* of the Church, offering to transfer to such a Board all the revenues coming into the diocese, whether from SPG, from friends in England, etc.”³⁸ The unanimous decision of the Synod was that the whole of the financial affairs “should remain in the hands of the bishop”. Gray’s response was that he considered it “injurious to the spiritual state of the bishop, and to the well-being of the diocese that such an arrangement should be permanent...” With reluctance he continued the task.

The above shows, however, that Gray was an astute administrator of the Church’s finances and, of the various sources available to him, his own efforts with generating funds were ultimately of greatest worth; his church building programme could not have succeeded without this singular input to the Church’s treasury.

³⁴ Letterbook Vol.1, pp77, 78.

³⁵ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *op cit.*, p148.

³⁶ Details of Bishop Gray’s fundraising efforts were sourced from T. Gutsche, *The Bishop’s Lady*, pp133, 167, 187, and are considered reliable.

³⁷ *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, Vol.5, p327.

³⁸ C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards, *op cit.*, p75.

2.4 THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE BRECHIN STONEMASONS

*Bishop Gray employed Scottish stonemasons in the building of at least ten churches in his diocese. Their contribution to ecclesiastical buildings in the Cape is unique. This section underscores Kenneth Clark's comment, "Gothic depends on detail, and the individual architect, however gifted, is powerless without a body of good craftsmen."*¹

A high standard of craftsmanship in the churches established by Bishop Gray was set in the first three years as a result of Gray recruiting three competent stonemasons who had emigrated from Scotland in the late 1840's.² These were Alexander Bern, Alexander Lawrence and his elder brother, James Lawrence. Two younger Lawrence brothers, Colin Gibb³ and William, also stonemasons, came to South Africa in 1856 when about half of the churches built by Gray had been completed. Bern and the four Lawrences were all born at Brechin in Forfarshire (now County Angus), an area noted for its sandstone and granite.⁴

The Bishop no doubt recognised that "local masons would probably be unversed in the type of building he wanted. As the material to be used would be mostly sandstone he selected Bern and the Lawrences who were experienced in this medium and also were familiar with buildings in the Gothic style which he planned to use at the Cape"⁵ It is thought that the stonemasons probably contracted to work for a fixed period and received payment from Gray and from the parishes that employed them. Rev Morris confirms the latter in his letter about the Oudtshoorn church (refer C30): "Their pay was to be per cubic foot of their work when the walls were finished, except the pointing."

How the Bishop came to meet these stonemasons and arrange their projects is not recorded. One history states that the masons "were brought in from Scotland to erect his (Gray's) early churches"⁶ A history of Belvidere Church also states that they were "brought to South Africa by Bishop Gray." A pamphlet (c1980) *Holy Trinity Belvidere*, mentions that the sandstone found on the estate "was quarried and shaped by three Scottish masons engaged from an immigrant ship..." implying that they had not secured work in Knysna before leaving Britain. Langham-Carter records in his history of the St Andrew's Church, Newlands, that the Grays "[in 1856]... were lucky to have three Scottish masons who had already built several churches for the bishop"⁷ but in his notes on the Newlands Chapel⁸ he writes that the chapel "... was built by A

¹ K. Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, p286.

² M. Bull & J. Denfield, *Secure the Shadow*, p202.

³ In *A Memoir of the Rev. Alfred George Duthie, of Belvidere*, the masons named are A. Bern and Alexander and Colin Lawrence. The latter is also named by Langham-Carter as the third mason employed by Gray for the building of St Saviour's Claremont (*Under the Mountain*, p7.). His arrival in Cape Town, however, is given as 1856 (*vide supra*). The exact date of the arrival of James Lawrence is unknown "but on February 28, 1848, at St Andrew's Church, Cape Town, he married Zacharie Poulter." (*Under the Shadow*, p203). It is more likely that the third mason was James Lawrence.

⁴ Virtually the whole town centre of Brechin is built of red sandstone. Brechin Cathedral, begun in about 1225, incorporates the famous Round Tower that dates from the 11th century

⁵ R. Langham-Carter, 'The Scottish Stone Masons', *Architect and Builder*, March 1975.

⁶ G. Nesemann, *St Mark's Cathedral, George*, p5.

⁷ R. Langham-Carter, *St Andrews in the Oaks*, p3.

⁸ R. Langham-Carter, CPSA File AB 1498f.

Bern and C and A Lawrence, the three builders Gray brought out from England.” A fifth book, not dealing with church history but with early photographers in South Africa, states that Alexander Lawrence (with his elder brother James) had “settled in George where he was engaged in the building profession.”⁹ This last view is considered the most likely as the Bishop stayed in George during his 1848 visitation on Saturday 9th and Sunday 10th September 1848. A meeting was held in the Court House on the Saturday to discuss the proposed church for George. Bishop Gray recorded that it was well attended and a plan for a church was adopted.¹⁰ Being builders, it is quite possible that the Lawrence brothers were at the meeting where they indicated their interest in both the George project and the Graaff-Reinet church as two months later, work on the latter church was commenced. Where Alexander Bern was staying when the Lawrences were in George is not known.

Between late 1848 and 1856, the Brechin stonemasons built seven Anglican churches and at least three more after 1856. The seventh church, the chapel at Newlands (C23), was begun in May 1856 in the same month that William and Colin Gibb Lawrence arrived.¹¹ Whether Colin Gibb Lawrence replaced James Lawrence is not known. An attempt was made to reconstruct the building programme of the Brechin builders in order to substantiate that they were responsible for building all the churches attributed to them as thought by Langham-Carter:

The trio of masons began their first church, St James, in Graaff-Reinet (C4) in December 1848 or early 1849. The foundation stone of St George’s Church (C3), Knysna, was laid on 21 April 1849. It is presumed that the masons were there to set out the foundations and begin the walls so work on the Graaff-Reinet church could have been interrupted. On 23 October 1849, the foundation stone of St Mark’s at George (C6) was laid. Again it is presumed the masons were there. Work at Knysna was held up on account of lack of funds and, as recorded by Bishop Gray on 26 November 1850, “the walls were [then] still only half built.”¹² This situation probably allowed the masons to complete their work at Graaff-Reinet by April 1850 and about six months later at George considering that on 29 October and 7 December 1850 respectively, the churches of St James and St Mark were consecrated.

The Brechin masons must have had to juggle with their building programme in 1849 and 1850 to complete the first two churches simultaneously, possibly by leaving one mason to complete work at one site and moving two to the new site. The Knysna project was delayed and only completed in 1855 but work on the fourth church, St Saviour’s (C10), Claremont, now began with the foundation stone being laid on 14 November 1850. By this time the masons must have moved to Cape Town where they lived for a while at *Bishopscourt*.¹³ They had about six months to build the walls of Mrs Gray’s Claremont church in Cape Town before tackling their fifth and most ambitious project, the Norman church at Belvidere (C12). Bishop Gray also recorded that while he was in Knysna on 26 November 1850, he talked over with the mason (probably Alex. Bern) “the working drawings of the plans of a proposed plain Norman church at Belvidere.” On 27 May 1851, according to the history, the three

⁹ M. Bull & J. Denfield, *Secure the Shadow*, p202.

¹⁰ Gray’s Journal, 1848, p13.

¹¹ They arrived in Table Bay on May 20, on the East Indiaman *Dinapore* (*Secure the Shadow*, p203).

¹² Gray’s Journal, 1850, p184.

¹³ R. Langham-Carter, *Under the Mountain*, p7.

stonemasons set out the Holy Trinity Church at Belvidere. The foundation stone was laid in October 1851 and “by the middle of 1852 all the stone-work was finished.”¹⁴ Langham-Carter lists Christ Church at Swellendam as the work of the Brechin masons¹⁵ but Gutsche names the masons as “John, Henry and G. Higgs” who worked for John Montagu, the Colonial Secretary. The church was begun in May 1852 and ironically its west end had to be rebuilt as, according to the Bishop, it had been “put up by inferior masons...”¹⁶ From 1853 the time gaps between churches built by the masons are longer and they were possibly able to involve themselves in other building work not associated with the Anglican Church such as the Old Gaol at Victoria West.

The Brechin masons built St Matthew’s, Riversdale (C21) in 1855 and the St Andrew’s Chapel in Newlands (C23) in 1856, being churches six and seven. Three other Anglican churches attributed to them are the Green Point church (commenced about June 1859 but never completed), St Mary’s, Woodstock (C26) in 1859 and the first phase of St Jude’s, Oudtshoorn (C30) in 1860 apart from at least three Dutch Reformed churches in Cradock, Oudtshoorn and Graaff-Reinet. In 1859 Alexander Lawrence was injured during a fall from scaffolding while building the Congregational Church in Buitenkant Street, Cape Town. In April 1861, James Lawrence opened a photographic studio in Cape Town, employing his brothers Alexander and Colin Gibb as assistants.¹⁷ William continued in the building trade until 1864 when he joined his brothers in their photographic business.

Some of the stone churches built by the Bern/Lawrence partnership have a distinctive pattern on their walls. Where a small gap between large stones cannot be filled with another largish stone, the Brechin masons used three or four smaller flat stones of *equal dimensions* to fill the gap. This created a series of triplets along the wall face. The practice was noticed in particular on the walls of St George’s Church, Knysna (Figure Q, photographs 1 & 2), but also at St Mark’s (Drawing 13), St Jude’s (Drawings 53 and 55) and to a lesser extent at St James’, Graaff-Reinet and at St Matthew’s, Riversdale. It was also seen on the walls of the Old Gaol at Victoria West, known to be the work of the Brechin masons. The Cape Town churches of St Saviour’s, Newlands Chapel and St Mary’s, Woodstock, do not exhibit this peculiarity. The external walls of the Norman-styled Belvidere church are of ashlar but the internal walls of random rubble do have some stones that follow this pattern. During the author’s visit to Brechin, Scotland, in 2000, the triplet pattern was seen in a number of the 19th century domestic buildings around Brechin Cathedral. Even on the walls of a public lavatory (c1960) the pattern appears. An old school room (c1900), now a museum in the town of Meikle, some 30 miles west of Brechin, has stone walls with the ‘triplet filler’ (Drawing 56). It could not be confirmed that this was a stylistic custom common only to stonemasons from the North East of Scotland.

The contribution of the Brechin masons was significant in that they set a very high standard for building in stone. If these men were of the Bishop’s own choosing, as is thought, then Robert Gray was indeed a shrewd judge of craftsmen.

¹⁴ A. Hart & R. C. H. Hart, *A Memoir of the Rev. Alfred George Duthie, of Belvidere*, p33.

¹⁵ R. Langham-Carter, ‘The Scottish Stone Masons’, *Architect and Builder*, March 1975.

¹⁶ Gray’s Journal, 1855, p22.

¹⁷ M. Bull & J. Denfield, *Secure the Shadow*, p203.

2.5 CASE STUDY

How Bishop Gray influenced the parishioners at Mossel Bay to delay the building of St Peter's Church while the existing School Chapel was more appropriate to their needs, as revealed through the Vestry Minutes 1856 to 1869.¹

The church school at Mossel Bay was in the course of being erected when Bishop Gray visited Mossel Bay in September 1855 (refer Church History C48). By early 1856 or at least the middle of the year, the chapel had been built and the Parish of Mossel Bay was formally constituted on 22 January 1856. The Vestry Meeting minutes indicate that over a number of years, the churchwardens and other leaders were resolute in efforts for the church to progress from a school chapel to a stone church.

The first recorded Vestry Meeting was held on 31 March 1856, two months after the official formation of the parish. Apart from the election of office bearers (two wardens and a sidesman), the only other resolution was to set aside £5 "out of the balance of the offertory in hand..." for the general improvement of the church ground. There had obviously been some unhappiness with the finalisation of the building of the "Chapel-School & Residence" as on 25 June 1856 the contract for the work was submitted to a general meeting for review. It was felt that the contractors had been fairly treated and the situation remained as it was.

The first stirrings to build a church came before the Vestry on Easter Tuesday a year later.² It was resolved, under the Chairmanship of Rev Thomas Sheard, that a sum of £100 "...be borrowed towards enlarging the Chapel – School Room and that tenders be called for the same as early as possible." It is probable that efforts to borrow the required amount were unsuccessful as no action is recorded about the enlargement during the following four years.

At an Easter meeting of the church held on 2 April 1861, it was proposed to raise funds for "laying the foundation of a Church." This move was opposed by only one member. The need of a Building Committee was however acknowledged. Four months later just such a group was elected.³ At this meeting, Rev T Sheard, Mr J F Hudson and Mr E Powrie were elected to the Building Committee. Its only mandate was that it "...shall submit a plan of the Church for the approval of a General Meeting of parishioners." Scarcely a month later, on 27 September 1861, 12 parishioners and the Chairman, Rev Sheard met again. Among the parishioners was a Mr Pfeil. The Chairman "submitted to the meeting Mrs Gray's Plan." Mr. Hudson, one of the three Building Committee members, proposed that "...the Plan of the Aisle submitted by Mrs Gray is considered ineligible, being found too expensive and will not afford sufficient accommodation". This was carried and it was resolved "...that Mr Pfeil's plan be adopted" and that his plan should be "submitted to the Bishop together with the minutes..." of the meeting.

The submission of this alternative plan had a rapid response from Bishop Gray that

¹ The earliest parish records are kept at the Mossel Bay Museum.

² 14 April 1857

³ 23 August 1861.

leads one to suspect that it could have been hand delivered to Cape Town. On 29 October 1861, the Mossel Bay parishioners met to hear from the Chairman, Rev Sheard, that he had submitted *two* plans to the Bishop. These were the plan that had been adopted (No.1) and "No.2 ...one of Norman-Italian style to be built of brick; at the same time suggesting the lengthening of the present building to meet the immediate want of increased accommodation." It would seem that Mrs Gray's plan had been discarded and that plan No.2 was included without it having been seen or discussed with the parishioners. Who drew plan No.2 is not known.

The Bishop's reply must be quoted virtually in full as in a few short paragraphs he reveals many of his deep convictions on ecclesiastical building principles:

"I see no objection to plan No.1 only it would not accommodate 300. No.2 would never do. Cheap Norman churches never answer. Strength & solidity are essential. I am disposed to think that your plan of enlarging the School is best suited to your present means. ...A really good Church must be the work of years. If the congregation would put by £50 a year for a few years it would secure the object when it became necessary to make a real effort, and its members were increased..."

"I should feel it right to help in the enlargement of the present building, and would give one-third of what would be wanting, provided it came anywhere near your calculation (£80 to £100)."

The Norman-Italian design was immediately recognised by the Bishop as inferior. Gray's knowledge of building materials of the pre-Gothic period allowed him to rule out a Norman church to be built of brick. It is possible that Gray had in mind the fine example of a Norman church that had been erected six years earlier (1855) by his Scots stonemasons at Belvidere, Knysna.⁴ Having set a high standard in Knysna, he was possibly loath to agree to a second-rate Norman design in brick in Mossel Bay. Having ruled out design No.2, Bishop Gray accepted plan No.1 which was the work of Mr Pfeil. For whatever reason Gray says nothing about his wife's plan which had been considered by the Mossel Bay parishioners as too expensive to build. It appears that Gray accepted these reasons for rejecting Sophia's plan as valid. After the Chairman had read Bishop Gray's letter to the meeting on 29 October 1861, he put five resolutions, which were all carried. These were:

- I. "That to meet the pressing need of increased accommodation it is desirable (instead of immediately commencing with the Church) to lengthen the Chapel School room by about 20 feet.
- II. "That a subscription list be opened to meet the expenses of such alterations and that the Minister and the Churchwardens be requested to canvass the parish.
- III. "That tenders be called for, for lengthening the present building, - adding, if the funds will admit of it, a small room about 12 feet by 10 feet and a porch.
- IV. "That the Minister be requested to convey to the Lord Bishop the thanks of the parishioners for the very kind and liberal manner in which he has offered to assist them in carrying out the proposed

⁴ Refer Church History C12.

extension of the Chapel School.

- V. "That the thanks of this meeting be awarded to Mr Pfeil for his kindness in furnishing plans for a New Church."

The situation was accepted *in toto* by the parishioners and there is nothing to suggest that there was any ill feeling towards the Bishop for thwarting the ideas of the Building Committee. The school-chapel as it remains today is approximately 55 x 19 feet (16,740 x 6,000). It is doubtful whether the chapel was ever extended by 20 feet as agreed to in October 1861 as its original size would have been only 35 x 19 feet, which is most unlikely. Certainly there is no reference in the minutes of Vestry Meetings to building extensions for the next eight years, that is between 22 April 1862 and the Easter Meeting of 1869.

In 1869 the original vision of having their own stone church had been revived and on 25 May 1869 the topic was debated at a meeting attended by eight members of the church plus the rector, Thomas Sheard, as well as Archdeacon Badnall and Bishop Gray. The meeting discussed "...how the parishioners could best avail themselves of the liberal offer of the Bishop towards raising funds for the erection of a church. It was resolved that the offer of £250 from the Bishop towards the building of a church should be accepted and "...met by at least an equal amount from the Parish ... with the understanding that it remain open for the present..." The parish agreed to do its best to raise the required funds by "such methods as may... be judged... practicable."

After this meeting, the Rector sent a letter to his parishioners stating that he was prepared to offer an additional £100 to the parish should they accept the Bishop's offer. This was tabled at the Vestry Meeting of 2 July 1869. Also tabled was a letter from Mr John F Hudson (an original member of the Building Committee of 1861 and the parishioner who had not favoured Sophia Gray's plan for a church). On the matter of Rev Sheard's offer he commented, "...I regret to say speaking individually, that I see no prospect of raising this sum at present in our parish... it is beyond our means to accept his Lordship's [the Bishop's] offer." He reasoned too that the existing building was free of debt and adequate. Hudson referred to the advice given by the Bishop eight years previously: "...our present place of worship has since then been large enough to seat all who attend service."⁵ He added that, as many had left the parish since the meeting of 29 October 1861, he believed that the Bishop's advice was "much more applicable to the present time in so far as the building of a new church..." was concerned. There were other matters that were more important such as the minister's stipend that was falling off. Hudson concluded by tendering his resignation. After some discussion it was accepted that "...the Bishop [would] kindly allow his offer of £250 to remain open for three years." The Chairman stated that he was authorised by the Bishop to say that should His Lordship's offer not be accepted, it would be considered – not merely postponed – but altogether withdrawn. An addendum to the minute of 2 July 1869 records that "Since the meeting Mr Hudson has withdrawn his resignation."

After holding back the over-zealous church builders at Mossel Bay for eight years, the Bishop at the meeting on 25 May 1869 showed that he felt the time was ripe for a church project to begin. His generous offer of £250 plus Rev Sheard's £100 set the

⁵ Vestry Minutes, 2 July 1869.

small congregation a daunting though not unattainable target at which to aim. In a further attempt to encourage the parish, the Bishop was prepared to leave his offer open for the three-year period. It appears that Hudson, notwithstanding the objections he raised in his letter, saw fit to set aside his differences and support the majority.

Once again the intentions of the congregation to build could not be matched by their means. The minute book records a Vestry Meeting on 28 December 1869 and another at Easter 1870 at neither of which was there any talk of building. Sheard died in November 1871 and the following year, on 1 September, the Bishop also passed on. Their generous offers to match the fund-raising efforts of the parish died with them. The Mossel Bay church held a special meeting on the first anniversary of Bishop Gray's death to consider raising a memorial to the late Bishop.⁶ The meeting resolved that "...the most fitting way of preserving the memory of the late Bp. of Capetown in this place wd. be by commencing a fund for the erection of a Church..." This resolution was carried unanimously.

Progress with the church building scheme was slow but on 3 May 1875 the minutes record the offer of a site from none other than Mr J F Hudson. Eventually on 24 January 1876 the commissioning of an architect to draw plans was approved by the Meeting of the Governing Committee and Mr J Welchman of Grahamstown was requested to forward plans. The nave of the present St Peter's was completed in 1879 and the church dedicated on 15 October of that year, 18 years after the first moves were made in April of 1861 to lay the foundations of a church.

CONCLUSION

Had it not been for the intervention and wisdom of Bishop Gray, the premature building of a church at Mossel Bay may have created a negative financial state of affairs from which parishioners might never have recovered. This case study demonstrates that Bishop Gray's attitude to development was not a 'build at all costs – stop at nothing' approach. He showed that he could gauge when the committee needed to be restrained and when to be pushed and that he had a thorough understanding of the funding requirements for building projects.

⁶ 1 September 1873.

2.6 CHURCH CONSTRUCTION CHART AND TABLES I, II, III, IV & V.

This section contains explanatory notes on the Church Construction Chart and the five tables which show:

I - The Churches surveyed with their founding and consecration dates;

II - Architects/Designers of the churches;

III - Dimensions of churches, Buttresses and Roof Details;

IV - Window details (style of windows in nave/chancel, west wall and east wall);

V - Part of church built first, Orientation, material for external wall and bellcotes.

CHURCH CONSTRUCTION CHART - 1848 TO 1876

After the initial research into the founding and completion dates of churches for this thesis had been established, a rough version of the chart overleaf was plotted to provide a visual summary of Bishop Gray's church building programme. It was noted that the commencement of building operations of churches, fell roughly into phases, these periods of building coinciding closely with the first, second, third and fourth returns of the Grays to England. It was accordingly decided that, for the final version of the Construction Chart, to present the church histories in five phases up to the death of Bishop Gray in 1872, adding a final phase for churches built subsequent to his death (Refer also to FigureX* for a graph showing the full impact of the programme).

The number of churches that were started in each of the six phases has already been quoted in the previous section. Between Phase 1 and Phase 2, although the Grays were away for two years in 1852/53, there is no noticeable break in the building programme as is the case in the years 1858/59, 1862/63, 1867/68, also when the Grays were in England. Thus another way of viewing the church building operation is to compare Gray's first 10 years in South Africa (Phases 1 and 2), with the following 15 years (Phases 3, 4 and 5). In the first decade, 28 churches were begun while in the next 15 years, 25 churches were started. Bishop Gray therefore established *more than half* of the churches attributed to him, within ten years.

The significance of the first decade is further enhanced by considering not only the number of churches but the size of those built in comparison with the size of churches built in Phases 3, 4 and 5. In the latter period these were generally smaller, apart from Woodstock and one or two others, and included eight school chapels.

Events outside of the Bishop's personal and ecclesiastical life also impacted on building activity. The Eighth Frontier War (December 1850 to March 1853) delayed the building programme in Kaffraria and the Eastern Cape but its effects are not as obvious on the Construction Chart as the years 1863 to 1869 that fell between two periods of prosperity, 1852 -1862 and 1870 -1882, and when only 9 small churches and chapels were built. Gray recorded of his 1865 visitation to the Southern Cape that there was "great distress in the land", that the English had decreased in numbers, people generally were impoverished and unable to maintain clergymen, let alone build churches.

TABLE I - INDEX OF CHURCHES

The fifty churches that were planted by Bishop Robert Gray, have been arranged in the approximate order in which they were begun, taking the laying of the foundation stone as the *starting date*, although the setting out and excavating for foundations could precede the foundation stone laying by a few weeks or months.

Column 1: Churches have been given a 'C' number which number identifies these churches throughout the thesis.

Column 2: The name of the church and the town or village where it is located.

Column 3: Date when the foundation stone was laid.

Column 4: Date when the church was consecrated. School chapels were not usually consecrated. In these cases the date of the opening service has been quoted if known. The consecration service seldom coincided with the opening and, as the event had to wait for the visit of the Bishop, the date of consecration was often considerably later than the opening. The difference in time between the foundation stone laying and the consecration date, gives a rough indication of the time taken to build the church.

TABLE II – ARCHITECTS OF THE CHURCHES

The information on this table is identical to Table I except that the last column shows the names of the architect or designer of the listed churches. Mrs Gray is regarded as having had the authorship of 40 of the 50 churches shown. Of the 40, 11 churches were *partly designed* by her using the plans or personal assistance of the persons named in C1, C6, C10, C12, C15, C20, C24, C25, C30, C36 and C45. Ten churches *not considered as Sophia Gray churches* comprise the four that were designed by the named architects of C7, C9, C11, and C14, and another six churches where the architect could not be identified. Refer to Introduction and Methodology for an explanation of 'Authorship of Design.'

TABLE III – VARIOUS BUILDING DETAILS

Retaining the same format as for Tables I and II, this table shows:

Columns 1 & 2: The church number, church name and location. In addition,

Column 2: The number of uniform divisions (bays) and the basic dimensions of the nave/chancel in metres.

Column 3: The type of buttress built at the corners of the church.

Column 4: The style of roof truss and the pitch of the roof.

Details of the 10 churches in which Mrs Gray was probably not involved are not shown.

TABLE IV – DETAILS OF WINDOWS

Columns 1 & 2: The church number, church name and location. In addition,

Column 2: The style of windows in the long walls of the nave or chancel.

Column 3: The style of windows on the 'west' end wall.

Column 4: The style of windows on the 'east' end wall.

Details of the 10 churches in which Mrs Gray was probably not involved are not shown.

TABLE V – ADDITIONAL BUILDING DETAILS

Columns 1 & 2: The church number, church name and location. In addition,

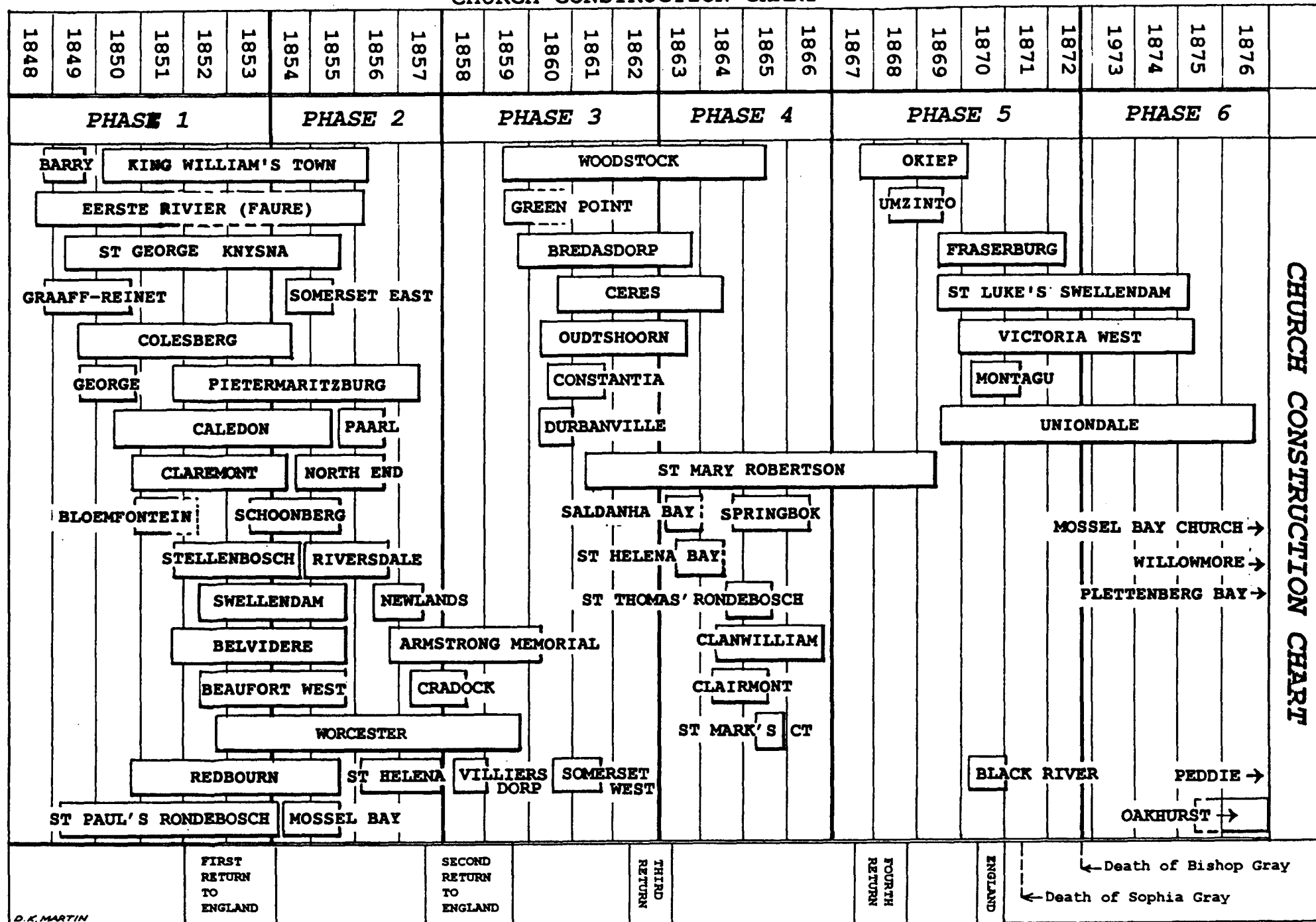
Column 2: The part of the church that was built first and the orientation of the church.

Column 3: The building material used for the external walls.

Column 4: Indication whether there is a tower, bellcote or other roof ornament.

Details of the 10 churches in which Mrs Gray was probably not involved are not shown.

CHURCH CONSTRUCTION CHART



D. K. MARTIN

| INDEX OF CHURCHES in approximate date order of founding | | TABLE I | |
|--|--|-------------------------|---|
| No. | Name and location of church | Foundation stone laid | Church consecrated or date church opened |
| C1 | St Paul's, Rondebosch | February 1849 | 1854 |
| C2 | St Paul's, Eerste Rivier (Faure) | September/October 1848 | 25 January 1856 |
| C3 | St George's, Knysna | 21 April 1849 | 3 October 1855 |
| C4 | St James, Graaff-Reinet | November 1848 (?) | 29 October 1850 |
| C5 | Christ Church, Colesberg | Aug. - Oct. 1849 | 1854 (?) |
| C6 | St Mark's, George | 23 October 1849 | 7 December 1850 |
| C7 | Holy Trinity, King William's Town | 16 January 1850 | 21 February 1861 |
| C8 | Holy Trinity, Caledon | 31 May 1850 | 25 August 1855 |
| C9 | St Andrew's, Redbourn, Plettenberg Bay | November 1850 (?) | 30 September 1855 |
| C10 | St Saviour's, Claremont, Cape Town | 14 November 1850 | 18 April 1854 |
| C11 | St Andrew's, Bloemfontein | 25 November 1850 | 1852 (Walls only) |
| C12 | Holy Trinity, Belvidere | 15 October 1851 | 5 October 1855 (open 1853) |
| C13 | St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg, Natal | 20 November 1851 | 29 June 1857 |
| C14 | St Mary's-on-the-Braak, Stellenbosch | 1851/1852 | 18 October 1854 |
| C15 | Christ Church, Swellendam | 13 May 1852 | 14 November 1855 |
| C16 | St John-in-the-Wilderness, Schoonberg | 1853 (?) | 13 October 1855 |
| C17 | Christ Church, Beaufort West | June 1852 | 21 October 1855 |
| C18 | St James', Worcester | 15 December 1852 | 23 October 1859 |
| C19 | All Saints, Somerset East | 1854 (?) | 9 May 1855 |
| C20 | St Paul's, North End, Port Elizabeth | 18 October 1854 | 30 August 1856 |
| C21 | St Matthew, Riversdale | 22 November 1854 | 25 September 1856 |
| C22 | Holy Trinity, Paarl | 1855 (?) | 13 June 1856 |
| C23 | St Andrew's, Newlands, Cape Town | 2 May 1856 | 2 May 1857 (opened) |
| C24 | Armstrong Chapel, Grahamstown | December 1856 | January 1860 |
| C25 | St Peter's, Cradock | 19 March 1857 | 21 June 1858 |
| C26 | St Mary's, Woodstock, Cape Town | 29 June 1859 | 6 June 1865 |
| C27 | St James', Green Point, Cape Town | 13 June 1859 | Abandoned |
| C28 | All Saints, Bredasdorp | 1 November 1859 | 29 October 1863 |
| C29 | St Andrew's, Ceres | September 1860 | 1864 (opened) |
| C30 | St Jude's, Oudtshoorn | April 1860 | 23 September 1863 |
| C31 | Constantia Chapel, near Cape Town | July 1860 | 15 October 1861 (opened) |
| C32 | Durbanville Chapel, near Cape Town | 1860 | 1860 (?) |
| C33 | St Mary's, Robertson | 4 April 1861 | 3 June 1869 |
| C34 | St Andrew's, Saldanha Bay | 1863 (?) | 1863 (?) |
| C35 | St Christopher, St Helena Bay | 1863 (?) | 1864 |
| C36 | St Thomas', Rondebosch, Cape Town | 2 October 1864 | 15 August 1865 |
| C37 | St John's, Clanwilliam | 1864 (?) | 7 October 1866 |
| C38 | St Stephen's, Clairmont, Natal | 1864 (?) | 1864 (?) |
| C39 | St Mark's Chapel, Cape Town | 13 June 1865 | 4 October 1865 |
| C40 | All Saints, Springbok | 18 November 1864 | 9 May 1866 |
| C41 | St Augustine's, Okiep | October 1867 | 2 November 1880 |
| C42 | St Patrick's, Umzinto, Natal | 1868 | 6 May 1869 |
| C43 | St Augustine's, Fraserburg | 2 June 1869 | 23 March 1872 (opened) |
| C44 | St Luke's Mission, Swellendam | 1869 (?) | 11 March 1875 |
| C45 | St John's, Victoria West | 27 December 1869 | 13 May 1875 |
| C46 | St Mildred's, Montagu | 1870 | April/May 1871 (opened) |
| C47 | All Saints, Uniandale | 1869 | 8 October 1876 |
| C48 | St Peter's Chapel and Church, Mossel Bay | Chapel 1854 Church 1877 | 3 July 1855 and 15 Oct. 1879 |
| C49 | St Matthew's, Willowmore | 1880 (?) | 9 August 1881 |
| C50 | St Peter's, Plettenberg Bay | 1879 (?) | 14 August 1881 |

| ARCHITECTS OF CHURCHES | | TABLE II | |
|------------------------|--|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| No. | Name and location of church | Foundation stone laid | Architect/Designer |
| C1 | St Paul's, Rondebosch | February 1849 | W. Butterfield/ Sophia Gray |
| C2 | St Paul's, Eerste Rivier (Faure) | September/ October 1848 | Sophia Gray |
| C3 | St George's, Knysna | 21 April 1849 | Sophia Gray |
| C4 | St James, Graaff-Reinet | November 1848 (?) | Sophia Gray |
| C5 | Christ Church, Colesberg | Aug. - Oct. 1849 | Sophia Gray |
| C6 | St Mark's, George | 23 October 1849 | H. Underwood/ Sophia Gray |
| C7 | Holy Trinity, King William's Town | 16 January 1850 | Sir Charles Barry |
| C8 | Holy Trinity, Caledon | 31 May 1850 | Sophia Gray |
| C9 | St Andrew's, Redbourn, Plettenberg Bay | November 1850 (?) | W. Newdigate |
| C10 | St Saviour's, Claremont, Cape Town | 14 November 1850 | W. Butterfield/ Sophia Gray |
| C11 | St Andrew's, Bloemfontein | 25 November 1850 | M. Hopkins |
| C12 | Holy Trinity, Belvidere | 15 October 1851 | H. Underwood/ Sophia Gray |
| C13 | St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg, Natal | 20 November 1851 | Sophia Gray |
| C14 | St Mary's-on-the-Braak, Stellenbosch | 1851/1852 | Peter Penketh |
| C15 | Christ Church, Swellendam | 13 May 1852 | Sophia Gray/ G. Evans |
| C16 | St John-in-the-Wilderness, Schoonberg | 1853 (?) | Sophia Gray |
| C17 | Christ Church, Beaufort West | June 1852 | Sophia Gray |
| C18 | St James', Worcester | 15 December 1852 | Sophia Gray |
| C19 | All Saints, Somerset East | 1854 (?) | Sophia Gray |
| C20 | St Paul's, North End, Port Elizabeth | 18 October 1854 | Sophia Gray/ Edwin Giles |
| C21 | St Matthew, Riversdale | 22 November 1854 | Sophia Gray |
| C22 | Holy Trinity, Paarl | 1855 (?) | Unknown |
| C23 | St Andrew's, Newlands, Cape Town | 2 May 1856 | Sophia Gray |
| C24 | Armstrong Chapel, Grahamstown | December 1856 | H. Woodver/ Sophia Gray |
| C25 | St Peter's, Cradock | 19 March 1857 | Sophia Gray/ W. Stitt, R.E. |
| C26 | St Mary's, Woodstock, Cape Town | 29 June 1859 | Sophia Gray |
| C27 | St James', Green Point, Cape Town | 13 June 1859 | Sophia Gray |
| C28 | All Saints, Bredasdorp | 1 November 1859 | Sophia Gray (?) |
| C29 | St Andrew's, Ceres | September 1860 | Sophia Gray (?) |
| C30 | St Jude's, Oudtshoorn | April 1860 | Sophia Gray/ G. Wallis |
| C31 | Constantia Chapel, near Cape Town | July 1860 | Sophia Gray |
| C32 | Durbanville Chapel, near Cape Town | 1860 | Sophia Gray (?) |
| C33 | St Mary's, Robertson | 1861 | Sophia Gray |
| C34 | St Andrew's, Saldanha Bay | 1863 (?) | Unknown |
| C35 | St Christopher, St Helena Bay | 1863 (?) | Unknown |
| C36 | St Thomas', Rondebosch, Cape Town | 2 October 1864 | Sophia Gray/ Robinson |
| C37 | St John's, Clanwilliam | 1864 (?) | Sophia Gray |
| C38 | St Stephen's, Clairmont, Natal | 1864 (?) | Unknown |
| C39 | St Mark's Chapel, Cape Town | 13 June 1865 | Sophia Gray |
| C40 | All Saints, Springbok | 18 November 1864 | Unknown |
| C41 | St Augustine's, Okiep | October 1867 | Unknown |
| C42 | St Patrick's, Umzinto, Natal | 1868 | Sophia Gray |
| C43 | St Augustine's, Fraserburg | 2 June 1869 | Sophia Gray |
| C44 | St Luke's Mission, Swellendam | 1869 (?) | Sophia Gray |
| C45 | St John's, Victoria West | 27 December 1869 | W. Butterfield/ Sophia Gray |
| C46 | St Mildred's, Montagu | 1870 | Sophia Gray |
| C47 | All Saints, Uniondale | 1869 | Sophia Gray |
| C48 | St Peter's, Mossel Bay (Chapel) | 1854 | Sophia Gray (?) |
| C49 | St Matthew's, Willowmore | 1880 (?) | Sophia Gray |
| C50 | St Peter's, Plettenberg Bay | 1879 (?) | Sophia Gray |

| | DIMENSIONS, BUTTRESS & ROOF DETAILS OF SOPHIA GRAY CHURCHES | * indicates design shared with another architect | TABLE III |
|-----|---|---|--|
| No. | Name and location of church, number of window bays and basic nave dimensions | Type of Buttress at corners of church | Style of Roof Truss & pitch of roof |
| C1 | *St Paul's, Rondebosch (nave, aisles) 4 bay; 23 x 11,5m | Angle | Arch-braced 56 |
| C2 | St Paul's, Faure 2 bay; 12 x 7,5m | Angle | Ceiling on collar beam 54 |
| C3 | St George's, Knysna 2 bay; 11 x 5,3m | Diagonal on east end | Arch-braced 49 |
| C4 | St James', Graaff-Reinet 5 bay; 20 x 7m | Angle | Arch-braced 55 |
| C5 | Christ Church, Colesberg 4 bay; 13 x 6m | Diagonal | Four panelled ceiling 52 |
| C6 | *St Mark's, George 4 bay; 19,6 x 7,7m | Diagonal | Double hammerbeam 50 |
| C7 | <i>Holy Trinity, King William's Town (by Barry)</i> | | |
| C8 | Holy Trinity, Caledon 3 bay; 12,4 x 6,6m | Diagonal | Trussed rafter roof 55 |
| C9 | <i>St Andrew's, Redbourn (by Newdigate)</i> | | |
| C10 | *St Saviour's, Claremont (Demolished) 3 bay chancel | Half of an Angle only | Truss style unknown 58 |
| C11 | <i>St Andrew's, Bloemfontein (by Hopkins)</i> | | |
| C12 | *Holy Trinity, Belvidere 2 bay nave + apse; 6,6 x 5,3m | No buttresses, Norman | Arch-braced/ king post 52 |
| C13 | St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg 3½ bays; 16,5 x 6,5m | Angle | Arch-braced 57 |
| C14 | <i>St Mary's, Stellenbosch (by Penketh)</i> | | |
| C15 | *Christ Church, Swellendam (Demolished) | Unknown | Unknown ? |
| C16 | St John, Schoonberg 3 bay; 13,3 x 5,3m | Diagonal on east end | Scissors 59 |
| C17 | Christ Church, Beaufort West 4 bay; 15,7 x 7,4m | No buttresses | Closed curved ceiling 43 |
| C18 | St James', Worcester 3 bay; 15,4 x 7,5m | Angle | Arch-braced/ king post 54 |
| C19 | All Saints, Somerset East 4 bay; 16,6 x 6m | Diagonal | Arch-braced 51 |
| C20 | *St Paul's, North End, P.E. (Demolished) 3 bay | Half of an angle only | Unknown ? |
| C21 | St Matthew, Riversdale 4 bay; 17,6 x 7,6m | Diagonal | Arch-braced 57 |
| C22 | <i>Holy Trinity (Paarl) (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C23 | St Andrew's, Newlands, C.T. 5½ bay; 18,3 x 5,4m | Angle at east end only | Scissors 57 |
| C24 | *Armstrong Memorial Chapel (Demolished) | Half of an angle only | Unknown ? |
| C25 | *St Peter's, Cradock 15 x 6m | Diagonal | Arch-braced 60 |
| C26 | St Mary's, Woodstock (nave & aisle) 5 bay; 18 x 9,5m | Diagonal | Arch-braced 60 |
| C27 | St James', Green Point, Cape Town (Demolished) | | |
| C28 | All Saints, Bredasdorp 3 bay; 14,1 x 5,5m | No buttresses | Trussed rafter roof 45 |
| C29 | St Andrew's, Ceres (Burnt down) 4 bay, unknown | Angle | Unknown |
| C30 | *St Jude's, Oudtshoorn 4 bay; 16,5 x 7m | Diagonal | Double scissors 51 |
| C31 | Constantia Chapel, near Cape Town (Demolished) | | |
| C32 | Durbanville Chapel, near Cape Town 3,5 bay; altered | Angle | Scissors 53 |
| C33 | St Mary's, Robertson 3 bay; 14 x 7m | Angle | Hammerbeam 52 |
| C34 | <i>St Andrew's, Saldanha, (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C35 | <i>St Christopher, St Helena Bay (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C36 | *St Thomas', Rondebosch altered – approx. 13,5 x 6m | Angle | Scissors 55 |
| C37 | St John's, Clanwilliam 2 bay chancel, 9,3 x 5m | Angle | Arched scissors 61 |
| C38 | <i>St Stephen's, Clairmont, Durban (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C39 | St Mark's Chapel, Cape Town (Demolished) | No buttresses | Unknown ? |
| C40 | <i>All Saints, Springbok (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C41 | <i>St Augustine's, Okiep (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C42 | St Patrick's, Umzinto, Natal 6 bay; 15 x 6m | Angle | Arch-braced 58 |
| C43 | St Augustine's, Fraserburg 2 bay; 13,3 x 6,4m | Half of an Angle only | Closed angled ceiling 53 |
| C44 | St Luke's Mission, Swellendam 5 bay; 18,3 x 7,6m | Angle and Half Angle | Scissors and tie beam 57 |
| C45 | *St John's, Victoria West 4 bay; 15 x 7m | Angle and Half Angle | Arch-braced 50 |
| C46 | St Mildred's, Montagu 3 bay; 12,6 x 5,5m | Half of an Angle only | Braced every 4 trusses 55 |
| C47 | All Saints, Uniondale 3 bay; 11,3 x 5,2m | Diagonal | Scissors 56 |
| C48 | St Peter's, Mossel Bay (First chapel) 3 bay; 13,2 x 6m | No buttresses | Four panelled ceiling 51 |
| C49 | St Matthew's, Willowmore 4 bay; 13,7 x 5,7m | Diagonal | Arch-braced 47 |
| C50 | St Peter's, Plettenberg Bay 3 bay; 15,5 x 7m | Angle | Scissors 52 |

| | WINDOW DETAILS OF SOPHIA GRAY CHURCHES | *indicates design shared with another architect | TABLE IV |
|-----|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| No. | Name and location of church and style of windows in original nave/chancel side walls | Style of Windows on West end wall | Style of Windows on East end wall |
| C1 | *St Paul's, Rondebosch 2 lights, bar (geometrical) tracery | 2 lights with bar tracery | Nil – joined to chancel arch |
| C2 | St Paul's, Faure 1 with plate tracery; 2 Pointed | Unknown | Unknown - small oculus |
| C3 | St George's, Knysna 2 lights with bar tracery | Nil | 2 lights with bar tracery |
| C4 | St James, Graaff-Reinet Large single lancets | Lancet couplet | Triplet lancet |
| C5 | Christ Church, Colesberg Alternate Single & twin lancets | Lancet couplet | Triplet lancet |
| C6 | *St Mark's, George Large single lancets | Lancet couplet, quatrefoil | Triplet lancet |
| C7 | <i>Holy Trinity, King William's Town (by Barry)</i> | | |
| C8 | Holy Trinity, Caledon Lancet couplets | Quatrefoiled, circular | Triplet lancet |
| C9 | <i>St Andrew's, Redbourn (by Newdigate)</i> | | |
| C10 | *St Saviour's, Claremont Single lancets | Unknown | 3 lights; reticulated tracery |
| C11 | <i>St Andrew's, Bloemfontein (by Hopkins)</i> | | |
| C12 | *Holy Trinity, Belvidere Roundheaded (Norman) | Blind arcade of 5 Norman | 5 Single Norman on apse |
| C13 | St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg 2 lights with flowing tracery | 2 lights with bar tracery | Unknown |
| C14 | <i>St Mary's, Stellenbosch (by Penketh)</i> | | |
| C15 | *Christ Church, Swellendam Single lancets | Lancet couplet | Triplet lancet (presumed) |
| C16 | St John, Schoonberg Single lancets | Single lancet | Triplet lancet |
| C17 | Christ Church, Beaufort West Single lancets | Lancet couplet | Triplet lancet |
| C18 | St James', Worcester Lancet couplets | 2 lights with blind tracery | Triplet lancet |
| C19 | All Saints, Somerset East Single lancets | Lancet couplet | Triplet lancet (presumed) |
| C20 | *St Paul's, North End, P.E. Single lancets | 3 lights; reticulated tracery | Unknown |
| C21 | St Matthew, Riversdale Single lancets | Lancet couplet | Triplet lancet |
| C22 | <i>Holy Trinity, Paarl (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C23 | St Andrew's, Newlands Multilight under flat lintel | Multilight under flat lintel | Single pointed (new?) |
| C24 | *Armstrong Chapel, Grahamstn. Single & Lancet couplets | Unknown | Triplet lancet |
| C25 | *St Peter's, Cradock Single lancets | Lancet couplet | Triplet lancet |
| C26 | St Mary's, Woodstock 2 lights with bar tracery | 2 lights with bar tracery | 3 lights with bar tracery |
| C27 | St James', Green Point (abandoned) | - | - |
| C28 | All Saints, Bredasdorp Single lancets | Unknown | Triplet lancet |
| C29 | St Andrew's, Ceres Triplet lancets | Lancet couplet | Triplet lancet |
| C30 | *St Jude's, Oudtshoorn Single lancets | Triplet lancet | Originally blank |
| C31 | Constantia Chapel, near Cape Town Flat headed | Unknown | Three pairs of lancets in apse |
| C32 | Durbanville Chapel, near Cape Town Flat headed | Flat headed | Triplet lancet |
| C33 | St Mary's, Robertson Single lancets | Blank | Triplet lancet |
| C34 | <i>St Andrew's, Saldanha (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C35 | <i>St Christopher, St Helena Bay (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C36 | *St Thomas', Rondebosch 4 light; flat headed | Circular with hexafoil | Unknown |
| C37 | St John's, Clanwilliam Single lancets | Unknown | Triplet lancet |
| C38 | <i>St Stephen's, Clairmont, Durban (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C39 | St Mark's Chapel, Cape Town Various styles | Pair of Lancet couplets | Unknown |
| C40 | <i>All Saints, Springbok (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C41 | <i>St Augustine's, Okiep (unknown architect)</i> | | |
| C42 | St Patrick's, Umzinto Single lancets; now roundheaded | Oculus and lancets | Triplet lancet (presumed) |
| C43 | St Augustine's, Fraserburg Flat headed | Lancet couplet | Triplet lancet |
| C44 | St Luke's Mission, Swellendam Single and triple lancet | Quadruplet lancet | Triplet lancet |
| C45 | *St John's, Victoria West Lancet couplets | Pair of lancet couplets | Triplet lancet |
| C46 | St Mildred's, Montagu Flat headed | Oculus | Single lancet |
| C47 | All Saints, Uniondale Single lancets | Single lancet | Triplet lancet |
| C48 | St Peter's, Mossel Bay (Chapel) Flat headed | Single large flat headed | Unknown |
| C49 | St Matthew's, Willowmore Single lancets | Lancet couplet | Blank |
| C50 | St Peter's, Plettenberg Bay Single lancets | Single lancet over porch | Triplet lancet (presumed) |

| | PART OF CHURCH BUILT FIRST, WALLS, BELLCOTES OF S. GRAY CHURCHES | | * indicates design shared with another architect | TABLE V |
|-----|--|-------------------------|---|---|
| No. | Name and location of church, part of church built first and orientation | | Material used for the external walls | Tower or Bellcote or other roof ornament |
| C1 | *St Paul's, Rondebosch | Nave; South | Random rubble | Bellcote (added later) |
| C2 | St Paul's, Faure | Nave; East | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C3 | St George's, Knysna | Chancel, East | Coursed, squared rubble | Nil |
| C4 | St James, Graaff-Reinet | Nave; East | Coursed, squared rubble | Nil |
| C5 | Christ Church, Colesberg | Chancel; East | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C6 | *St Mark's, George | Nave; East | Coursed, squared rubble | Bellcote |
| C7 | <i>Holy Trinity, King William's Town (by Barry)</i> | | | |
| C8 | Holy Trinity, Caledon | Nave; East | Coursed, squared rubble | Bellcote |
| C9 | <i>St Andrew's, Redbourn (by Newdigate)</i> | | | |
| C10 | *St Saviour's, Claremont | Chancel; East | Coursed, squared rubble | Nil |
| C11 | <i>St Andrew's, Bloemfontein (by Hopkins)</i> | | | |
| C12 | *Holy Trinity, Belvidere | Complete church, East | Ashlar | Bellcote (Norman) |
| C13 | St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg | Nave; East | Coursed, dressed, tuck ptd | Flèche on roof ridge |
| C14 | <i>St Mary's, Stellenbosch (by Penketh)</i> | | | |
| C15 | *Christ Church, Swellendam | Nave; East | Stone (?) | Bellcote |
| C16 | St John, Schoonberg | Nave; East | Coursed, squared rubble | Nil |
| C17 | Christ Church, Beaufort West | Nave; East | Coursed, squared rubble | Bellcote |
| C18 | St James', Worcester | Nave; South East | Plaster over brick | Bellcote |
| C19 | All Saints, Somerset East | Nave; East | Plaster over brick | Flèche on roof ridge |
| C20 | *St Paul's, North End, P.E. | Complete church, East | Coursed, squared rubble | Nil |
| C21 | St Matthew, Riversdale | Nave; North East | Coursed, squared rubble | Bellcote |
| C22 | <i>Holy Trinity, Paarl (unknown architect)</i> | | | |
| C23 | St Andrew's, Newlands, C.T. | School chapel; East | Coursed, squared rubble | Bellcote over doorway |
| C24 | *Armstrong Memorial Chapel | Complete chapel; East | Coursed, squared rubble | Nil |
| C25 | *St Peter's, Cradock | Nave; East | Stone plinth plaster above | Bellcote |
| C26 | St Mary's, Woodstock | Nave & one aisle; South | Plaster over stone | Nil |
| C27 | St James', Green Point, Cape Town | (Demolished) | - | - |
| C28 | All Saints, Bredasdorp | Nave; East | Coursed, squared rubble | Bellcote |
| C29 | St Andrew's, Ceres (Burnt down) | Nave; ? | Coursed, squared rubble | Nil |
| C30 | *St Jude's, Oudtshoorn | Nave; East | Squared rubble | Nil |
| C31 | Constantia Chapel, Cape Town | School chapel; ? | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C32 | Durbanville Chapel, Cape Town | School chapel; South | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C33 | St Mary's, Robertson | Chancel; East | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C34 | <i>St Andrew's, Saldanha (unknown architect)</i> | | | |
| C35 | <i>St Christopher, St Helena Bay (unknown architect)</i> | | | |
| C36 | *St Thomas', Rondebosch | School chapel; East | Random rubble | Bellcote over doorway |
| C37 | St John's, Clanwilliam | Chancel; East | Random rubble, tuck ptd. | Nil |
| C38 | <i>St Stephen's, Clairmont (unknown architect)</i> | | | |
| C39 | St Mark's Chapel, Cape Town | School chapel; East | Coursed, squared rubble | Nil |
| C40 | <i>All Saints, Springbok (unknown architect)</i> | | | |
| C41 | <i>St Augustine's, Okiep (unknown architect)</i> | | | |
| C42 | St Patrick's, Umzinto, Natal | Nave; East | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C43 | St Augustine's, Fraserburg | School chapel; South | Coursed, squared rubble | Nil |
| C44 | St Luke's Mission, Swellendam | Nave; East | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C45 | *St John's, Victoria West | Nave; East | Plaster wall; stone plinth | Nil |
| C46 | St Mildred's, Montagu | School chapel; East | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C47 | All Saints, Uniondale | Complete church; East | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C48 | St Peter's, Mossel Bay | School chapel, East | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C49 | St Matthew's, Willowmore | Nave; East | Plaster over brick | Nil |
| C50 | St Peter's, Plettenberg Bay | Nave; West | Random Rubble | (Concrete bellcote, 1964) |

PART THREE – THE PERIOD 1848 – 1872; IN RETROSPECT

3.1 ARCHITECTURAL STYLE AND FEATURES OF MRS GRAY'S CHURCHES

The churches and chapels reviewed in this section are confined to those designed or partially designed by Sophia Gray in order to document and ascertain the architectural style preferred by the Grays. This section includes full-page figures illustrating the text which should be read in conjunction with the line drawings of the Gray churches in Section 2.2, as well as the Church Construction Chart and Tables I, II, III, IV and V in Section 2.6.

ARCHITECTURAL STYLE OVERVIEW

The Grays landed in Cape Town armed, among other material and equipment for setting up the new diocese, with the portfolio of building plans they had compiled from the many donations from architects and probably also stock plans produced by the two architectural societies, the Oxford and the Camden, as referred to in Section 1.5. It is not known what architectural reference books¹ were also in their cabin trunks but possibly the works of Pugin, Bloxam and Rickman which they had first read a few years before, were among the considerable library which the new bishop brought with him.² Certainly Mrs Gray had with her, her 112 page drawing book with its hundreds of drawings of arches, doorways, piers, windows, fonts, etc.

More important than the collection of books, plans and sketches, however, was Bishop Gray's resolve, as set out in his Letter of Appeal,³ to establish clergy, mission stations and a college. Inseparable from his primary objective of increasing the clergy, was the need to build churches. The English church environment in which they both grew up, the extensive reading of Tractarian and Pro-Gothic architectural literature in eleven years of marriage and their personal involvement with church building in Whitworth, were the influences that subconsciously gave Bishop Gray and his wife the confidence to build ecclesiastically correct churches wherever new church communities were begun. In other words, the Grays were committed to the principles of the Ecclesiologists which meant building in the Gothic tradition. Church histories and the many churches and chapels that still stand and serve as places of worship, over 150 years later, show that the Grays, as a building partnership, were singularly successful with their building programme.

Table II lists 50 churches and chapels that were established by Bishop Gray. Evidence documented in the histories in Section 2.2 indicates the architects for 44 of these buildings. Who the designers of the remaining six churches were, could not be

¹ *The Ecclesiologist* recommended new members of the Camden Society "to study church architecture, and invite others to the study of it..." and mentioned especially the perusal of "*Bloxam's Architecture, the Oxford Glossary, Pugin's 'True Principles'...*" and other works including their own publication. (No. II, November 1841, p18).

² D. J. C. Radford (*The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901*, p187) mentions John Henry Parker's *Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture* as "...a very popular book with which Mrs Gray must have been conversant." Though the first edition was only printed in 1849 after the departure of the Grays for Cape Town, there is no reason why relevant books on theology, architecture etc should not have been sent regularly to Bishop Gray by his booksellers.

³ 26 April, 1847. Covered in Section 1.5.

established with certainty. On the basis outlined in the Introduction, Sophia Gray is attributed with the authorship of the design of 40 churches and chapels shown and analysed in Tables III, IV and V. Of these 40, however, Table II indicates in eleven instances where it is known or suspected that she *used or amended* plans drawn by the named architect, or had assistance in person from an architect, or that she had working drawings prepared from her sketch plans. These churches were:

St Paul's Church, Rondebosch. Plans by W Butterfield (?);
 St Mark's Church, George. Plans by H Underwood;
 St Saviour's Church, Claremont. Plans by W Butterfield (?);
 Holy Trinity Church, Belvidere. Plans by H. Underwood (?);
 Christ Church, Swellendam. Working drawings by Evans;⁴
 St Paul's Church, North End, Port Elizabeth. Plans amended by Edwin Giles;
 Armstrong Memorial Chapel, Grahamstown. Plans by H Woodyer;⁵
 St Peter's Church, Cradock. Plans amended by W Stitt;
 St Jude's Church, Oudtshoorn. Plans amended by G Wallis (?);
 St Thomas' Church, Rondebosch. Working drawings by Robinson;⁶
 St John's Church, Victoria West. Plans by W Butterfield.

Notwithstanding assistance from those named, the authorship of the 40 churches and school chapels can still be attributed to Sophia Gray as she had the final authority, through her husband, over the design. These churches and chapels are reviewed under various headings in the pages that follow.

Of the 44 churches where the architect can be named, four churches were designed by persons *with no known contribution by Mrs Gray*. These churches and their respective designers are (C7) Holy Trinity Church, King William's Town, designed by the English architect, Sir Charles Barry; (C9) St Andrew's Church, Redbourn, designed by William Newdigate, the wealthy English landlord of "Roodefontein" farm, Plettenberg Bay; (C11) St Andrew's Church, Bloemfontein, where the plans were drawn by a member of the Church Building Committee, Mr M Hopkins; and (C14) St Mary's Church, Stellenbosch, designed by the Cape Town architect and contractor, Peter Penketh. Stylistic analysis of these four churches has accordingly been omitted.

When medieval buildings were first studied seriously in the early 19th century, in addition to Anglo-Saxon and Norman, three main phases of Gothic architecture were identified. In searching for an "identity tag" appropriate for each phase, "windows were generally the most obvious and easiest to understand."⁷ The first phase, labeled by Thomas Rickman, the influential early 19th century antiquary, *Early English*, was the phase of the lancet; in other words, of windows without tracery. The main distinguishing feature of Early English as defined by Rickman in 1817 is that the style had "pointed arches, and long narrow windows without mullions..." whereas the Decorated had "...large windows which have pointed arches divided by mullions and the tracery in flowing lines [or] forming circles, arches and other figures...its

⁴ D. J. C. Radford, *op cit.*, p185.

⁵ Henry Woodyer (1816-1896), London, designed Holy Trinity Church, Kalk Bay (1873). R. Langham-Carter states that Woodyer had supplied plans and drawings to Mrs Gray and that "it is likely that her stock of plans came into the hands of their [the Grays'] son-in-law Rev Edward Glover..." who probably showed Woodyer's plans to "three wealthy maiden ladies" who largely funded the building of the Kalk Bay church ('The Church of the Holy Trinity at Kalk Bay in the Cape,' *Architect and Builder*, May 1981).

⁶ D. J. C. Radford, *op cit.*, p185.

⁷ G. Randall, *The English Parish Church*, (1982), p35.

ornaments numerous, and very delicately carved".⁸ J H Parker said of the Early English style that its buildings "...are readily distinguished from the [preceding] Norman period by their comparative lightness, their long narrow pointed windows, their boldly projecting buttresses and pinnacles, and the acute pitch of the roof. Internally we have pointed arches supported on slender and lofty pillars..."⁹

In defining the Decorated style in 1849, Parker virtually copied Rickman's 1817 wording, stating: "The Decorated style is distinguished by its large windows, divided by mullions, and the tracery either in flowing circles, trefoils, and other geometrical figures... Still the windows have the essential decoration of tracery."¹⁰ Parker, writing in the preface to Rickman's sixth edition (1862), expands, "...window tracery, which is the characteristic feature of this [the Decorated] style, is obviously a great decoration, and forms an essential part of the structure, which cannot be removed without leaving a blank; this is not usually the case with other ornamentation, and therefore *this decoration [tracery] is an excellent characteristic of the style* (author's italics)." Randall (1982) refers to the "...new freedom of the decorated style, [that was] seen most tellingly in the inventiveness of its window tracery."¹¹

The definitions of styles found in the architectural works quoted above were descriptive of the second¹² and third Gothic building styles, roughly between 1150AD to 1330AD. As already mentioned, the Gothic Revival of the 19th century was not an exact copy of the ancient Gothic largely because churches built in medieval times were constructed over decades and even centuries, whereas in Victorian times there was an urgency to complete the task as well as a lack of skilled masons to copy the intricate detailing of the ancient styles. Sophia Gray's neo-Gothic churches were assessed in the context of the definitions of the ancient Gothic where the styles of churches were determined largely by analysis of their windows and arches.

As to the general architectural style of her churches and chapels, an overwhelming majority of 32 could be termed *Early English*, though, as will be discussed in the next paragraph, the Early English churches built in South Africa were generally less refined versions of their British counterparts built during the Gothic Revival. The balance of 8 churches comprise five churches in the *Decorated* style (St Paul's, Rondebosch, St George's, Knysna, St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg, St Saviour's, Claremont, and St Mary's, Woodstock), a *Norman* church (Holy Trinity, Belvidere), an eclectic chapel at Constantia and the abandoned project of St James' Church, Green Point. No churches were built by the Grays in the *Perpendicular* style. In the case of the Decorated churches named, three were built with aisles while the Knysna church was probably intended to have aisles. It was only the larger towns that could justify the added cost of an aisled church. Using the estimate tabled in 1848 by the

⁸ T. Rickman, *An attempt to discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England*, (1881), p44. Though this is quoted from the seventh edition of 1881, the preface states that Rickman's work "has been... revised; still... retaining what he himself wrote entire, and the additional matter shewn by a varied type, or by being placed between brackets." Rickman's first edition was published in 1817. The fifth edition was published in 1848, "several years having elapsed since the last edition," therefore the edition which the Grays read in 1842, was probably the third or fourth.

⁹ J. H. Parker, *An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*, (1849), p110.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p150.

¹¹ G. Randall, *The English Parish Church*, p37.

¹² Rickman classified Norman as the 'first' Gothic style, thus Early English he called the 'second' and Decorated the 'third', Perpendicular, the 'fourth'.

builder of St Paul's Church, Rondebosch, an aisled church would cost roughly 25% more than a church with nave only.¹³

DECORATED: THE PREFERRED STYLE OF THE GRAYS

A short but significant entry in Bishop Gray's journal reveals that the Grays had hoped to build in the *Decorated* and *Norman* style. After seeing the half-built Early English church at Riversdale in September 1855, Gray wrote: "It excites a good deal of interest in the village, and will, when completed, be a great ornament to it. My only regret is that all our churches in this land will be of the same style of architecture and of the same character. Economy compels us to be contented with bell-turrets instead of towers, and *Early English instead of Decorated or Norman buildings* (author's italics)."¹⁴ The Bishop's hope to have a variety of styles, possibly even some *Perpendicular* churches, was dashed by financial restraints, a lack of skilled craftsmen including competent stonemasons possessing the necessary skills to produce the traceried windows, the mouldings on piers, hood moulds etc. required in Gothic churches and the scarcity of suitable stone for the more elaborate ornamentation required for Decorated and Norman churches. The ratio of ashlar to roughly dressed stone churches is addressed under sub-section 11, Building Materials of the Gray Churches.

The February 1844 issue of *The Ecclesiologist* was devoted virtually entirely to Early English Lancets but it put forward some rules on style in general, such as, "The Early-English style, however fit for a little chapel or village church, is the very worst for a large metropolitan 'auditorium'".¹⁵ Whether this article was read by the Grays or not, they adhered to the principle. Though most of the churches designed by Sophia were for small towns and villages, there were some churches where it is apparent that the Grays opted for the Decorated style. The churches at Knysna (St George's), Rondebosch (St Paul's), Claremont (St Saviour's), Pietermaritzburg (St Peter's), Woodstock (St Mary's), can be regarded as having some distinct Decorated features. These churches were built respectively at Knysna, a growing port; in the developing suburb of Rondebosch; Claremont, the parish church attended by the Bishop; Pietermaritzburg, where the church was destined to be the cathedral for the Bishop of Natal, and at Woodstock, in a poor but densely populated part of Cape Town. The St Paul's Church at North End, a populous suburb of Port Elizabeth, also had some Decorated elements but, as the history shows, lack of funds restricted a more ornate building. The six churches named are situated in towns that had growing populations¹⁶ and thus, as possible 'large metropolitan' auditoriums, they could justify a Decorated church with aisles. Large congregations needed bigger churches and, more importantly, they would have been able to maintain them. The Grays appear to have been aware of the difference in styles suitable for villages and those for towns.

PRIORITIES IN THE BUILDING PROGRAMME

It becomes obvious after analysis of the churches in Table I that Bishop Gray considered it necessary to build certain churches ahead of others. Five of the six

¹³ Mr James Low's estimate for the nave only was £2350 and with aisles, £2978, a 26,7% increase in costs. (Minutes of Vestry Meeting, 17 August, 1848)

¹⁴ Gray's Journal, 5 September 1855, p27.

¹⁵ *The Ecclesiologist*, February 1844, p67.

¹⁶ The population of Cape Town and its suburbs rose from 21000 in 1841 to 25000 in 1854, a 19% increase in 13 years. Between 1854 and 1865, the population increased from 25189 to 38791, a 54% increase in 11 years (*Social Survey of Cape Town*, Department of Social Science, UCT, 1941).

churches named above, built with some Decorated features, were commenced in Phases 1 and 2 of the programme between 1849 and 1854. The church at Woodstock was commenced early in Phase 3 in 1859. These churches were in the larger towns already named. Other towns such as Graaff-Reinet, Colesberg (a possible place for a cathedral), George (where a church became a cathedral), King William's Town (capital of Kaffraria from 1847), Bloemfontein (largest town in the Orange River Sovereignty)¹⁷, Stellenbosch and Swellendam were priorities with Bishop Gray because they were located in the larger towns where more people could be reached and, in the case of Bloemfontein and King William's Town, because of their political significance. By contrast, with the exception of Woodstock, all the churches in Phases 3, 4, 5 and 6, that is those built after 1858, were erected in the smaller villages in the more remote parts of the Diocese where Sophia Gray used the Early English style exclusively. No further churches were built in the Decorated style with the exception of the failed attempt in 1864 to enlarge St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg, referred to below.

Bishop Gray confirmed in a comment made at the end of his first visitation in December 1848 that there was for him a greater urgency to deal with the larger towns than the small villages: "I have been enabled ... to pave the way for the erection of Churches, and the support of ministers, in *almost all our towns and large villages* (author's italics)." ¹⁸ To have achieved this within ten months of his arrival was miraculous considering the distances and the roads travelled, the mode of transport, the scanty accommodation between villages and the harshness of the climate.¹⁹

MRS GRAY'S SKETCH PLANS FOR EXTENSIONS TO ST PETER'S CHURCH, PIETERMARITZBURG

The history of St Peter's Church (C13), gives details of the visit to Natal by the Bishop and his wife between 27 April and 2 July 1864. Plans to extend the church into a more fitting cathedral for the Diocese of Natal had been put forward by Bishop Gray and seven of Sophia Gray's sketch plans, which she must have drawn between her return to Cape Town on 13 July and early September, have survived.²⁰ Although the extensions were never carried out, her drawings for the new cathedral provide evidence of the only opportunity she had for large-scale upgrading of a single nave into a cathedral with two aisles, a chancel large enough to accommodate a choir, a chapter house and a tower with spire. The drawings, all titled "Maritzburg Cathedral" and signed "S.G. 1864," comprise the following:

1. "Ground Plan, Scale 10ft. to an inch";
2. "Longitudinal Section, Scale 1/10 of an inch to a foot";
3. "Section of Nave, with Chancel Arch, looking East, Scale 5 ft to an inch";
4. "Section of Chancel, Scale 5 ft to an inch";
5. "Longitudinal Section of East End of Nave & part of Chancel showing Chancel Arch. Scale 1/5 of an inch to a foot"
6. "Longitudinal Section of West End of Nave, showing Tower Arch, Scale 1/5 of an inch to a foot";
7. "West Elevation, Scale 1/10 of an inch to a foot".

¹⁷ The church was started in 1850 while the Orange River Sovereignty was British. The Bloemfontein Convention granted independence on 23 February 1854

¹⁸ Gray's Journal, 21 December 1848, p78.

¹⁹ Gray wrote, "Since I left Cape Town I have met with one English church, but I travelled nine hundred miles before I came to it." *Ibid.*

²⁰ Diocesan Archives of Natal.

These seven drawings may be evaluated from an architectural viewpoint to assess the degree to which Mrs Gray provided a workable solution to the Bishop's idea (as referred to in the history of the Pietermaritzburg Church) "to make the present nave an aisle, to erect by its side another nave both wider and higher, and to place arches on the south side for a second aisle and an arch for a central chancel."

Mrs Gray's plan for the new cathedral, reproduced in Figure U, is probably far too wide overall in relation to its length. The new nave was designed to be 35 feet wide whereas the width of each aisle, determined by the width of the original church, was 25 feet. In Gothic cathedrals of the fourteenth century, the "customary... width of the nave was double that of each aisle".²¹ (Sir Gilbert Scott's Grahamstown Cathedral, in Early English Gothic, has a nave width double that of its aisles. Furthermore, these aisles are *six* times as long as their width). The ratio of the length to the width of the original St Peter's Church, though 2½ : 1, was not 'slim' enough to be used as the module for the aisles. The result is that the proposed south aisle appears in Mrs Gray's plan as a cavernous hall alongside (and almost as large in area) as the nave. No doubt Mrs Gray was severely constrained to incorporate the existing church in the grand design for the cathedral.

The seven drawings, however, should also be seen in their historical context as they provide valuable insight into the character of Mrs Sophia Gray, the self-taught architect and her workmanlike response to the challenge of designing a cathedral. The plans were produced in the study of her home at *Bishopscourt*, Cape Town where she had scant opportunity for consultation with professional architects. She probably relied heavily for guidance on the collection of architectural drawings the Grays had of English ecclesiastical buildings as may be deduced from the correctly proportioned trusses, arches, mouldings and other architectural elements in the plans. Little is known of her materials and equipment but she must have possessed the basic drawing instruments, T-square and set squares to have produced the finely executed drawings with such consistency of line.

Her floor plan for the Cathedral and a longitudinal section through the proposed nave have been reproduced and included at the end of this section in Figures U and V. Extracts from the seven drawings have also been incorporated in Figures O, R and S, to illustrate Mrs Gray's concept of roof trusses, traceried windows and church towers. Further detailed comment on her designs for traceried windows and the tower for Pietermaritzburg Cathedral will be found in sub-sections 8 and 10.

BUILDING INSTRUCTIONS IN *THE ECCLESIOLOGIST*

As already covered in Section 1.5, Robert and Sophia Gray were reading architectural works in 1842 and 1843. Their contact with the architectural societies has also been referred to. It is probable therefore that the standards set for church builders, as published in *The Ecclesiologist* by the Cambridge Camden Society, were read by the Grays, in particular, the issue of July 1842 which sets out "Suggestions and Instructions" of the "Incorporated Society for promoting the enlargement, building and repairing of churches and chapels."²² These 'suggestions and instructions,' that were obviously endorsed by the Camden Society, as well as relevant opinions expressed in other issues of *The Ecclesiologist*, have been taken as the yardstick

²¹ C. Stewart, *Simpson's History of Architectural Development*, Vol. III (*Gothic Architecture*), p149.

²² *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, pp152-157.

against which the building of churches and chapels by the Grays could be usefully measured. Twelve of the aspects listed in the *Ecclesiologist* are addressed below:

1. CHURCH SITE AND ORIENTATION

"The building to stand east and west as nearly as possible."²³ Traditionally, old churches invariably follow a west to east axis with the altar at the east end. The reason for this eastward setting is not definitely known – the sun rising in the east, the Holy Land lying to the east of Europe, the Second coming of Christ from that quarter – are some of the reasons given.²⁴ Another origin given for the custom is the ancient practice of facing Jerusalem when engaged in prayer.²⁵ Ignoring three churches where the precise site was not established, at least 30 of 37 Gray churches reviewed, were built with their altars at the east end, irrespective whether the first part of the church built was the nave or a chancel (Refer to Table V). This was no coincidence but one of the aspects in which the Grays demonstrated their commitment to the centuries-old tradition and to ecclesiological opinion.

At Woodstock (St Mary's), the allocated narrow site running north – south, forced Mrs Gray to abandon the preferred line and place the altar at the south end. Also on account of the longitudinal shape of the plots, the churches that were built in Worcester (St James') and Riversdale (St Matthew's), face south-east and north-east respectively. The Plettenberg Bay church (St Peter's) has a west end altar, probably because road access to the site was from the east. The chapels at Durbanville and Fraserburg are both south facing. Why these two buildings were not correctly oriented is not known as the existing sites allowed for orientation as preferred. At Rondebosch (St Paul's), Sophia had no option in 1848 but to join the new nave to the already south-facing chancel of 1834, built by Michell. To have been able to site most of their churches in accordance with custom was remarkable considering that Bishop Gray did not always acquire the site of his own choice. The histories show that he had to make do with late handouts from local municipalities and the occasional donation of sites from benefactors including the Dutch Reformed Church.

The 'instruction' quoted above also stated that the site should be "central, with regard to the population to be provided for; dry; if possible, rather elevated, but not on a high or steep hill; not near nuisances, such as steam engines, shafts of mines, noisy trades, or offensive manufactories (sic); - accessible by foot and carriage-ways..." where services would not be "incommoded by noise." Clearly the Ecclesiologists at the time had in mind the scores of parish churches that were being built in the mushrooming industrial cities in Britain. In stark contrast in South Africa, Bishop Gray had no noise pollution threats from industrial activity but possibly he kept in mind that churches on the Eastern Frontier,²⁶ had been a place of refuge for British Settlers during times of war and thus needed to be on slightly rising ground for military reasons as well as ecclesiastical.

The consequence of the Grays' dedication to the west-east siting of churches was that local topography was largely ignored. At only a few places were Gray churches built

²³ *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p152.

²⁴ L. E. Jones, *Old English Churches*, p186.

²⁵ T. A. Stafford, *Christian Symbolism in the Evangelical Churches*, p109.

²⁶ An example was St John's Church at Bathurst, built after funds were raised in 1832. Used as a refuge during the 6th and 7th Frontier Wars. (1834/35 and 1847/48) and later in the 1850/53 Frontier War.

on prominent hillocks or significantly sloping sites. These include the St Paul's churches at Rondebosch (C1) and North End (C20), Caledon (C8), Belvidere (C12), Riversdale (C21), Umzinto (C42) and Plettenberg Bay (C50). The vast majority, at least 26 churches, were positioned within the level grid of streets in towns and villages, with either the end or side elevation facing the street, depending on the orientation of the street. In the town maps reproduced overleaf (the position of the church is marked "Ang. Ch."), St John's Church, Victoria West is oriented to the east and was thus sited parallel with Church Street. In Fraserburg, the Anglican Church was sited with the east end towards the south, also lying parallel with the street. In Clanwilliam, the church of St John faces with its east end elevation to the street as the Main Street runs north – south. The first portion of the church, the chancel, was built close to the street, which dictated that the nave could only be added behind, in the direction of Visser Street. The consideration given by Bishop Gray for fully developing the plans of churches merits special attention and is treated later in the sub-section, *Provision for Extending Nave or Chancel*.

Though many of the Gray churches assumed prominence by virtue of their ecclesiastical silhouettes and stone exteriors when they were built, development of the towns over the last 130 to 150 years has diminished the churches' significance in the streetscape. In instances where Bishop Gray was able to acquire a large site, however, the church's unique role within the townscape was safeguarded as larger and higher buildings were constructed around them. Examples of these are St Mark's Cathedral, George (C3), which is set back from the Main Road on spacious lawns, St Saviour's Church, Claremont (C10), enclosed by a wall on a treed site that also contains the cemetery where the Grays are buried, and Holy Trinity Church (C12), near Knysna, which is built on a lawn-covered slope on the Belvidere Estate.

2. STYLE AND FORM

The Ecclesiologists dictated "No style seems more generally suitable for an English Church than the Gothic of our own country [England] as developed in its successive periods. The Norman (or Romanesque) style is also suitable..."²⁷ The 'instructions' referred to in the *Ecclesiologist*, added an earnest 'recommendation' that "*in the proportions and great features, as well as in the details, good ancient examples should be closely followed.*" The 'proportions' determined the internal space in churches of the Gothic Revival while the 'great features' were the architectural elements such as buttresses, windows, doors etc, that expressed the external form. As space and form are complimentary in the creation of an architectural style (as quoted in Section 1.3), the Ecclesiologists gave due recognition to these two aspects.

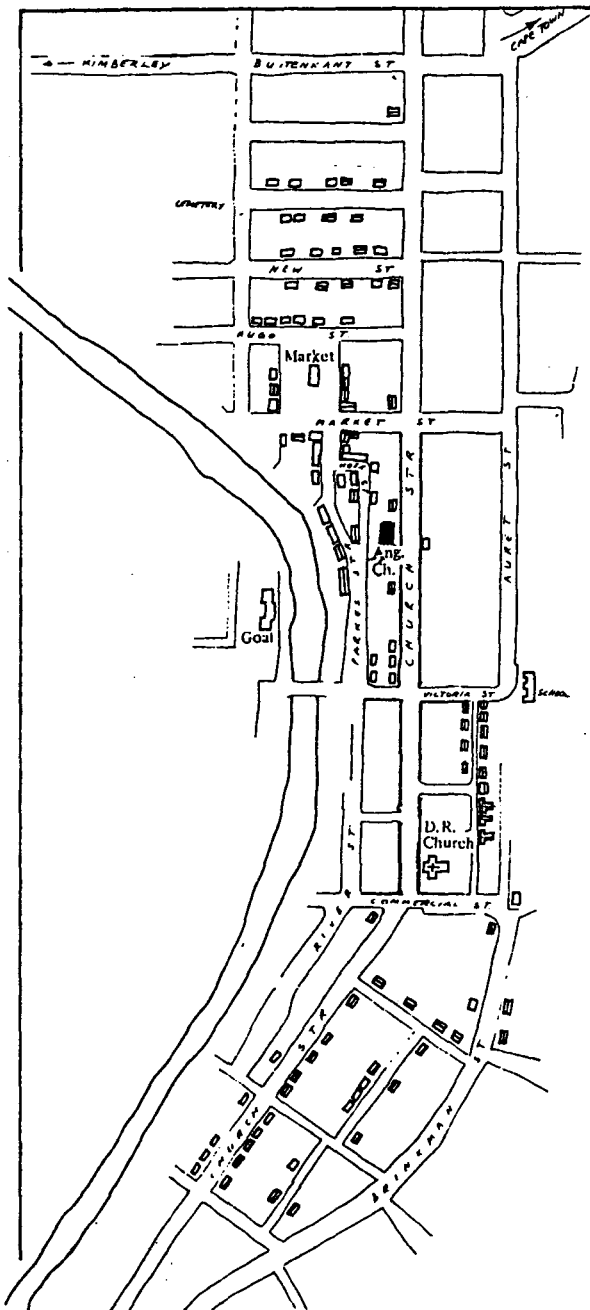
Internal space: Three elements in a Gothic church play the key role in setting the boundaries for the spatial envelope in which all the church services and functions, as referred to in Section 1.1, are performed. These are (a) the floor plan, (b) the height of the walls in relation to the width, and (c) the pitch and style of the roof.

For (a) *the plans* of Gothic churches, the 'instructions' stated, "the best form is either the cross, consisting of a nave, transepts, and chancel, or the double rectangle, composed of a nave, with or without side aisles, and of a chancel." A single rectangle was also regarded suitable for a *Chapel* "the length being *at least* twice as great as

²⁷ *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p152.

TOWN PLANS – Victoria West, Clanwilliam and Fraserburg

Plans by Hans Fransen (*H. Fransen & M. A. Cook, Old Buildings of the Cape, 1980*).

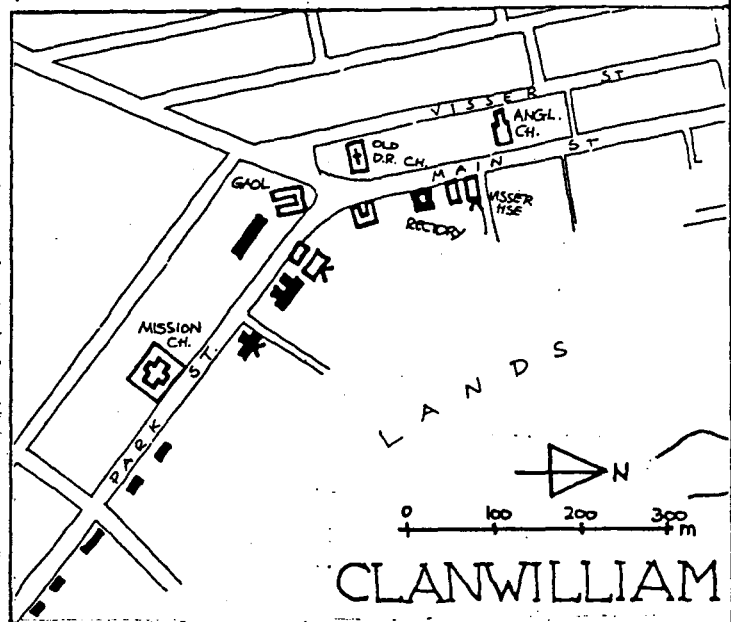


- FLAT-ROOFED
- ▤ PITCHED-ROOFED
- ⊕ CHURCH

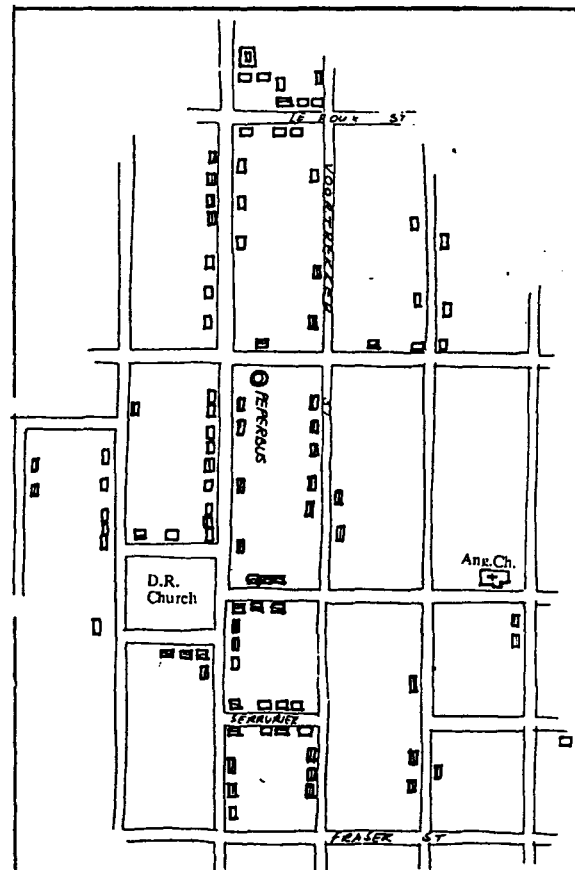


VICTORIA WEST

HF72



CLANWILLIAM



- FLAT-ROOFED
- ▤ PITCHED-ROOFED
- ▤ DOUBLE-STORIED

NOT TO SCALE

FRASERBURG

HF73

the breadth."²⁸ Probably because of financial implications, the Grays never included transepts in their plans. The vast majority of Sophia Gray's churches and chapels thus began as single rectangles, and have a ratio of length to breadth of 2 : 1 in compliance with the 'instruction.' As an example, Sophia's surviving plan of Christ Church, Colesberg (Refer Figure J), features a nave 42 feet long and 21 feet wide. Table III gives the basic dimensions of the naves/chancels of Mrs Gray's churches. Of 29 churches for which dimensions were established, excluding the Norman church at Belvidere, *25 churches have lengths more than double their widths*. These internal dimensions were in keeping with the linear plan requirements of the Anglican liturgy outlined in Section 1.1

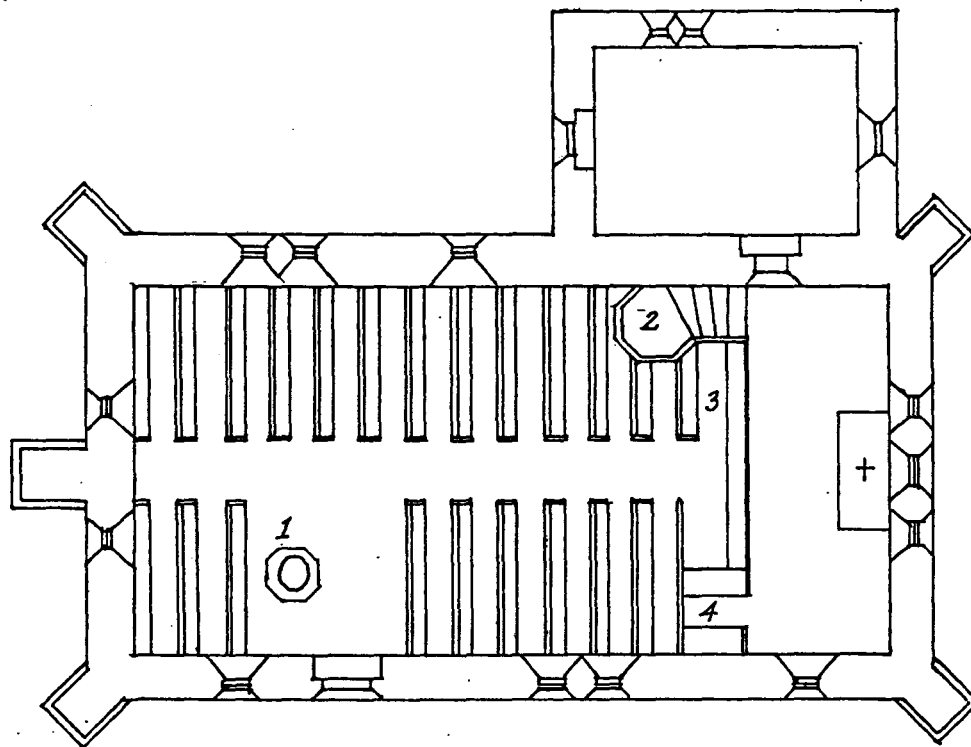
The examples of plans of Gray churches in Figure J2, each comprising a basic rectangle plus either a vestry or porch, are for a church (No.1) at Victoria West, a chancel (No. 2) at Knysna and a school chapel (No.3) at Fraserburg. They all have length to width ratios of slightly more than 2 : 1, indicating that the Grays applied the ratio consistently irrespective of the building's *function*. (School chapels were usually consecrated as churches when separate schooling facilities were built for the communities, thus it was prudent to apply the church building requirements to the chapels at the outset). Church No.1 was built in anticipation of a chancel, judging from the half angle buttresses at the eastern end, while Church No.2, at Knysna was commenced as a chancel in anticipation of a nave being added later. The two St Matthew's churches, at Riversdale (No. 4) and Willowmore (No. 6), shown in Figure J3, underscore the Grays' practice, irrespective of the *size* of the nave, to maintain the preferred ratio. The Riversdale church has nearly twice the floor area but has the same length to width ratio, 2.4. The Willowmore church, still without a chancel, accommodates the sanctuary area at the east end where a blind arch in the wall could be broken open for use as a chancel arch. Probably no chancel was intended for Church No.5, built in a remote, rural area. The reason for the absence of buttresses at the west end of the church could not be ascertained.

The plans of the churches shown are representative of most of Sophia Gray's simple plans for parish churches. These all exhibit a significant design feature, the placing of the vestry or porch across the main axis of the nave. The porches and vestries without exception carried their own gabled roof and from the earliest small church built (Refer Drawing 2 for plan of St Paul's, Eerste Rivier, C2), the internal space of the building is extended laterally. The opportunities the Grays had to build in one operation, churches with both nave *and* chancel, were rare but at St Paul's Church, Rondebosch, as shown in the sketch plan in Figure J4, the church was built with aisles and, when nearing completion, it was joined to the existing church on the site, the older structure becoming the chancel. This was the first of only two Gray churches that were built with aisles under lean-to roofs. The latter element gives a different shape to the internal space as compared to the envelope of the typical Gray church shown in the axonometric projection in Figure J4. In St Paul's, four pointed arches on either side of the nave (Refer Drawing 1E), serve to direct a congregation's focus, down the central passageway between the pews, through the chancel arch, into the raised chancel area and up the steps to the altar, the heart of Anglo-Catholic ritual.

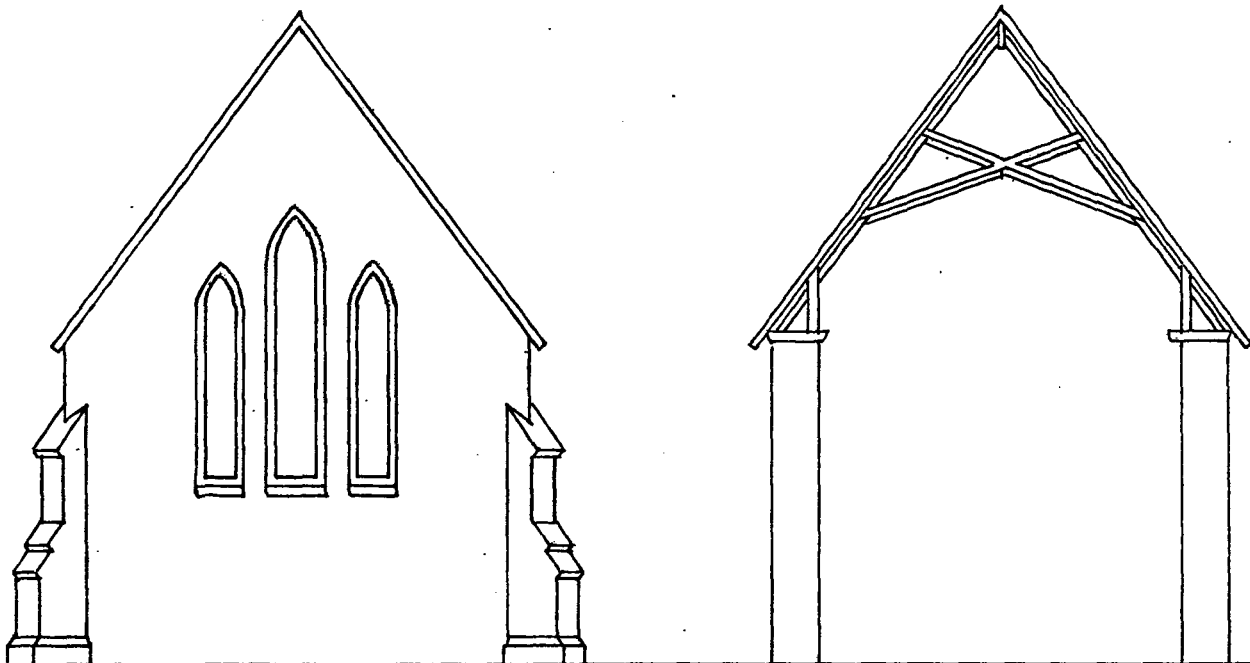
The Ecclesiologists were silent on the second element, (b) *the ratio of the width of the*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

MRS GRAY'S PLANS FOR CHRIST CHURCH, COLESBERG, 1849

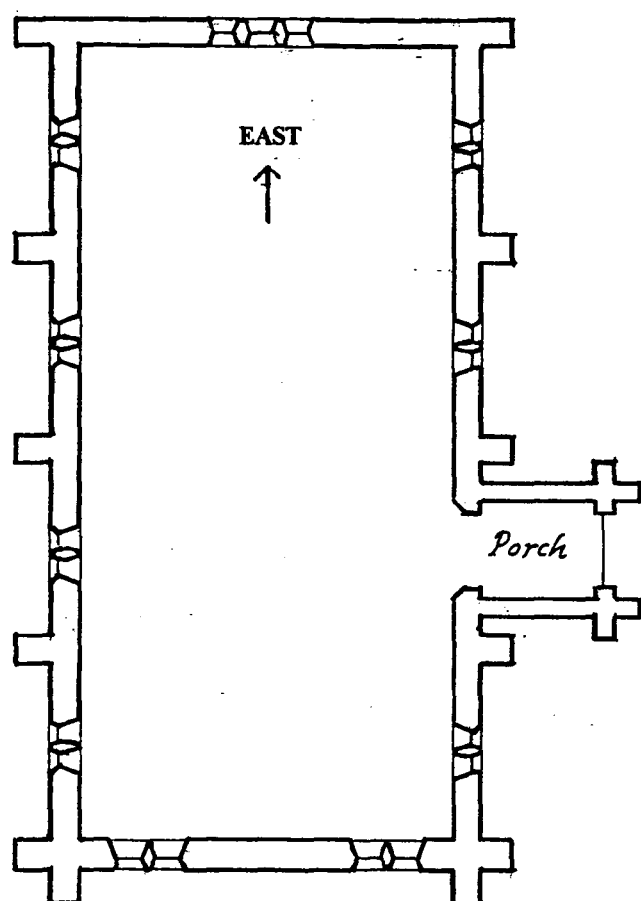


These drawings were traced by the author from copies of Mrs Gray's originals made by Richard Newenham Oxenham. (State Archives CO 593). The length of the church (42 feet) was exactly twice the width (21 feet). The plan was annotated where numbered, as follows: 1. Font 2. Pulpit 3. Seraphine here 4. Reading Desk

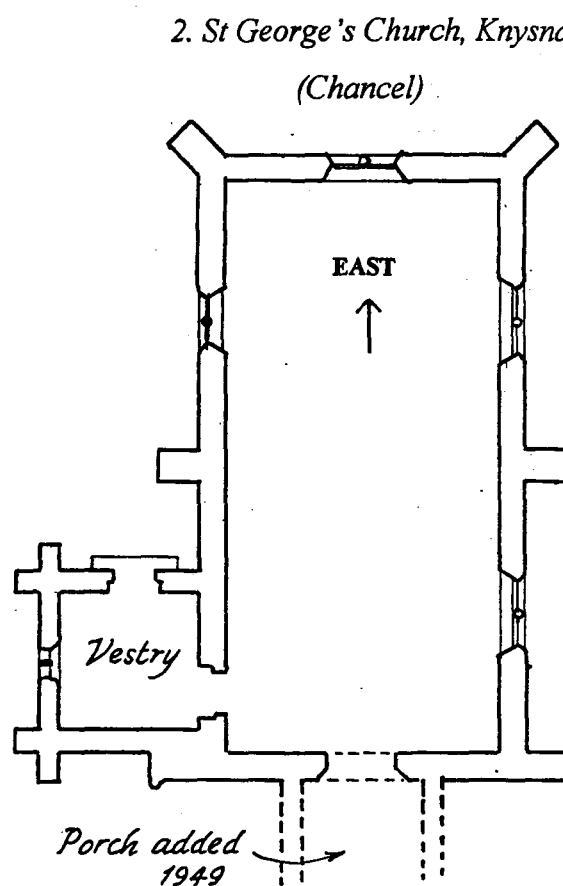


The drawing (left) was marked "East Elevation", and shows the triplet lancet design, the diagonal buttresses with two slopes, standing on plinths. The drawing (right) was marked "Section showing roof open timbers - no ceiling." The scissors truss design was probably used though it was later closed with ceiling board despite the specification on the plan. The design is similar to Fig 6 in *The Ecclesiologist*, reproduced in Figure M.

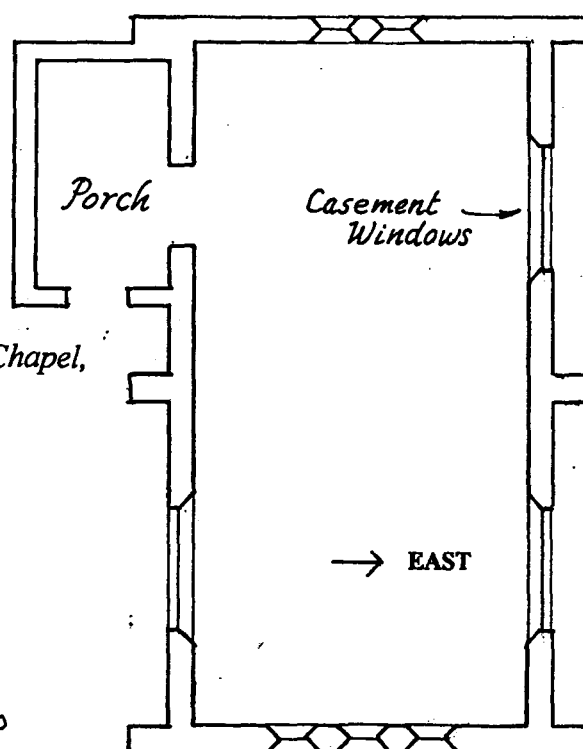
PLANS OF GRAY CHURCHES, 1 - 3
Victoria West, Knysna and Fraserburg



1. *St John's Church, Victoria West*

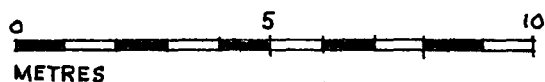


2. *St George's Church, Knysna*
 (Chancel)

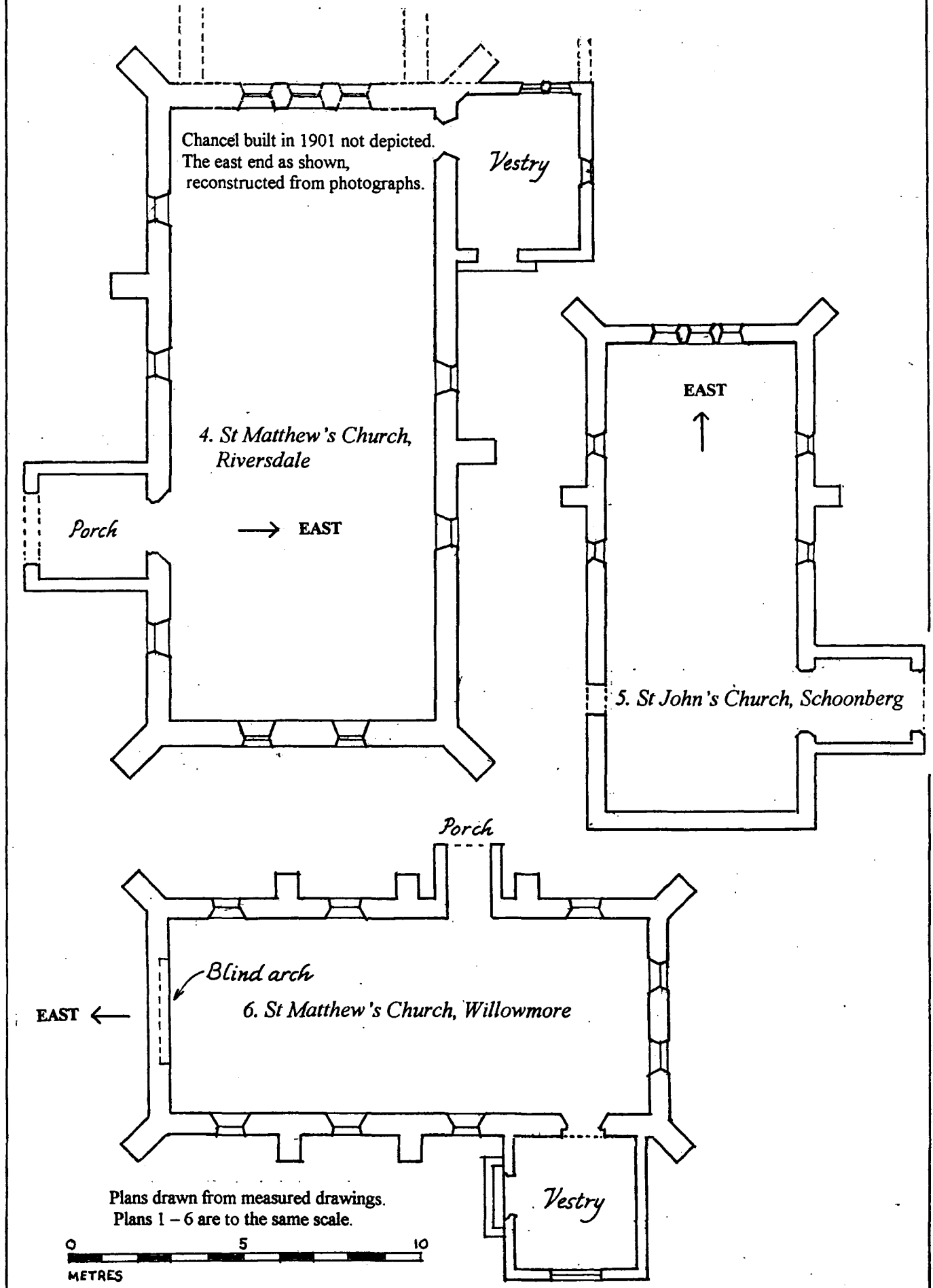


3. *St Augustine's School Chapel, Fraserburg*

Plans drawn from measured drawings.
 Plans 1 - 6 are to the same scale.

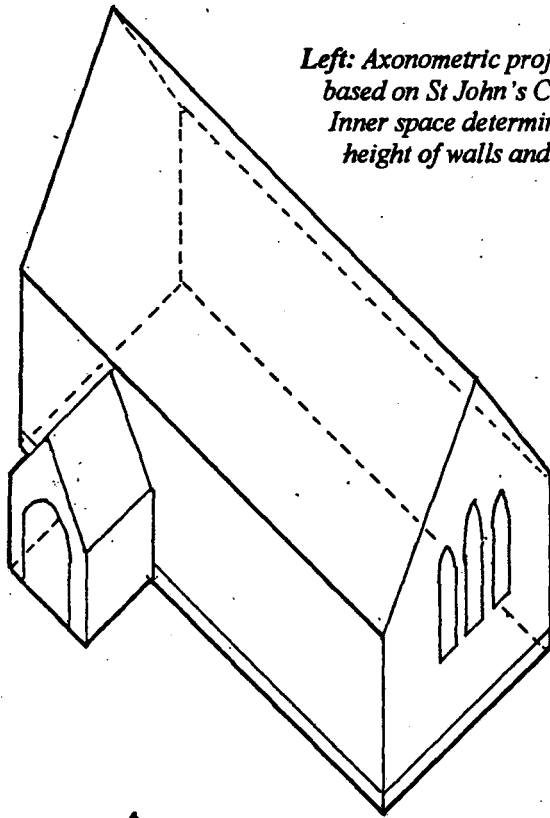


PLANS OF GRAY CHURCHES, 4 - 6
Riversdale, Schoonberg and Willowmore

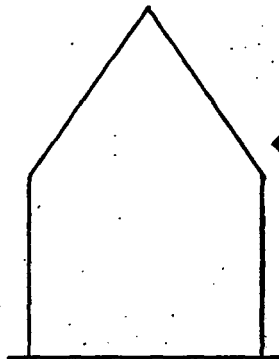
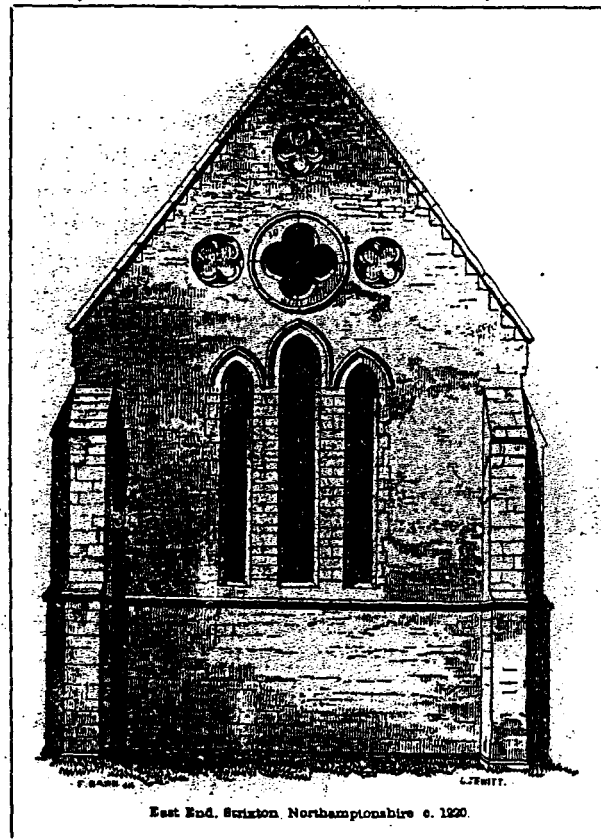


THE GRAY CHURCHES – INTERNAL SPACE

Left: Axonometric projection of typical Gray church, based on St John's Church, Schoonberg. Inner space determined by floor plan (2,3 :1), height of walls and roof style and pitch.

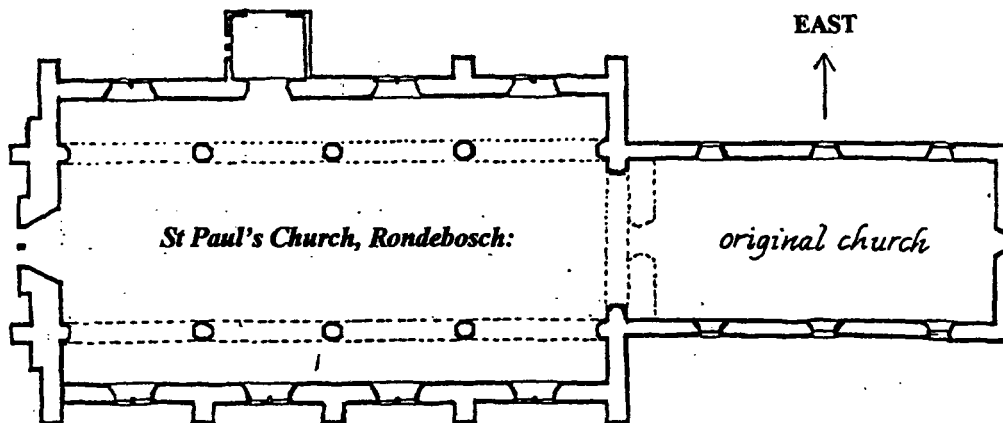


Below: East end of Strixton Church, Northamptonshire, c1220. Source: J. H. Parker, An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture, 1849.



← Gray example:
Wall height 75% of width
Roof pitch 55 degrees

Strixton: →
Wall height 85% of width
Roof pitch 52 degrees



Aisled nave by Sophia Gray/Butterfield (1854), joined at the chancel arch to old church by Charles Michell (1834). Sketch plan by D. J. Radford, Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838- 1901.



church to the height of the walls at gutter level. No measurable ratio was stipulated in the 'instructions' apart from what is implied by "the proportions and great features" of the ancient examples. The height of walls of the 34 churches visited and photographed during field trips was not measured, as photographic evidence of the end elevations was sufficient to substantiate that the height of the walls was generally between 70% and 100% of the church width. Measurements on the two reproduced examples of Mrs Gray's *own drawings* of small churches at Colesberg (Figure J) and Worcester (Figure L) were used to verify the above. It was found that in the two drawings, the height of the walls is roughly 70% and 65% respectively of the width of the church.

The third element, (c) the roof pitch, was a factor that the Ecclesiologists debated at great length. The hope was expressed in the 'instructions' that the pitch should approach the 60-degree mark. Architectural drawings of the period confirm that the end elevation of ancient Gothic churches was a 'narrow' church with a high-pitched roof that pointed heavenwards rather than a 'squat' church with a broad base and a roof with a flattened pitch. An example is the 13th century Strixton Church in Figure J4. Based on the dimensions of the Schoonberg Church, an axonometric projection of a typical Gray church was drawn to record the character of its internal space and to compare its end elevation with the 'ancient example' at Strixton. (Opinions expressed in *The Ecclesiologist* on the pitch of roofs will be examined in sub-section 4).

The envelope created by the three elements discussed above, can be varied to suit the whim of the architect by altering any one or more of the three elements. Mrs Gray avoided the temptation to play with space; she was remarkably consistent with applying the preferred standards, and thus ensured a characteristic uniformity with the liturgical areas in her churches. In the Gray churches generally, the combined impact of linear plans, slender proportions and high pitched roofs on the interior of the nave, was augmented by other elements such as the narrow lancets set within splayed recesses, doors set within pointed arches and the articulation of the secondary spaces of vestry, porch and chancel (where these existed) creating spatial extensions of the nave. The character of the internal space was further emphasized by the design of the roof trusses within the open roof. As will be discussed in sub-section 5, the trusses, largely of the arch-braced or scissors variety, invariably spring from ornamental timber or plaster corbels on the walls of the nave and curve upwards, invading the roof space and visually linking it to the liturgical space within the nave. In the photograph in Figure J5, the triplet lancet, set within deep splays, adds to the upward profile of the internal space of the chancel of St John's Church, Clanwilliam.

Where Mrs Gray's simple rectangular churches were later fully developed with an articulated chancel (mostly after her death in 1871), the plastic qualities of the plans are more apparent. The plan of Holy Trinity Church, Caledon, in Figure J5, shows Mrs Gray's basic nave and vestry of 1854, the porch of 1856 and the chancel, almost certainly designed by Mrs Gray, that was completed in 1865. In the outline sketch of the church, the external sculptural effect created through the rectilinear and axial relationships of the chancel, porch and vestry to the nave, is apparent. This is enhanced by the three smaller volumes and nave each having their own roofs, the varied roof lines and the vertical dimensions of the pedimented bellcote. Mrs Gray thus set the pattern for the internal space within her small churches to be developed piecemeal without any detrimental effect to the Early English style.

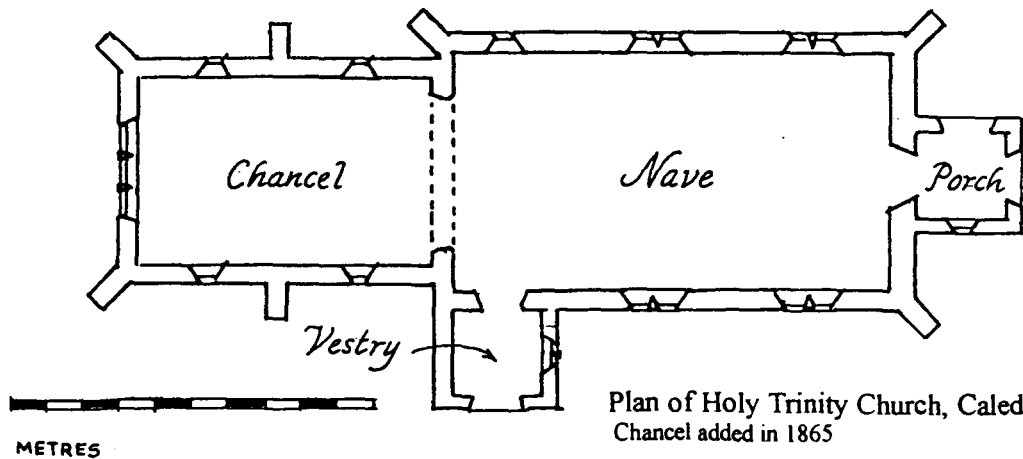
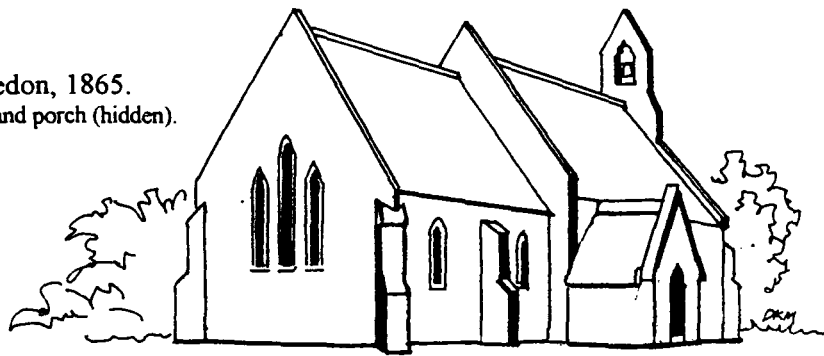
THE GRAY CHURCHES – INTERNAL SPACE



Chancel of St John's Church, Clanwilliam

The elongated architectural elements of recessed triplet lancet, high pitched roof and arch-braced roof trusses, underscore the vertical character of the space.

Holy Trinity Church, Caledon, 1865.
Chancel, nave, vestry, bellcote and porch (hidden).



Plan of Holy Trinity Church, Caledon.
Chancel added in 1865

External Form: The 'great features' and details that determine the external form of the Gray churches are extensively examined in the sub-sections that follow – buttresses, windows in the nave and end walls, traceried windows, doorways, towers and bellcotes. These architectural elements relate to the internal space in various ways through combination with internal elements such as roof trusses. For example, in the majority of the the Gray churches, the position of roof trusses internally corresponds with the external buttressing of the window bay structures, thus relating architectural elements to the internal space. Moreover, buttresses project from the nave walls in similar fashion to the articulated vestries and porches, adding to the organic character of the plan. The lancet windows, used in all 25 of Mrs Gray's Early English churches, emphasize both the linear shape of the space within the building and the vertical lines of the exterior elements, the pointed doorways, buttresses and the sharp angle of the roof.

The Grays were quick to recognize churches that in 'style and form' deviated from the Gothic norm. A case in point was the Bishop's reaction when he and Sophia arrived in Beaufort West for the consecration of Christ Church: "... we went to look at the Church. It has suffered in an architectural point of view, from *the plans not having been strictly adhered to*. The pitch of the roof has been lowered, the western windows elongated, the length of the building diminished, and the buttresses dispensed with."²⁹ (Refer Drawing 35). It is concluded that the Grays associated a correctly proportioned church with correct worship, echoing Pugin's belief that there existed an inseparable relationship between Gothic architecture and the liturgical practices it housed.

3. BUTTRESSES

Buttresses are not mentioned by *The Ecclesiologist* as a separate architectural unit but are included in the 'instructions' for walls.³⁰ The thickness of walls is given for walls of differing heights and materials "... on the supposition that there are buttresses of solidity and form, suitable to the style adopted, placed opposite the trusses or principals of the roof. Where there are no buttresses the thickness of the walls must be considerably greater." This implies that a buttress should be built against the nave or chancel wall at the point where the roof truss meets the wall plate (the horizontal timber along the top of a wall) to absorb the outward thrust of the roof. Pugin wrote, "... buttresses are necessary supports to a lofty wall. A wall of three feet in thickness, with buttresses projecting three feet more at intervals, is much stronger than a wall of six feet thick without buttresses." He added that a long, unbroken mass of building without light and shade is monotonous; "it is evident... that both *for strength and beauty, breaks or projections are necessary* (author's italics)"³¹ Apart from fulfilling a structural function, the buttress was an outward sign that a building was a church.

In the ancient Gothic churches, the earliest buttresses were very wide and of slight projection. The top of the buttress was sloped to shed rainwater. Between the 12th and 15th centuries, the depth of buttresses gradually increased, corresponding with a decrease in the thickness of walls of churches. From about the 14th century, a second step or tier (slope) was introduced half way down the buttress, a form that was followed in the Gothic Revival both in Britain as well as in churches in South Africa. (Refer Figure K). Walls of churches were usually built with a plinth (projecting base,

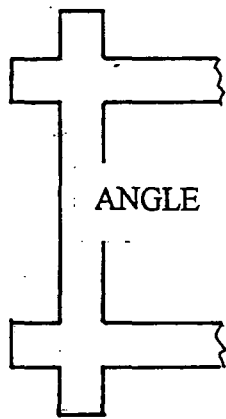
²⁹ Gray's Journal, 19 October 1855, p79.

³⁰ *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p153.

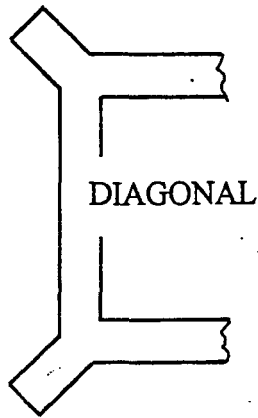
³¹ A. W. N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, p3.

TYPES OF CORNER BUTTRESSES

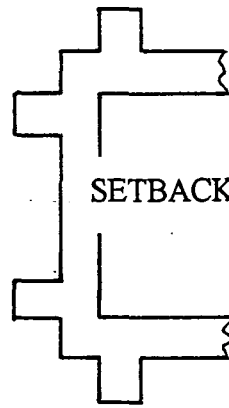
Four types of corner buttresses were Angle, Diagonal, Setback and Claspings:



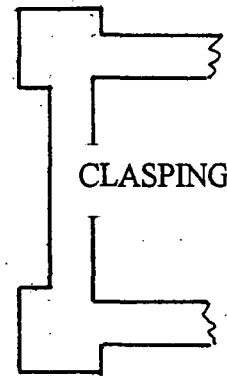
ANGLE



DIAGONAL

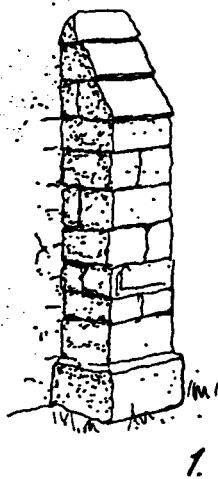


SETBACK

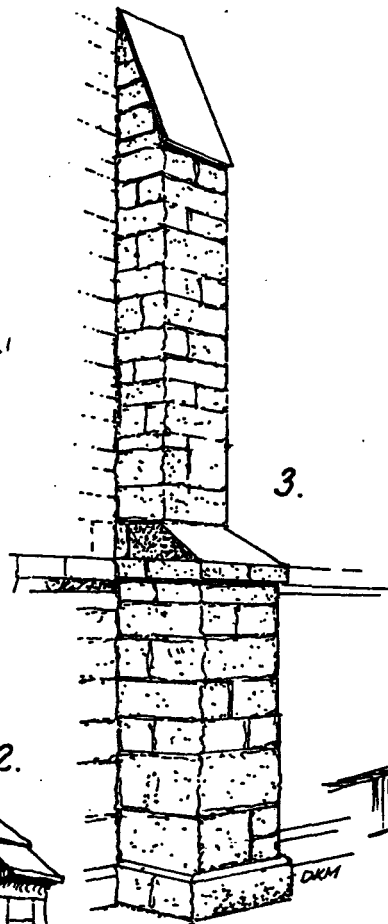


CLASPING

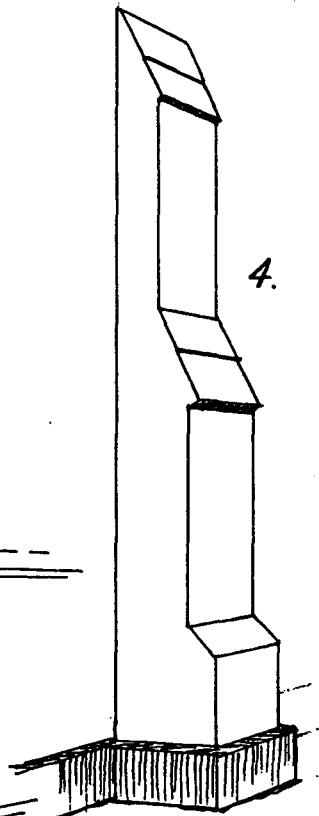
BUTTRESSES ON SELECTED GRAY CHURCHES



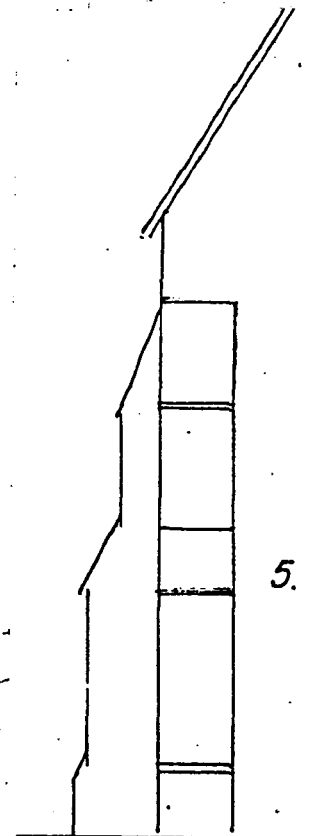
1.



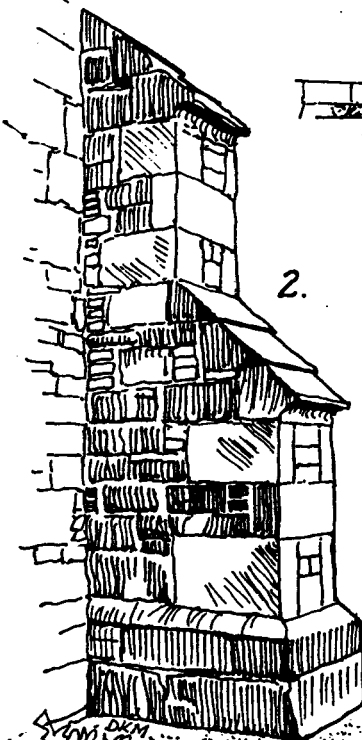
3.



4.



5.



2.

1. Rare single-step buttress in stone, Vestry wall, St George's, Knysna.
2. Buttress with two steps (slopes) in hammer dressed stone, St Jude's, Oudtshoorn.
3. Tall buttress in dressed stone with two steps, St James', Graaff-Reinet.
4. Buttress in plastered brick, with three steps, St Mary's, Robertson.
5. Section of Mrs Gray's drawing for St James', Worcester for two step buttress.

Note: Angle of top step is 69 degrees, lower step is 61 degrees.

generally chamfered), which would be continued around any buttresses on the building.

As there appears to have been a lack of 'instruction' in the type of buttress, Sophia Gray must have been guided in this regard by examples of churches she knew in England. William Butterfield's four-bay church at Coalpit Heath (1844) in the late Early English style, may be taken as typical of the Gothic Revival churches built in Britain at the time the Grays were preparing to come to Cape Town.³² It has two-step buttresses against the walls and at the corners. The first step above the ground has a 45 degrees slope while the top step slopes at about 70 degrees.³³ By contrast, Robert Gray's church at Byers Green (plans drawn by G Y Wall in 1842)³⁴ has a buttress style with *a single step* at the top (Refer Figure H). Robert's own church at Whitworth that was restored by Rev Charles Carr in 1850 has the more traditional two-step buttress.

In Cape Town, the *single step buttress* only became popular with architects after 1903.³⁵ Generally, where buttresses were built for 19th century churches, these were of the *two-step* variety. The same applies to Sophia Gray's churches that have buttresses – all are of the two-step style (with the exception of the three, single-step buttresses against the west end wall of St Thomas's Church, Rondebosch (Drawing 65), the buttresses of All Saints Church, Somerset East (Drawing 39), and against the relatively lower walls of vestries and porches such as at Knysna and Cradock and against aisle walls as at St Paul's, Rondebosch). Mention must be made of the *flying buttress* which is "an arch starting from a detached pier [or buttress] and abutting against a wall to take the thrust of the vaulting [of a stone or brick roof]."³⁶ These were largely used on cathedrals and large minsters and certainly would not have been needed for simple parish churches. Even when grandiose plans were drawn by Mrs Gray for the Pietermaritzburg Cathedral, she did not consider this version.

The manner in which buttresses were used *on the corners* of churches contributed significantly to the appearance of the building, especially to the end elevations. Buttresses could be arranged (Refer Figure K) in four ways.³⁷

- (1) Angle buttresses, being two buttresses meeting at an angle of 90 degrees at the corner of a building;
- (2) The diagonal buttress, which is set at 45 degrees at the corner of a building;
- (3) The clasping buttress, being a buttress that encases or wraps around the corner of a building;
- (4) The setback buttress, which is set slightly away from the corner.

The corners of churches in Britain in the Early English period "...nearly always had rectangular [angle] buttresses whereas in the Decorated period and later they were usually set diagonally."³⁸ A model of a small Early English chapel to be erected at

³² Plans in the RIBA Drawings Collection, London.

³³ Pugin stated that the 'slope of the weatherings' (i.e. the pitch of the steps) should "increase with the height that they are placed above the ground (*Ibid*, p16).

³⁴ County Durham Archives, Durham, File EP26.

³⁵ D. K. Martin, *The Cape Town Church Building Boom, 1880-1909*.

³⁶ Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture*, p975.

³⁷ J. Fleming, H. Honour, N. Pevsner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture*, p44.

³⁸ L. E. Jones, *Old English Churches*, (1985), p68.

Cheadle was evaluated in 1841 by *The Ecclesiologist*.³⁹ After making some suggestions about the windows, the editors said, "Upon the whole, the simplicity and good taste of this design deserve much commendation. We believe that there is sufficient authority for the unusual arrangement of *diagonal* buttresses at the corners." Butterfield's Coalpit Heath church has diagonal buttresses at the corners, Wall's church at Byers Green has a clasping buttress on the corners whereas Underwood's Littlemore Church, (highly commended by the Ecclesiologists and used as the model for St Mark's Church, George), also has diagonal buttresses at the four corners. It appears that it was acceptable to use all versions of end buttress.

The use of buttresses on school chapels built by the Grays varied. Of 8 school chapels, *only two* had no buttresses, these being St Mark's (C39), and Mossel Bay (C48).⁴⁰ Three chapels had only *one* of the two angle buttresses at the corner. These are at Newlands (C23), Fraserburg (C43) and Montagu (C46). Two chapels at Rondebosch (C36) and Durbanville (C32) had full angle buttresses while the presence of buttresses at the Constantia Chapel is unknown. An unnamed stone chapel built at Beaufort West in 1849 (not included in the architectural review but thought to be a Sophia Gray design), is similar to the school chapels built at Newlands and Fraserburg in that buttresses were only built against the long walls (Refer Drawing 33).

Table III, Column 3, is evidence of Mrs Gray's fairly equal usage of the first two buttress types, *angle* and *diagonal*. Of the 40 churches and chapels, 32 had buttresses; of these, 12 were of the diagonal style and 20 had angle or half angle buttresses. Of the balance of 8 buildings, 5 had no buttresses but these were the Norman church at Belvidere, Christ Church at Beaufort West (builders had deviated from Mrs Gray's plans), All Saints, Bredasdorp (buttresses omitted for unknown reason), and the 2 school chapels already named above. Full details of another 3 churches are not known. For whatever reason, Sophia Gray never used clasping or setback buttresses.⁴¹

Pugin was inordinately fond of buttresses as "they represented the essence of Gothic construction and typified its superiority to structurally plodding Classicism."⁴² As Pugin expressed it, "pointed architecture does not conceal her construction, but beautifies it ... classic architecture seeks to conceal instead of decorating it... a buttress in pointed architecture at once shows its purpose, and diminishes naturally as it rises and has less to resist."⁴³ The Grays had read Pugin's works and to Mrs Gray in particular these views must have been noteworthy for, as the statistics prove, she never designed churches without buttresses.

4. ROOF PITCH

"Next to a stone vaulted roof none has so good an effect internally as an open roof, exhibiting the timbers. It is desirable that this *should be of high pitch*, the transverse section forming or *approaching* to the figure of an equilateral triangle [60 degrees]."⁴⁴ A letter from a Camdemian was published in an earlier issue of *The Ecclesiologist*

³⁹ *The Ecclesiologist*, No. II. November 1841, p21.

⁴⁰ A ninth school chapel at Villiersdorp (C51), not architecturally surveyed, had no buttresses.

⁴¹ The only use of clasping buttresses on a church erected in Bishop Gray's time was St Paul's Church, St Helena (C57) designed by Ferrey. Pugin himself used set back buttresses on the corners of his St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Derby, in 1837. (Vide, *The Architects' Journal*, 4 July 1990).

⁴² D. Cruickshank, 'Building with Principle', *The Architects' Journal*, July 1990, p26.

⁴³ A. W. N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, pp3, 4.

⁴⁴ *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p154.

that clearly had the support of the editors.⁴⁵ The writer pointed out that the subject of high-pitched roofs was a most neglected department of Ecclesiastical Architecture. His chief concern was that recent roof designs "...are uniformly deficient in the pitch or height of the roofing." He made the point that if a tower or spire cannot be built to lift "its head high above the surrounding objects, the Nave and Chancel-roofs could still be descried glistering among the green trees. *A high roof is a much more striking and conspicuous feature than is generally supposed* (author's italics)." As already quoted, Bishop Gray admitted in his journal when at Riversdale that "Economy compels us to be contented with bell-turrets instead of towers..."⁴⁶ If towers had to be dispensed with, there was greater aesthetic reliance on the roof to create the elegant, lofty form of the church.

The last column of figures in Table III proves Mrs Gray's recognition of the vital role that a high-pitched roof played in the Gothic style, enhancing the upward pointing of the lancets, pointed doorways and sloping buttresses. Of the 33 churches where the roof pitch is known, 16 have roof pitches of 55 degrees and more.⁴⁷ The second lowest pitch recorded, 43 degrees, was at Christ Church, Beaufort West where it has already been noted under 'Style and Form', that the builders had not worked to the Gray plan. At Worcester, as at possibly other churches, the pitch of the roof as built (54 degrees), was slightly lowered considering that Sophia's roof, as drawn (Figure L), was pitched at 58 degrees. The pitch of 60 degrees was in any case, a preferred pitch as the 'instruction' included the alternative, "*or approaching to the figure.*" In an article entitled, "Church Roofing", to be referred to in the next sub-section, sketches of roofs (roof trusses) from 12 Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular churches were published. Their pitches vary from 46 to 62 degrees, with seven of the trusses being less than 60. The Butterfield example (1844) of an Early English church referred to earlier (Coalpit Heath), has a pitch of 57 degrees; the Byers Green church by Wall (1842), a pitch of only 42 degrees. Seen in this context, Sophia Gray's churches conformed to Gothic Revival norms. She was never guilty of inconsistency nor was she wooed into compromising Gothic 'rules' to save on construction costs. Roofs of low pitch are less expensive as they require less timber for the trusses and external roofing material. The Grays were not tempted by flatter roofs as these would have "caused the supposed necessity of tie-beams, or what is much worse... frightful flat plastered ceilings."⁴⁸ Furthermore, tie beams, when set too low, interfere with the congregation's view of the sanctuary.

Having read Pugin's *True Principles*, Sophia Gray was probably aware that her high-pitched roofs reflected "Pugin's doctrine on the symbolic nature of soaring architecture: '*Height or the vertical principle*, emblematic of the Resurrection, is the very essence of Christian architecture."⁴⁹ None of the other writers of Pugin's time, however, commented on what Pugin declared as the two practical reasons for steep pitches: "The most beautiful pitch of a roof... is an inclination *sufficiently steep to throw off snow without giving the slate or lead covering too perpendicular a strain* (author's italics), which is formed by two sides on an equilateral triangle." A second reason for a steep pitch is that "the whole pressure of the wind is *lateral*, and forces

⁴⁵ *The Ecclesiologist*, March 1842, p72.

⁴⁶ Gray's Journal, 5 September 1855, p27.

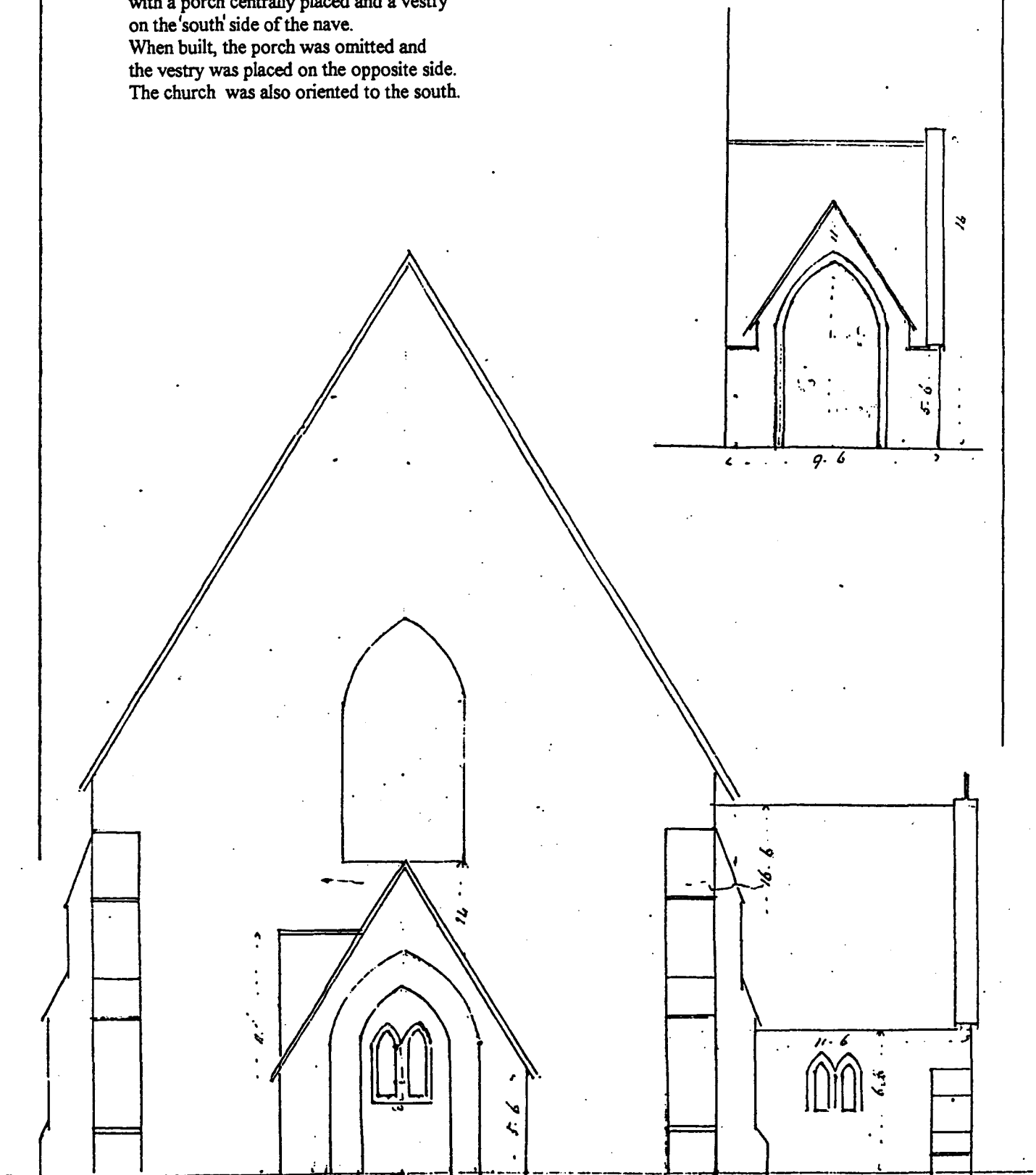
⁴⁷ St John's at Clanwilliam (C37) boasts the steepest pitch of 61 degrees.

⁴⁸ *The Ecclesiologist*, March 1842, p73.

⁴⁹ D. Cruickshank, 'Building with Principle', *The Architects' Journal*, 4 July 1990, p28.

MRS SOPHIA GRAY'S DRAWING OF ST JAMES' CHURCH, WORCESTER

This is one of the eleven surviving
Architectural Drawings of Mrs Gray.
It shows the west elevation of the church
with a porch centrally placed and a vestry
on the south side of the nave.
When built, the porch was omitted and
the vestry was placed on the opposite side.
The church was also oriented to the south.



the covering closer to the roof.”⁵⁰ It is open to speculation whether Sophia considered that, because of the virtual absence of snow in South African towns, she could dispense with high-pitched roofs. It is unlikely too that she justified high roofs on account of the heat or wind. Tradition and aesthetics and the Ecclesiologists called for the steep pitch and Mrs Gray complied (Roofing materials of the Gray churches are discussed in sub-section 11).

5. ROOF TRUSS DESIGN

Reference by Rickman (1817) to ancient Early English roofs⁵¹ is scanty as he explained, “there do not appear to be any Early English wooden roofs which can clearly be distinguished to be such.”⁵² His coverage of Decorated roofs is likewise brief. Parker similarly makes no mention of Early English and of the later style wrote, “Timber roofs of this period are comparatively scarce”⁵³ and the style of the different types of roofs is not illustrated. *The Ecclesiologist*, however, addressed the subject of “Church Roofing” in their issue of May 1844, saying that, on the subject of *open roofs*, “it must be evident to all in the habit of touring through the country villages for the purpose of architectural research, that a great deal yet remains to be studied... and that many ancient examples, admirable at once for ingenuity, yet simplicity of construction... are yet to be found...” The article was confined to “early” roofs, because “examples of this kind... are still very much wanted for modern churches built in the Decorated or the Early English style.”⁵⁴

The Gothic Revivalist approach to roof trusses is explicit in this article: “High-pitched open roofs for churches... may now be said to have triumphed over all prejudice... No one is now afraid of having a bold external elevation, and, internally, every one of the timbers, be they ever so plain, exposed in all their honest nakedness...” It was stated that, “We have also learnt that stone vaulting need not be considered... *essential* to the full display of the noble capabilities of the Christian styles; ... a roof of wood is only less appropriate and durable than one of stone.” In addition, it was claimed, “we are getting rid of tie-beam roofs.”⁵⁵ Though there were ancient examples of roof trusses with heavy ornamented tie-beams, *The Ecclesiologist* said, “there are other and better as well as more beautiful forms of early roofs.”⁵⁶ The article recommended some simple and available “models of ancient examples” especially for churches where funds were limited. Of the 12 roof trusses illustrated (Refer Figure M), nearly all had collar beams in the upper third of the truss. Four trusses had crossed struts, known now as *scissors trusses*. Also illustrated are versions of the *arch-braced truss* and the *hammerbeam truss*.

Judging by the style of roof truss in extant examples of Sophia Gray’s churches, it is once again clear that she was aware of what styles were acceptable to the Gothic architects and protagonists of her time. When Mrs Gray wrote to the builder at

⁵⁰ A. W. N. Pugin, *op cit.*, pp10, 11.

⁵¹ The term ‘roof’, means ‘roof truss’ in contemporary building parlance.

⁵² T. Rickman, *An Attempt to discriminate...*, p145.

⁵³ J. H. Parker, *An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*, p169.

⁵⁴ *The Ecclesiologist*, May 1844, p102.

⁵⁵ Very early churches had tie-beam roofs (trusses) that enabled roofs to be of a low pitch but the horizontal tie-beam connecting the ends of the principal rafters, as mentioned under *Roof Pitch*, interrupted the view of the chancel arch and East window from the nave. (Refer to Fig. 14 on p106 reproduced from *The Ecclesiologist*.)

⁵⁶ May 1844, p103.

Caledon, she stated bluntly, "You cannot afford teak... for your roof. It is a mistake to suppose a tie beam is needed for the roof. They have long been exploded in Church Building."⁵⁷ Comparison of the sketches in *The Ecclesiologist* in Figure M, with some of the Gray trusses shown in Figure N, reveals many almost identical matches:

- 1) Scissors truss and collar beam in Fig.M2: Similar to St Luke's, Swellendam, Fig.N1;
- 2) Arch-braced truss under collar beam in Fig. M4: Similar to St John's, Victoria West (the undersides of the rafters are closed in with ceiling boards), Fig.N2.
- 3) Arch-braced truss in Fig. M7: Similar to arch-braced truss in St Matthew's, Willowmore, except that the ancient example is closed in between the brace and the principal rafter, Fig.N3.
- 4) The arch-braced truss with a king post in Fig. M8: Similar to trusses in St George's, Knysna (Fig. N4) and All Saints, Somerset East, except that the two Gray churches do not have a king post standing on the collar beam.
- 5) The hammerbeam truss in Fig M10: Similar to the truss in St Mary's, Robertson, Fig. N5, except that the ancient example is filled in above the collar beam.
- 6) The intersecting collar braces forming an arch in the truss in Fig. M13: Similar to the two intersecting arch-braced trusses in St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg, Fig. N7, and in St John's, Clanwilliam, Fig.N6.

The data in Table III reveals that Sophia Gray's churches with few exceptions had open roofs with exposed trusses. Of the 32 churches and chapels visited, 5 churches had a form of ceiling that concealed the trusses so that the roof was not fully visible. A breakdown of the 27 churches with exposed trusses indicates that Arch-braced trusses (14) and Scissors trusses (9) were both popular with Mrs Gray. Two churches, Holy Trinity at Caledon and All Saints at Bredasdorp, have trussed rafter roofs. Only two churches have hammerbeam roofs, probably on account of their more involved construction and cost. These are St Mark's, George (C6), where the trusses were based on the Littlemore drawings by Underwood, and at the little church of St Mary, Robertson (C33). Mrs Gray's roof truss design (1864) for the proposed large nave for Pietermaritzburg Cathedral (Figure O) is not unlike the roof truss of St Peter's, Palgrave, Suffolk (reproduced in *The Ecclesiologist*, May 1844; refer Truss No.9 in Figure M). The Palgrave truss has a "block-collar under the roof and arched braces [rising] from the hammer beams, which are again braced to the wall-piece so as to produce the trefoliated form". The similarity of design, roof pitch (both 60 degrees), and the identical patronal name suggests that Mrs Gray could have used the Palgrave design for her sketch plans for St Peter's. It was within Sophia Gray's authority to have followed her own inclinations when designing roofs; instead her choice of truss was consistent with what was recommended by *The Ecclesiologist*.

6. LANCET WINDOWS IN THE NAVE WALLS

The editors of *The Ecclesiologist* claimed that few architectural details had met with "more careless and injudicious treatment in... imitative designs, few have been vulgarized by sameness or exaggerated by mistaken proportion, than *Lancet Windows*." They added that whatever architects of the day knew of the subject, "their practice has been so generally perverse, as to warrant our endeavours... to remind them of the ancient usage."⁵⁸ The same article proceeds to debate in detail, the form,

⁵⁷ Letterbook 1849, pp131,132.

⁵⁸ *The Ecclesiologist*, February 1844, p65.

MEDIEVAL GOTHIC OPEN ROOFS

Page 104.

Fig. 1.

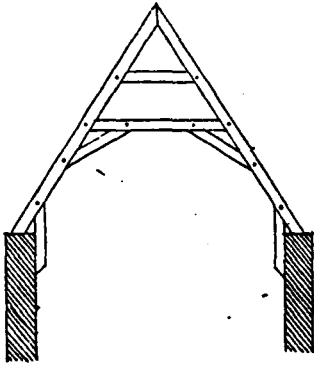


Fig. 2.

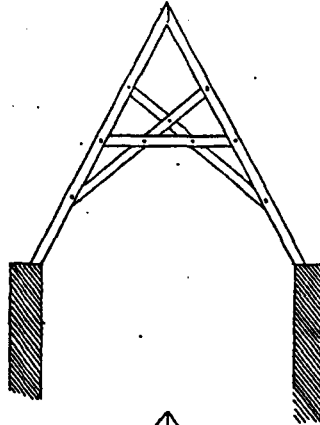


Fig. 3.

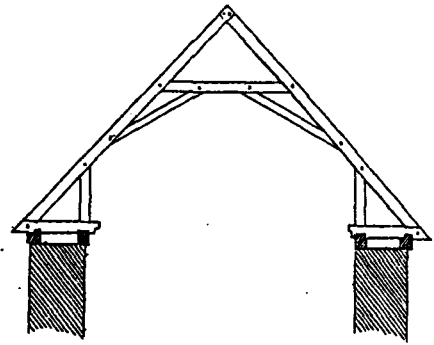


Fig. 4.

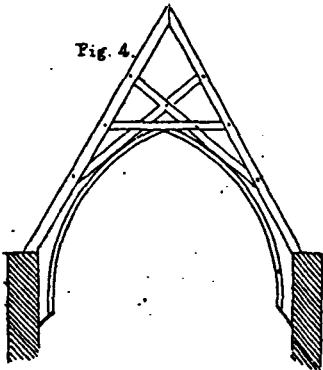


Fig. 5.

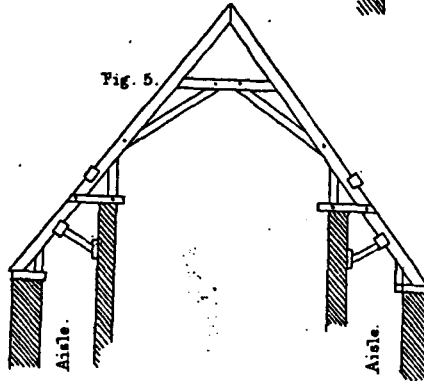
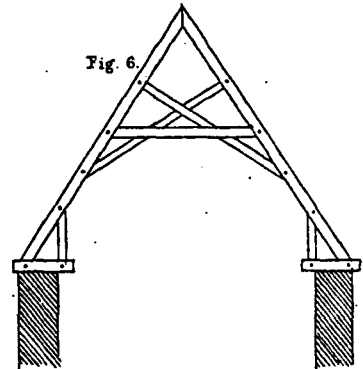


Fig. 6.



Milne & Palmer, Lithy.

Reproduced in *The Ecclesiologist*, May 1844

Page 106.

Fig. 7.

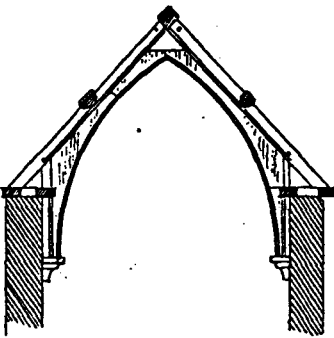


Fig. 8.

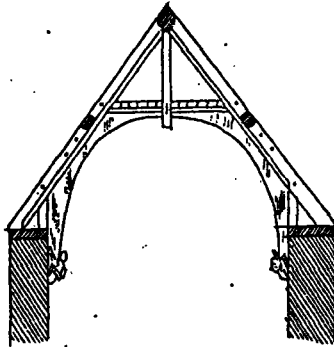


Fig. 9.

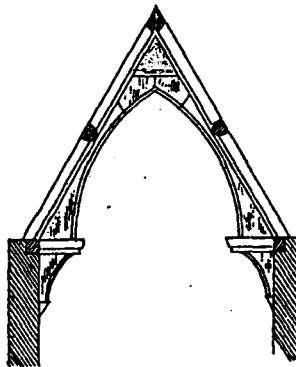


Fig. 10.

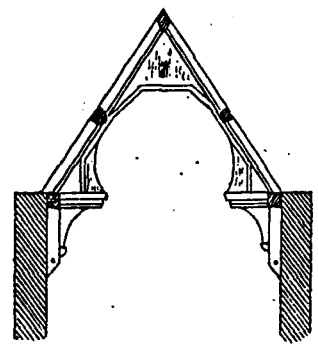


Fig. 11.

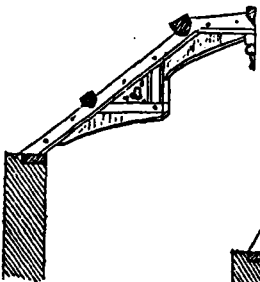


Fig. 12.

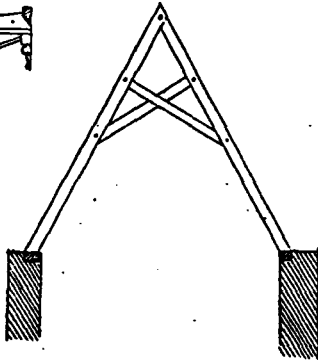


Fig. 13.

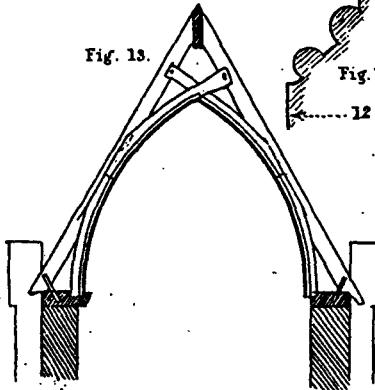
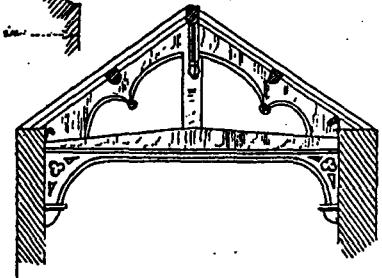


Fig. 15.



Fig. 14.



Milne & Palmer, Lithy.

ROOF TRUSS DESIGNS FROM SELECTED GRAY CHURCHES

1. Left: Scissors truss with collar beam.
St. Luke's Church, Swellendam

2. Left, below: Arch-braced truss
under a four-panelled ceiling.
St. John's Church, Victoria West.

3. Above:
Arch-braced truss
St. Matthew's, Willowmore.

4. Below:
Arch-braced truss
St. George's, Knysna.

5. Hammerbeam roof,
St. Mary's Church,
Robertson

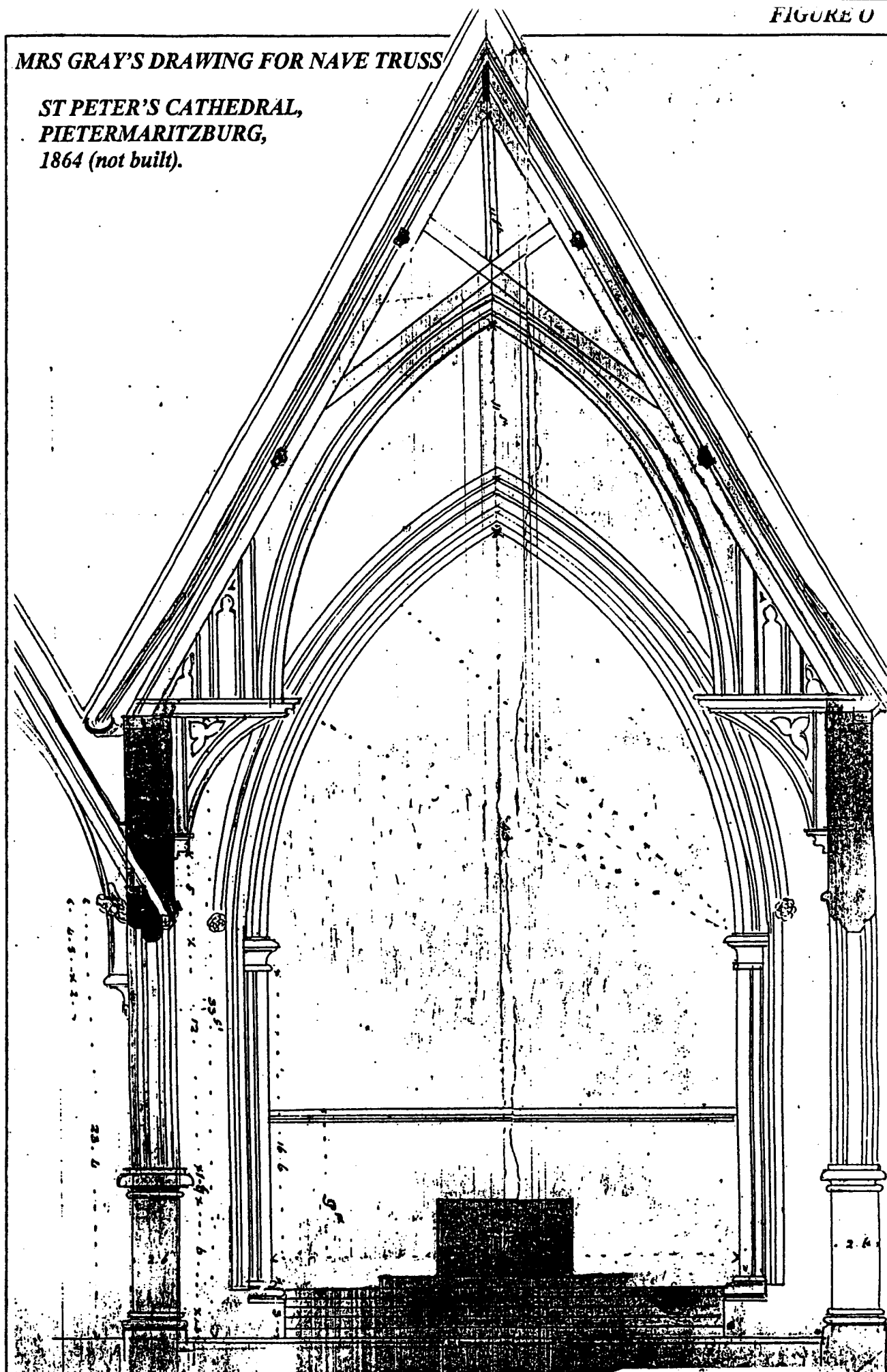
6. Intersecting arch-braced
truss, St. John's Church,
Clanwilliam.

7. Intersecting
arch-braced truss,
St. Peter's Church,
Pietermaritzburg.

Note:
These sketches are not to scale

MRS GRAY'S DRAWING FOR NAVE TRUSS

ST PETER'S CATHEDRAL,
PIETERMARITZBURG,
1864 (not built).



Maritzburg Cathedral
S.G. 1864.

Section of Nave. with Chancel Arch, looking East.

proportion and combination or arrangement of lancet windows. Of all building features, it is admitted that the subject of lancet windows "...is the one which demands the most attention." To imitate the Early English style, it was maintained, the main principles of the ancient architects must be followed closely. There is condemnation of "clusters of great wide lancets" which violate the "hallowed dimness" of the real Early English. The degree of light was crucial; therefore "the proper size of a lancet in proportion to the height and extent of the wall in which it is placed" must be considered. A general rule was spelled out: "...in ordinary parish churches of the Early-English style, plain single lancets (Refer Figure P, Lancet A) are the most proper for every position except the East and west ends."⁵⁹ Bloxam wrote: "In the early period of this Style [Early English] the Lancet window of one light, very long and narrow, was most generally used. Two Lancet windows comprised under a single dripstone are sometimes met with..."⁶⁰ Rickman wrote in similar vein of Early English windows: "These are, almost universally, long, narrow, and lancet-headed, generally without feathering, but on some instances trefoiled... A variety of appearance results from the combination of this single shape of window."⁶¹

Table IV summarises in column 2, the style of windows used by Mrs Gray in the nave walls. Of the 40 churches and chapels named, 25 are Early English churches regarded as her design. (This count excludes 8 school chapels in which *only flat-headed windows* were used, 5 churches in the Decorated style, one Norman church, and the abandoned church project in Green Point. Window styles of Decorated churches are treated in *Traceried Windows*). In the group of 25 Early English churches, *Mrs Gray employs the single lancet in 19*, and a combination of single, twin or triple lancets in 6 churches: Caledon, Worcester and Victoria West have lancet couplets, Colesberg and the Armstrong Chapel have a combination of single and lancet couplets (Refer Figure P) and Ceres had triplet lancets. Mrs Gray seldom used the lancet with a trefoiled head or with a hood mould (Figure P, Lancets B & C). *The Ecclesiologist* also noted that the proper management of two-light Early English windows had been "surprisingly little attended to" and architects of the time scarcely seemed to recognize their existence (Refer Figure P, Lancet D).⁶² By her consistent and correct use of the lancet Sophia reveals that she was not merely following an 'instruction' but that she also understood the functions of the element. Lancets limited the amount of light, creating a subdued, reverential interior; their upward-pointing shape echoed the verticality inherent in the design of Gothic churches.

As regards the *recommended proportions* of lancets, the Ecclesiologists said: "If the proportions be good, say eight feet high by one foot wide, (and it should seldom be larger), it will want no ornament whatever." Mrs Gray in her designs recognizes that "No form of lancet window is so simply and unpretendingly beautiful and at the same time so cheaply and easily executed as the *plain single aperture*..."⁶³ St Matthew's Church, Riversdale, for example, has particularly slender lancets with no ornamentation (Refer Figure P, Lancet A) but the height to width ratio is 6 : 1. The *Ecclesiologist* in 1844 had collected "a few measurements taken at random" from ancient parish churches to underscore their conclusion that the "...best proportions for

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p66.

⁶⁰ M. A. Bloxam, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p162.

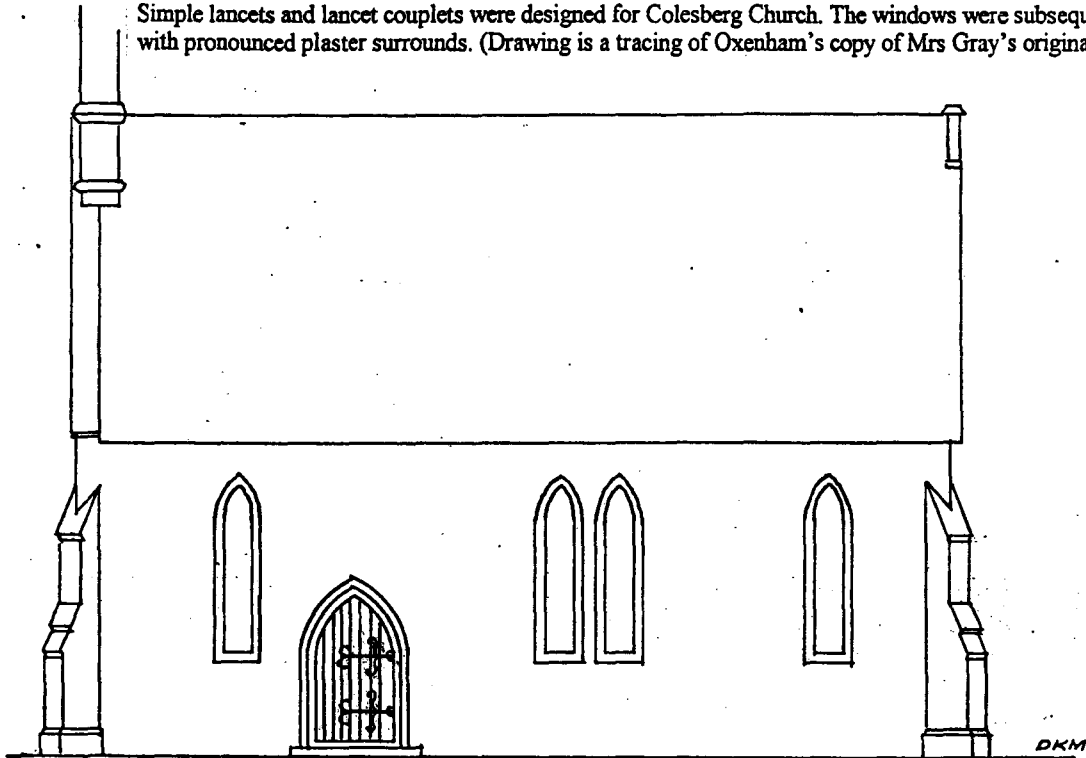
⁶¹ T. Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate...*, p118.

⁶² *The Ecclesiologist*, February 1844, p67.

⁶³ *Ibid*.

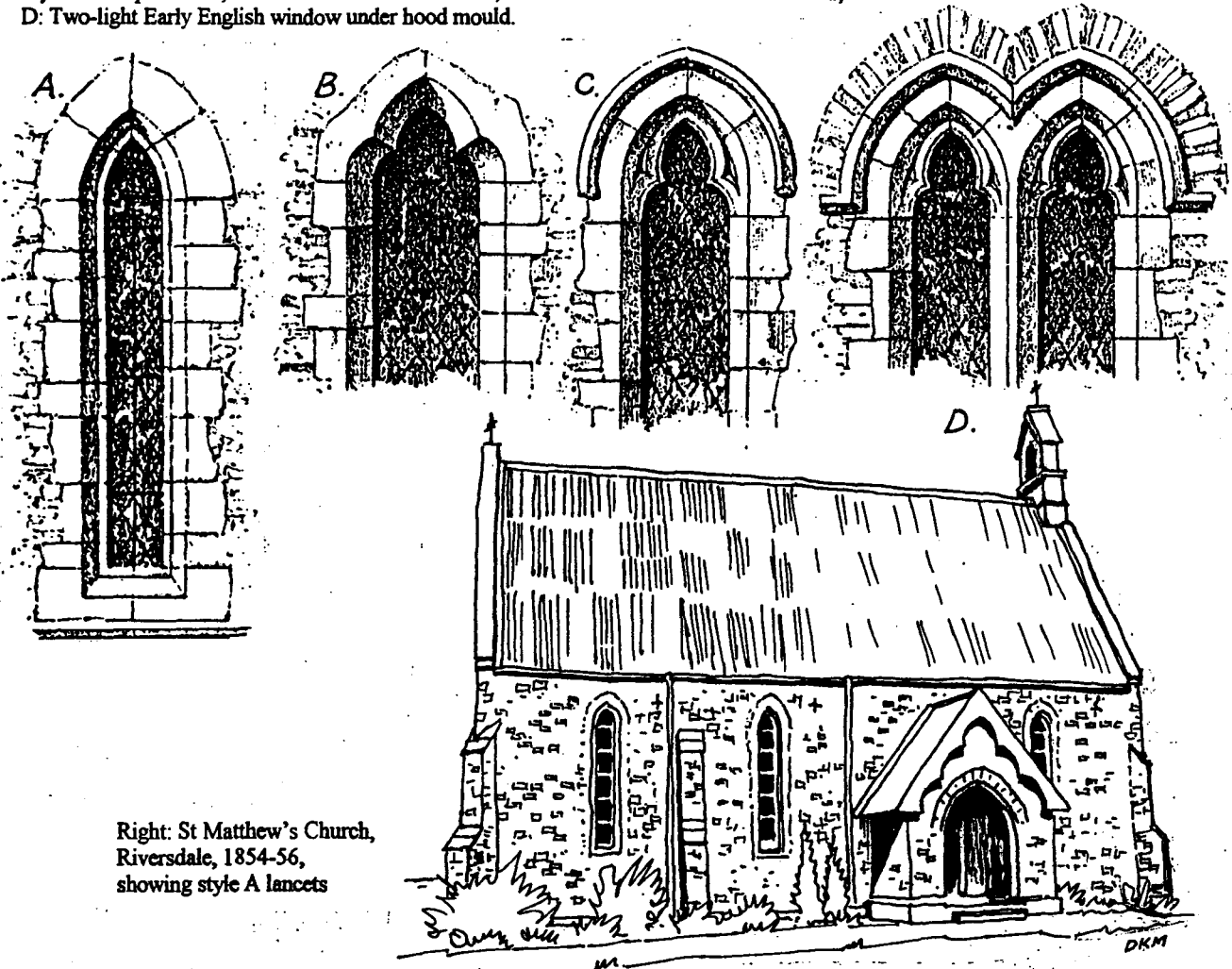
MRS GRAY'S LANCET DESIGNS FOR NAVE WALLS

Simple lancets and lancet couplets were designed for Colesberg Church. The windows were subsequently built with pronounced plaster surrounds. (Drawing is a tracing of Oxenham's copy of Mrs Gray's original, 1849).



Below: Selected lancet designs approved and published by *The Ecclesiologist*, February, 1844.
 Style A: Simple lancet; B: Lancet with trefoiled head; C: Similar to B but with hood mould;
 D: Two-light Early English window under hood mould.

C.O.593



Right: St Matthew's Church,
 Riversdale, 1854-56,
 showing style A lancets

a lancet is *about seven or eight times as high as it is wide.*"⁶⁴ Apart from a few middle lights in triplet lancets, none of Sophia's churches have lancets with 7 : 1 ratios. The average lancet is roughly 5 : 1 which still has a slender appearance and conforms to the 5 : 1 ratio of the lancets in the Littlemore Church (Refer to Figure Y), acclaimed by the Ecclesiologists as "the most churchlike of churches".⁶⁵ In retrospect, although the Gray churches do not subscribe to the recommended ratio, random measurements of 16 Gothic Revival churches⁶⁶ in the Diocese of Durham, built between 1839 and 1877, show that ratios of 5 : 1 and 6 : 1 were common, with only two churches having a 7 : 1 ratio, the average being close to 6 : 1. The proportions seen on ancient parish churches and recommended by the Ecclesiologists appear to have been rarely achieved by English architects and builders of the Gothic Revival.

In addition to the proportions of the windows, the editors recommended that the "... external jambs should be formed of bold irregular ashlar with good thick walls, so as to admit of a wide internal splay."⁶⁷ The *Ecclesiologist* advocated 'labels'⁶⁸ over the windows and 'strings'⁶⁹ underneath "both within and without..." which would then provide a "perfect copy of the best and most common ancient form."⁷⁰ Pugin explained that a hood mould projects immediately above an arch "to receive the water running down the wall over the window, and convey[s] it off on either side." It was thus indispensable, "but a projection down the sides of the jamb, where it would be utterly useless, is never found among the monuments of antiquity."⁷¹ Notwithstanding the encouragement to add string courses and hood moulds and even ornamental label stops in the form of roses or human heads, Sophia Gray's Early English churches are singularly unadorned, the walls having nothing more than buttresses and plinths to break the plane of the external surface.

7. LANCET WINDOWS IN THE EAST & WEST END WALLS

Parker wrote that the fronts of [original] Early English buildings were very different from those of the preceding or succeeding styles: "In small churches a common arrangement is to have either three lancet windows, or two with a buttress between them, but in both cases there is frequently a quatrefoil or small circular window foliated, or sunk panels of the same form, but not pierced as windows."⁷² Bloxam commented that "A common arrangement for the east end of a chancel is to have three Lancets, the middle one higher than the others, distant on the outside, (though generally comprised under a continuous dripstone,) but internally combined into a single window..."⁷³ The use of four and five lancets in the east wall was regarded as "an unusual arrangement." Likewise, Bloxam stated, "...the arrangement of two lights only... is a deviation from the general rule."

In the first issue of *The Ecclesiologist* there was a brief reference to a church about to be built at Brookfield, Middlesex. In their following issue, a full assessment of the

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p71.

⁶⁵ *The Ecclesiologist*, November 1841, p10.

⁶⁶ Measurements were taken from photographs in *Churches of the Diocese of Durham* (J. E. Ruscoe).

⁶⁷ The external jambs are the sides of the window opening, built of ashlar (dressed, square-hewn stone).

⁶⁸ Also known as hood-moulds or dripstones

⁶⁹ String courses are decorative, projecting horizontal courses of stone (or brick).

⁷⁰ *The Ecclesiologist*, February 1844, p67.

⁷¹ A.W. N. Pugin, *op cit*, p13.

⁷² J. H. Parker, *An Introduction to the study of Gothic Architecture*, p144.

⁷³ M. Bloxam, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p162.

style was given in which it was said, "The triple lancet at the west end has, for a small church, no authority. Two lancets would have been more appropriate: tall, narrow, and far apart."⁷⁴ The Ecclesiologists hotly debated in a later publication the window patterns for east and west windows.⁷⁵ The ensuing discussions were useful in that the traditions and symbolism surrounding the east and west ends of a church were re-examined and restated. The Ecclesiologists stated categorically that for the *west end* of any church, "Triplets are forbidden." Among the points leading up to this pronouncement was the rationale that if a triplet "...be the fitting arrangement for an east end, something different from a triplet should be employed at the west." The whole idea of the West end of a church where the worshippers enter "depends on the key-note, I AM THE DOOR. Some representation of the SAVIOUR may here be expected. And such, it is well known, a couplet [two lancets] is, as representing His *divine* and *human* natures" (author's italics). The East end's triplet (comprising three lancets) that stands behind and above the altar, the focal point of the church where the Holy Communion is celebrated, is symbolic of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit within the Holy Trinity. By the very nature of the separate functions of the two ends of the church, *the west would be the plainer of the two*. It followed, said the editors, "that an eastern triplet would be contrasted with a western couplet or single lancet."⁷⁶

With Mrs Gray's background of architectural reading, her husband's theological training and ongoing priestly duties and their proven contact with the Ecclesiologists, she must have been very aware of the rich symbolism within ecclesiastical buildings, probably more so than most architects. Thus the style of Anglican churches in South Africa was significantly influenced by Sophia Gray as may be seen in the window patterns of east and west end gable walls that were consistent with ecclesiological principles. An analysis of the patterns in the east *and* west walls of the 40 churches and chapels listed in Table IV was made (Refer columns 3 and 4). With regard to the *east* wall, of the 25 Early English churches and chapels for which details are known⁷⁷, 16 carried triplet lancets. Another 5 are *presumed* to have had triplets in the east wall as the chancels that have been subsequently added, have triplets. Of the remaining 4 churches, two had blank east walls and for two, details are unknown. In all of the 16 triplet lancets, the central light is taller than the lights on either side. Mrs Gray's strict observance of the special significance of an eastern triplet would have found great favour in ecclesiastical circles.

On the *west* wall there was more scope for architects to be innovative with windows and Sophia Gray was no exception. Again confining the analysis to the 25 Early English churches, we observe that she followed the 'rule' of a lancet couplet in *only* 10 churches. In three churches there is a *single lancet* (Schoonberg, Uniondale and Plettenberg Bay), a version that was also quite acceptable to the Ecclesiologists. In the St Luke's Mission Church a *quadruplet* lancet is seen and there are *double lancet couplets* at Victoria West. Two churches have traceried windows though they are basically Early English buildings (North End, and Worcester). Another two have circular windows above a porch (Caledon and Umzinto). St Mary's, Robertson has no window while details of four churches (Faure, Bredasdorp, the Armstrong Chapel and

⁷⁴ No.I, November 1841, p19.

⁷⁵ *The Ecclesiologist*, January 1843, pp 65-68.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Ignoring the 15 churches/chapels of other styles, unfinished buildings and seven school-chapels.

Clanwilliam) could not be confirmed. The only solecism⁷⁸ of *three lancets in a west wall* occurs in St Jude's, Oudtshoorn. Why Sophia Gray should have erred on this single occasion gives rise to the possibility, as thought by Radford, that the design of St Jude's, Oudtshoorn, which although commonly attributed to Mrs Gray, is by another, almost certainly George Wallis.⁷⁹ The unique roof truss design, a 'double scissors' (Refer Drawing 57), is the only one of its kind in Sophia Gray's many churches which exception further adds to the view held by Radford.

8. TRACERIED WINDOWS

Rickman regarded window tracery as probably the most distinguishing feature of Gothic architecture and believed that it was brought to perfection during the reign of Henry III (1216-1272). At the beginning of this reign, windows of the Early English churches were still generally of the lancet shape.⁸⁰ The only approach to tracery consisted of "small round or trefoil openings pierced through the flat plates of stone..." (known as *plate tracery*) which formed the head of two or more lights under a common arched hood mould. As openings in plates gradually became larger, the stone was more and more cut away "until the result was a mere bar, often not thicker than a bar of iron might have been." When these were fully developed, the Decorated style came in, "of which *bar-tracery* is the special characteristic."⁸¹ Rickman considered that the earliest examples of bar-tracery, consisting only of circles in the head, still belonged to the Early English style.

Tracery of the Decorated style was of two varieties or "divisions". In the first, termed *geometrical tracery*, circles, trefoils, quatrefoils, etc., "are all worked with the same moulding" and these figures touch only at points on a common bar or support. The second division, called *flowing tracery*, in which the principal mullion is less dominant, forming "only a part of the larger design... all the small figures... formed in mouldings which spring from the sides of the principal."⁸² Tracery of this type was organic and usually more intricate and delicate than the geometrical form. A variation of the flowing tracery was *reticulated tracery* "in which the design was made up solely of circles which formed ogee shapes at top and bottom, so creating a net design."⁸³ The above varieties of tracery have been described as examples of the versions found in Sophia Gray's churches with the exclusion of *rectilinear* or *panel tracery* characteristic of the Perpendicular style.

Six churches designed by Sophia have already been highlighted in the opening subsection as exhibiting Decorated features, confined in this context to traceried windows. Ignoring the seven-light and four-light windows Sophia Gray planned for the Pietermaritzburg Church extensions for discussion later, only the east window in St Saviour's, Claremont and the west window in St Paul's, North End had *three-light* windows. All the other windows with tracery comprised two lights with a common

⁷⁸ *The Ecclesiologist* of January 1842 (p57), while reviewing George Gilbert Scott's church at Woking, Surrey, declared, "We must again repeat that a western triplet is all but a solecism – we mean for small churches."

⁷⁹ D. J. C. Radford, *op cit.*, p188. Further support for Radford's opinion is that Wallis later designed St Matthew's, a small stone chapel at Harfield Road, Cape Town in 1888 also with *three lancets in the west wall*. (D. K. Martin, *The Cape Town Church Building Boom, 1880- 1909*, pA49)

⁸⁰ T. Rickman, *An attempt to discriminate...*, p164.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, p185.

⁸³ D. Yarwood, *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture*, p387.

mullion. At St Saviour's too, only the east window was traceried though the lancets in the side walls may have had trefoiled heads. Its three-light window had reticulated, also known as 'net-like' tracery, in the head. (Refer Drawing 19). The three-light window at St Paul's (Refer Drawing 43) also carried reticulated tracery.

The *two-light* windows at the Decorated churches, by and large, had versions of geometrical and flowing tracery. At St Paul's, Rondebosch, the 'west' window and the seven aisle windows have trefoiled heads and geometrical tracery above (Refer Figure C1). The window above the west door of St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg (Figure Q5) has two lights with cinquefoiled heads and a single hexafoiled circle above, another example of geometrical tracery. Curvilinear or undulating⁸⁴ tracery can be seen in the four windows in the nave walls (Figure Q4) where the window jambs and mullion flow together above the trefoiled heads and join around a single quatrefoil. The double curves identify this also as flowing tracery. Geometrical tracery can be seen at the St George's Church, Knysna, where each light has a cinquefoil head, joined to the bar tracery above which forms a different design in each of the four windows (Refer to Figure Q). Early photographs of St Mary's Church, Woodstock, indicate that the large window in the 'west' end wall (north-facing) and the nave windows (facing east), had two-lights with a hexafoil above (Refer Drawing 48). The geometrical design is similar to the west wall window of St Peter's Church (Refer Figure Q5). At Woodstock, four small, flat-headed (square-headed) windows in the walls of the aisle have trefoils of flowing tracery (Refer Drawing 49).

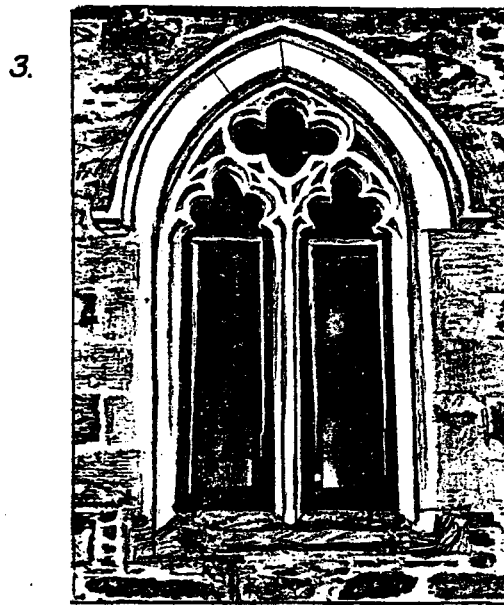
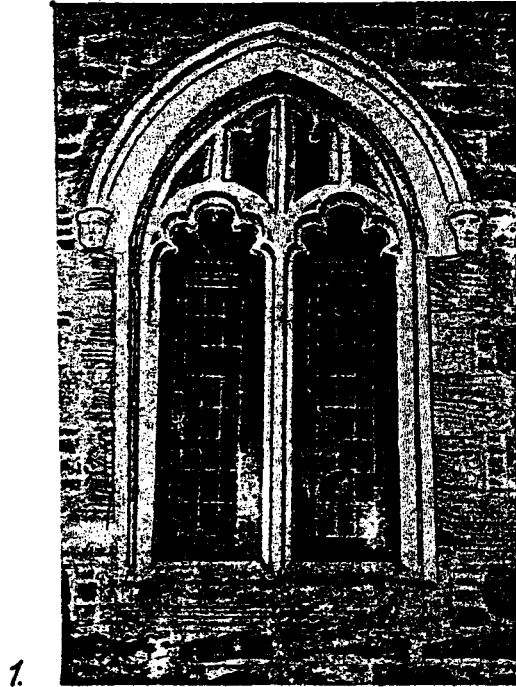
St James' Church, Worcester, has the only example of blind (or blank) tracery. This is seen in the single window over the main doorway, which has a quatrefoil in the spandrel above the trefoiled heads of the two lights (Refer Drawing 38). The window is unique in that the quatrefoil and the recessed areas around it are not pierced. At St Paul's, Faure, there is an example of plate tracery, comprising a hexafoiled flower pierced through the spandrel above the two trefoiled lights (Refer Drawing 4).

These designs were either (a) Sophia Gray's own work or (b) copies of ancient designs in pattern books or (c) contemporary examples from plans by English architects. Although the origin of the designs is not known, as far as the building is concerned, the tracery adds to the ecclesiastical character for which Sophia Gray was ultimately responsible. As related earlier and in the history of St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg (C13), Mrs Gray prepared sketch plans for the enlargement of the church. Drawings include a design for a Perpendicular-styled, seven light window above the altar in the East wall consisting of trefoils and quatrefoils (Refer Figure R, Design B). A drawing of the West elevation carries a further two designs for windows, one in the West wall of the proposed nave and another in the West wall of the proposed South aisle. These two designs do not appear to have been as carefully considered as the East wall chancel window (Refer Figure R, Designs A & C). The West wall window for the nave (C) comprises a circular element (a hexagonal rose motif) and four trefoiled lights that meet the circumference of the circle so that the centre two lights are shorter than the outer lights, a device not seen in any ancient examples. Although the extensions to St Peter's were never made, the three designs do demonstrate Mrs Gray's comprehension of essential design elements such as shape, scale and position of end wall windows.

⁸⁴ J. Fleming, H. Honour, N. Pevsner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture*, p224.

TRACERIED WINDOWS IN TWO DECORATED CHURCHES

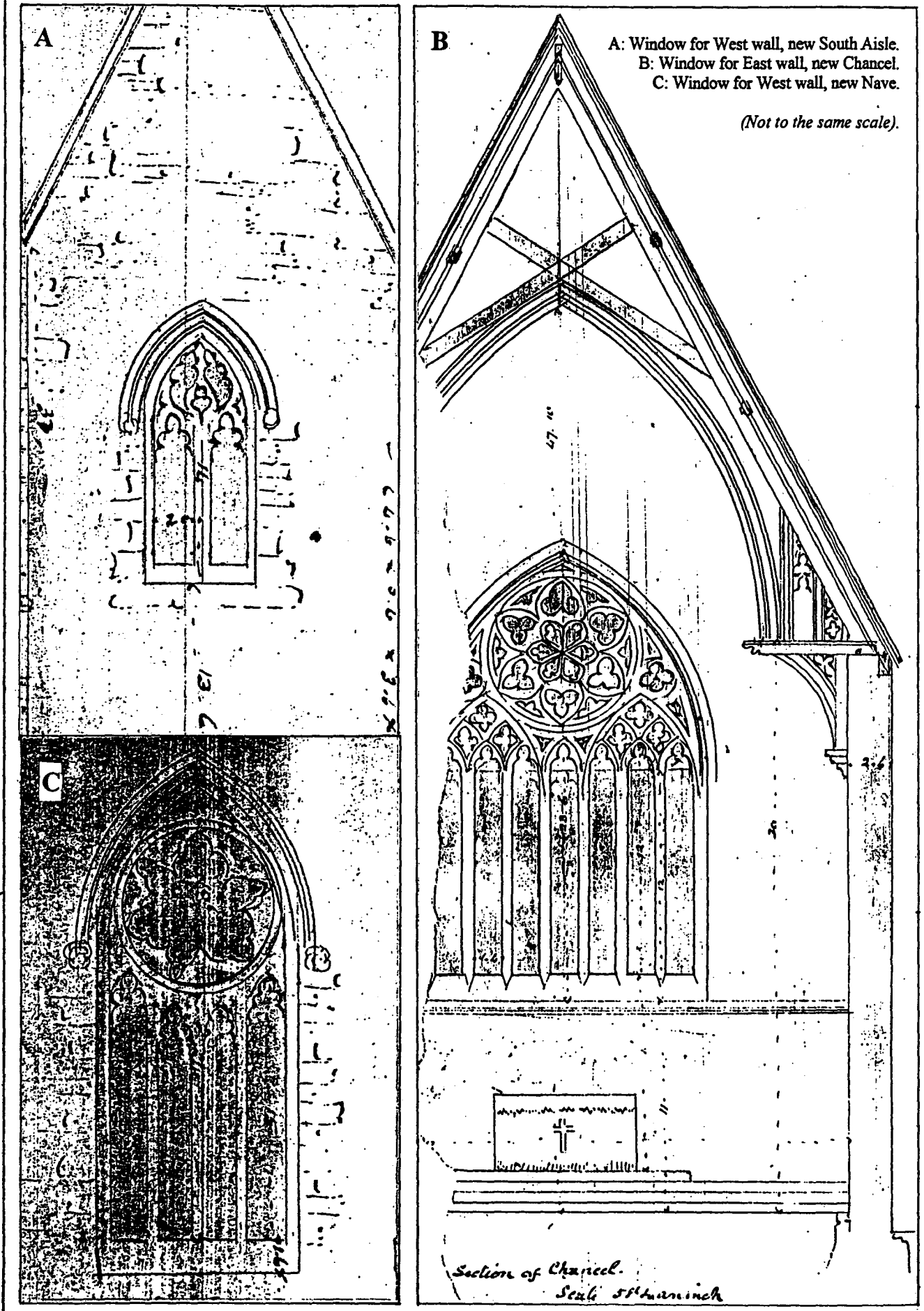
1, 2 & 3 are from St George's Church, Knysna; 4 & 5 are from St Peter's Church, Pietermaritzburg.



1. Bar tracery in window, South wall.
2. Bar tracery in window, East end wall.
3. Plate tracery in window, South wall.
4. Curvilinear tracery in all the nave windows.
5. Geometrical tracery in window above West door.



MRS GRAY'S WINDOW DESIGNS FOR EXTENSIONS
TO ST PETER'S CATHEDRAL, PIETERMARITZBURG, 1864



9. DOORWAYS AND ARCHES

The treatment of Early English doorways in the ancient Gothic churches was not too dissimilar to the manner in which windows were designed. The door was usually set into a recessed, pointed archway with deeply cut mouldings in the architrave. The doorway was invariably framed on either side by one or two detached, rounded shafts, each shaft standing on a plain round base and ending at the springing of the arch in a richly carved capital. In smaller churches, the pointed arch and sides of the doorway had "merely plain chamfered edges."⁸⁵ The doorways of the Decorated churches differed from the Early English in that in most ancient examples "the arch-mouldings run down the side, and almost to the ground without a base."⁸⁶

The Instructions of the Incorporated Building Society as published in *The Ecclesiologist* in July 1842, are silent on the subject of doorways and doors. Pugin says little on this matter, his only comment in his *True Principles* stating that, "In a doorway the convenience of splayed sides must be evident for ordinary ingress and egress. This form of jamb⁸⁷ is therefore necessary to the use and intention of a doorway."⁸⁸ Plans of Gothic Revival churches that have already been referred to, Butterfield's Coalpit Heath church (1844) and Wall's design for the Byer's Green church (1842), show in both cases doors set in recessed pointed arch-ways with a double set of mouldings over the archway. In the former example, the mouldings run down to the ground whereas in the latter the mouldings end at the springing. The jambs of the doorway are chamfered.

In her drawing showing the south elevation of Christ Church, Colesberg (Refer Figure P), Mrs Gray has drawn a double line around the entrance door. These two lines indicate the doorframe and *the line of a chamfer* in the plaster face. This was the pattern for the majority of her churches, where they were of plastered brick. Walls of her churches were generally in the region of 600 millimetres thick.⁸⁹ Sophia wrote to the builder at Worcester (building is of plastered brick) to tell him that the walls need not be more than two feet thick (610mm). As doors were fitted about two-thirds of the distance from the external face, this allowed for substantial external and internal chamfers. Sophia Gray's stone churches invariably have archways (or window openings for that matter) of finely dressed stone even if the walls were built of coarse squared rubble, as seen, for example, at St Mark's, George, and Holy Trinity, Caledon. At St Peter's, Plettenberg Bay, where the walls are of a particularly coarse local red stone, the doorway and window surrounds are of chamfered ashlar blocks.

The most ornate doorway is the Norman entrance to Holy Trinity, Belvidere (possibly designed by H. Underwood). Two shafts on square bases flank the door that is set under a deeply recessed round-headed arch with pronounced mouldings (Refer Drawings 22 and 23). The Decorated church of St Peter, Pietermaritzburg, a Gray design, has an entrance of chamfered stone under a pointed arch with a hood mould above. The single attached shafts on either side of the doorway have rounded bases but square, tapered capitals (Refer Drawing 24). St George's Church, Knysna has a

⁸⁵ M. H. Bloxam, *op cit.*, p155.

⁸⁶ T. Rickman, *op cit.*, p176.

⁸⁷ The vertical side members of a doorway or window.

⁸⁸ A. W. N. Pugin, *op cit.*, p12.

⁸⁹ Some random measurements of wall thicknesses: Graaff-Reinet 810mm; Colesberg 765mm; Knysna 730mm; Plettenberg Bay 670mm; Montagu 630mm; Bredasdorp 560mm; Willowmore 540mm.

doorway to its *vestry*, which has a concave chamfer. The head of the Tudor arch consists of four large stones, the work of the stonemasons from Brechin, Scotland (Refer Drawing 6).

There are only three known examples of internal arches designed by Mrs Gray. These separate naves from aisles and are to be seen at St Paul's, Rondebosch, St Mary's, Woodstock (Refer Drawing 50) and on the sketch plans for the Cathedral at Pietermaritzburg (Refer Figure V). The designs for these three churches are similar in that they are Early English pointed arches. In the latter two churches, the arches stand on round columns (piers) with simple multiple mouldings for the capitals and bases. As in Early English work, the abacus (the uppermost part of the capital) is circular.⁹⁰ The piers in St Paul's are octagonal, or as Rickman describes them, "multangular flat-faced."⁹¹ The only difference between Mrs Gray's designs is that the Woodstock church arch is a plain pointed arch with a prominent chamfer whereas at St Paul's, Rondebosch and at the proposed Cathedral, arches have a number of mouldings. In Figure V, access between the tower and the nave in the Pietermaritzburg Cathedral is by way of a high pointed arch that has flanking shafts and multiple mouldings. This longitudinal section shows four arches dividing the aisle and nave, the fourth and smallest of which is not the same height as the other three; it appears cramped against the chancel wall.

The preferred position for the entrance to a Gothic parish church, addressed in Section 1.1, was on the south side of the nave, in the last bay but one from the corner. Of Sophia Gray's 40 churches, details of the entrance for only three churches are not known. Of the balance of 37 churches, the entrance was correctly placed near the corner of the nave in 26 churches. The remaining 11 churches have an entrance centrally placed in the west wall. These include the Norman church at Belvidere (where the style dictates an entrance on the west wall) and the churches of St James', Worcester (Refer to Figure L), St Mark's, George and St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg, the latter two that became cathedrals where a western entrance is desirable for processions. These figures show Sophia's respect for the ecclesiological norm.

10. TOWERS, SPIRES AND BELLCOTES⁹²

In 1841 Pugin wrote, "Every tower built during the pure style of pointed architecture either was, or was intended to be, surmounted by a spire, ... the natural covering for a tower." He contended that the tower served a double purpose; they contained the "solemn sounding bells to summon the people to the... church, and by their lofty elevation they served as beacons to direct their footsteps to the sacred spot."⁹³ A year later, *The Ecclesiologist* added, "The usual place of the Tower, in a church without transepts, is at the west end... If funds are scanty, it is better to leave this part of the Church to a future period, than to attempt its immediate completion in an inferior manner."⁹⁴

⁹⁰ The round abacus is more consistent with pure Gothic work as the square abacus is usually associated with the Classic styles. Mouldings are also much more numerous in English work than in European work of the same period.

⁹¹ This type of pier was used in small Decorated country churches (*Gothic Architecture*, p198).

⁹² The terms Bellcote, bell turret, bell gable are synonyms for the same feature, "a framework [in stone, brick or timber] on a roof to hang bells from" (*Penguin Dictionary of Architecture*, p28.)

⁹³ A.W. N. Pugin, *op cit.*, pp9, 42.

⁹⁴ *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p154.

For the Grays, the prospect of building towers for their churches was bleak and the 'scanty' financial resources remained scanty for the duration of the Bishop's incumbency. It has already been stated that Robert had acknowledged at an early stage that they would have to be content with "bell-turrets instead of towers."⁹⁵ The frustrations that the Grays must have experienced each time when commencing a church project, knowing that lack of funds would force them to build cheaply, can only be imagined. Arising from this restriction, an alternative architectural feature, the stone bellcote, was considered by Mrs Gray and successfully incorporated in some of her churches.

While assessing the merits of a church in 1841, *The Ecclesiologist* commented, "...a church which costs little need not be a cheap church, and a church which costs a great deal may be one." The article claimed that the fault of modern church builders was that "They *will* have the ornamental part of the church, at whatever cost to the church itself."⁹⁶ The journal asked, "What was the need for a Tower? A bell-gable was often used by our ancestors; *and it might often be employed with advantage by us.*" (author's italics). Bell gables for the west end of St Mary's, Southwark, and a chapel at Cheadle, had been noted by *The Ecclesiologist*, without negative comment.⁹⁷ Mrs Gray added bellcotes to good advantage to ten of her churches (Refer Table V, Column 4 as well as to Drawings 14, 15, 17, 20, 23, 33, 35, 36, 40, 42). Churches such as Holy Trinity at Caledon, St Mark's at George, St Matthew's at Riversdale, and St James' at Worcester, would appear stunted without their bellcotes. Sophia Gray introduced bellcotes over the doorways of two school-chapels (Drawings 44 and 65) – at Newlands and at Rondebosch.⁹⁸ None of the 40 Gray churches has a tower.⁹⁹ Though only ten of Sophia Gray's churches have bellcotes it is characteristic of her style as other architects of the era never designed bellcotes.

It is not known whether Sophia Gray made allowance for towers to be added *later* to her churches as existing original plans of the Gray churches, referred to in the Introduction, involve only three churches. It is supposed that Mrs Gray omitted the idea of a tower from her designs, simply because it was seen as a beautiful but unattainable ideal for their churches. The Grays' approach to the building of towers where these were proposed by a building committee, was simply stated in a letter to the church secretary of the Bloemfontein church in 1850: "...if you attempt building a tower with limited funds you will soon be in difficulties. I would recommend you to lay the foundation of tower only... and complete it as funds [are]... forthcoming."¹⁰⁰ It appears that St Paul's, North End, was the only Gray church where *the prospect of having a tower* was mentioned by the Bishop or his wife. The Bishop had written in a letter that the nave should be built first but that "aisles, chancel and tower might be added, as funds were forthcoming."¹⁰¹ An impressive tower was subsequently built

⁹⁵ Gray's Journal, 5 September 1855, p27.

⁹⁶ 'New Churches', *The Ecclesiologist*, November 1841, p9.

⁹⁷ November 1841.

⁹⁸ At Beaufort West, the chapel-like building alongside the Anglican parsonage, used as a school by the Anglicans, also has a bellcote above its front door that is remarkably similar to the bellcote at St Thomas', Rondebosch (Refer Drawing 33).

⁹⁹ St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg, has a spirelet (flèche) that is in fact, a ventilation tower, which was added in 1930 (Drawing 28). Another small flèche, probably also a ventilation tower, is built on the roof of All Saints Church, Somerset East (Refer Drawing 29).

¹⁰⁰ Letterbook Vol.1, 1848-50, pp221,222.

¹⁰¹ Gray's Journal, 31 August 1850.

onto the church between June 1868 and January 1869 to the design of the architect, Mr G Dix-Peek.¹⁰²

Towers can be attached to Anglican churches without disturbing the existing fabric extensively, so when St Paul's Church, North End, was enlarged, a tower was integrated into the design. Towers were traditionally added on the central axis against the west end gable wall and thus they could serve as both entrance and bell tower. A significant difference between the ancient Gothic churches and the neo-Gothic was that towers in the latter style were often placed asymmetrically on the western end (as at St Paul's, and for the proposed St Peter's Cathedral) to create a three-dimensional sculptural effect. Nine of George Gilbert Scott's new churches were reviewed by *The Ecclesiologist* in their January 1842 issue. Of the nine, six churches had towers and two Early English "plain chapels", had bell gables. It was noted that "the position of the tower, in many of the designs..." was excellent. Modern architects, the review added, were generally afraid of placing the tower anywhere but at the west end so Scott's arrangement in which the tower was erected *to the side* of the west elevation in three of the designs, was welcomed. The steeple of Scott's neo-Gothic church, All Souls, at Haley Hill, Halifax, built between 1856 and 1859, is asymmetrically placed, a characteristic "not just of Scott but of mid-Victorian churches in general."¹⁰³

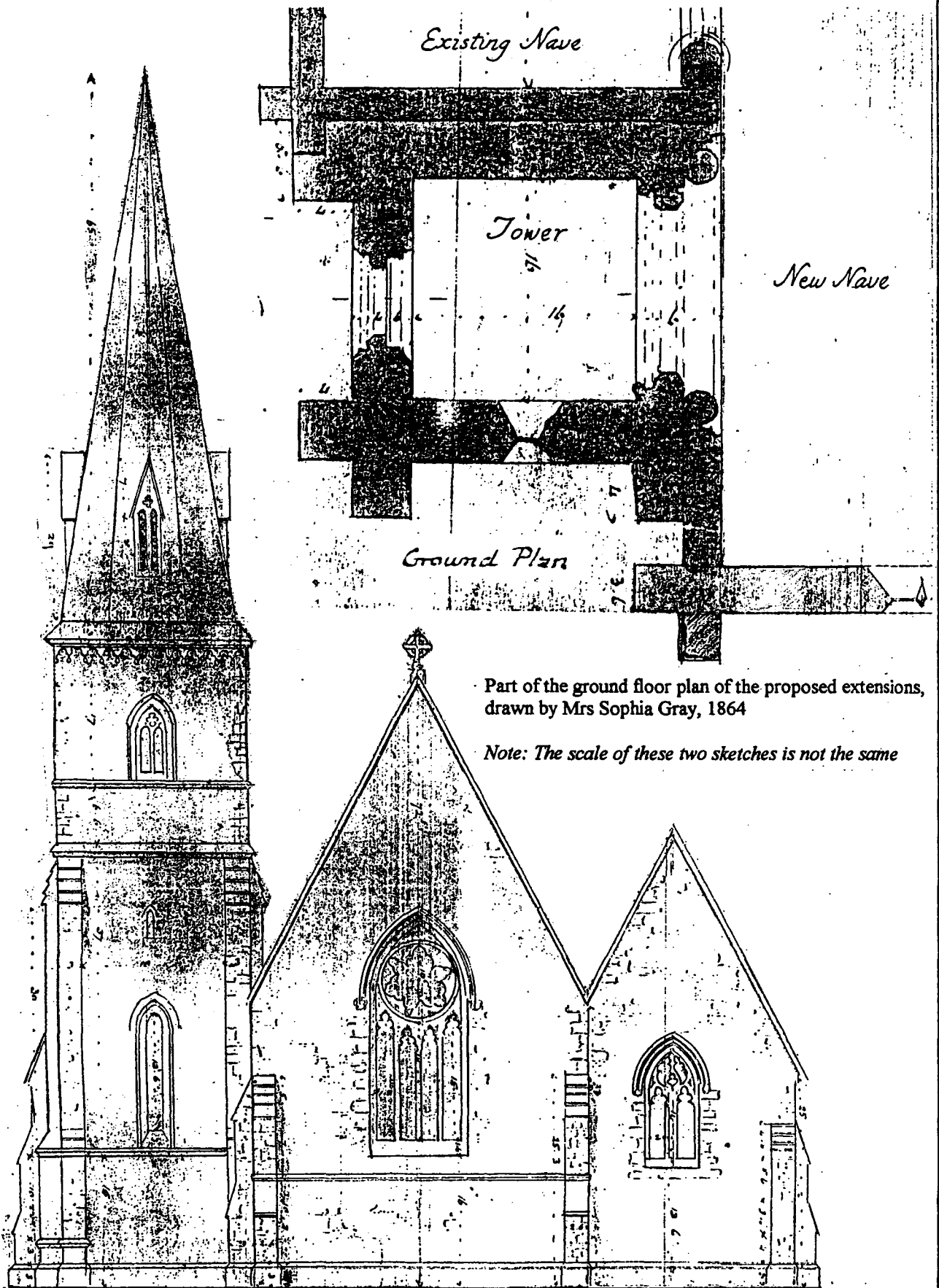
With regard to the tower in Mrs Gray's 1864 sketch plans for proposed extensions to the Pietermaritzburg church, only the west elevation drawing has survived (Refer Figure S). This elevation shows a plainly finished tower of four storeys, surmounted by an octagonal spire, 65 feet high, the total height of tower and spire being 144 feet. The ground floor of the tower was planned to be the new entrance and porch of the enlarged cathedral. The west façade above the first storey, has a single large lancet, 12½ feet high that would have given light to the ringing chamber (from where bells are rung) on the second storey. Above this window is another much smaller lancet, probably in line with the third storey. Angle buttresses rise up to the first cornice, 53 feet above the ground, in line with the fourth storey. This latter space was planned to be 23 feet high, and, if it carried a ring of bells, would have served as the belfry. The belfry has an Early English, two-light window on the west side, which was probably repeated on the other three sides and fitted with louvres, particularly if bells were to be hung. Decorative arcading is carried round the top of the belfry, just below a three-foot wide plinth on which the spire was to stand. Four narrow dormer windows with pitched roofs decorate the base of the spire. This is probably the only tower that Sophia Gray designed.

Mrs Gray's plan for the proposed tower, however, does not appear to integrate successfully with the existing west façade of the church because the entrance to the tower is off-centre to the porch floor inside the tower (Refer Figure S). In addition, the manner in which the angle buttress of the church (at the north-east corner) abuts the angle buttress of the tower, is questionable. On the elevation, the heights of both the buttresses and stringcourses of tower and nave, do not line up. These three criticisms of the sketch plans for the tower could possibly be defended if more was known about the plans and the circumstances under which Mrs Gray had to prepare them. Despite these comments, Mrs Gray shows, in tackling the Bishop's grand

¹⁰² P. Hart, *St Paul's Church Port Elizabeth* (Silver Jubilee, 1985), p26.

¹⁰³ G. Randall, *The English Parish Church*, p159.

**MRS GRAY'S SKETCH PLANS FOR A TOWER, ST PETER'S CHURCH,
PIETERMARITZBURG**



Part of the ground floor plan of the proposed extensions,
drawn by Mrs Sophia Gray, 1864

Note: The scale of these two sketches is not the same

West elevation of the tower, the nave and the South aisle.
The scale of the original drawing was 1/10 inch to a foot.

scheme for the enlargement, her workmanlike grasp of the overall proportions and general detailing of Gothic Revival cathedrals.

11. BUILDING MATERIALS OF THE GRAY CHURCHES

Bishop Gray's disapproval of brick as a building material has already been noted (Section 2.1). The Incorporated Society (CBS) and the Ecclesiologists had also addressed this issue but being somewhat more realistic had stated that walls were "to be solidly constructed of stone, either squared, or rubble, or flint; or of brick where no good stone can be procured without great additional expense."¹⁰⁴ The instruction continued: "If a wall be built with two faces of stone, filled between with rubble, great care must be taken that they be properly bonded together... Where good stone is scarce, a thickness, otherwise perhaps unattainable, may be secured by this method of construction." As they had read Pugin and others, it is likely that the Grays were aware of the Ecclesiologists' philosophy regarding building materials but judging from the few extant plans of Sophia Gray where she drew walls without indicating details of their construction (Refer Figures J and U), these technicalities were probably left by Sophia to the builder.

Pugin had this to say about the *size* of the masonry: "the smallness of the stones employed ... adds considerably to the effect of the building by increasing its apparent scale. *Large stones destroy proportion.*"¹⁰⁵ Pugin illustrated this with two drawings of the same piece of walling, differently jointed (Refer Figure T). Pugin's further comment about the jointing of stones was that if the window surrounds (jambs) were built in courses, "they are made as uniform as possible," which detracts from the design of the window as the regular jointing directs the viewer's eye to the quoining, whereas irregular joints do not interfere with the traceried design of the window. (This point is illustrated in the lower of the drawings in Figure T). It is highly likely that Mrs Gray was *au fait* with these two recommendations as the vast majority of her churches were built without quoining of the windows (openings). Many churches were built with irregular jointing. In addition, there is a remarkable similarity between both the curvilinear tracery and the masonry in Figures T3 and T4, with the nave windows in St Peter's Church, Pietermaritzburg (Refer Figure Q4) that could indicate that Sophia Gray copied Pugin's window design for St Peter's.

There are numerous references to Sophia Gray's close scrutiny of building specifications and costs in the church histories in Section 2.2. These reveal her appreciation of the higher cost of workable building stone as opposed to burnt bricks.¹⁰⁶ Bishop Gray was similarly aware of material costs; at Colesberg he remarked, "... that it [Christ Church] had been all of stone, instead of brick plastered, but the great expense of working stone, and the scanty means of the small English community precluded the idea."¹⁰⁷ Throughout the Grays' involvement with church building, the preference for stone for aesthetic, practical and ecclesiastical reasons was maintained and the use of stone over other cheaper materials is one of the reasons

¹⁰⁴ *The Ecclesiologist*, July 1842, p153.

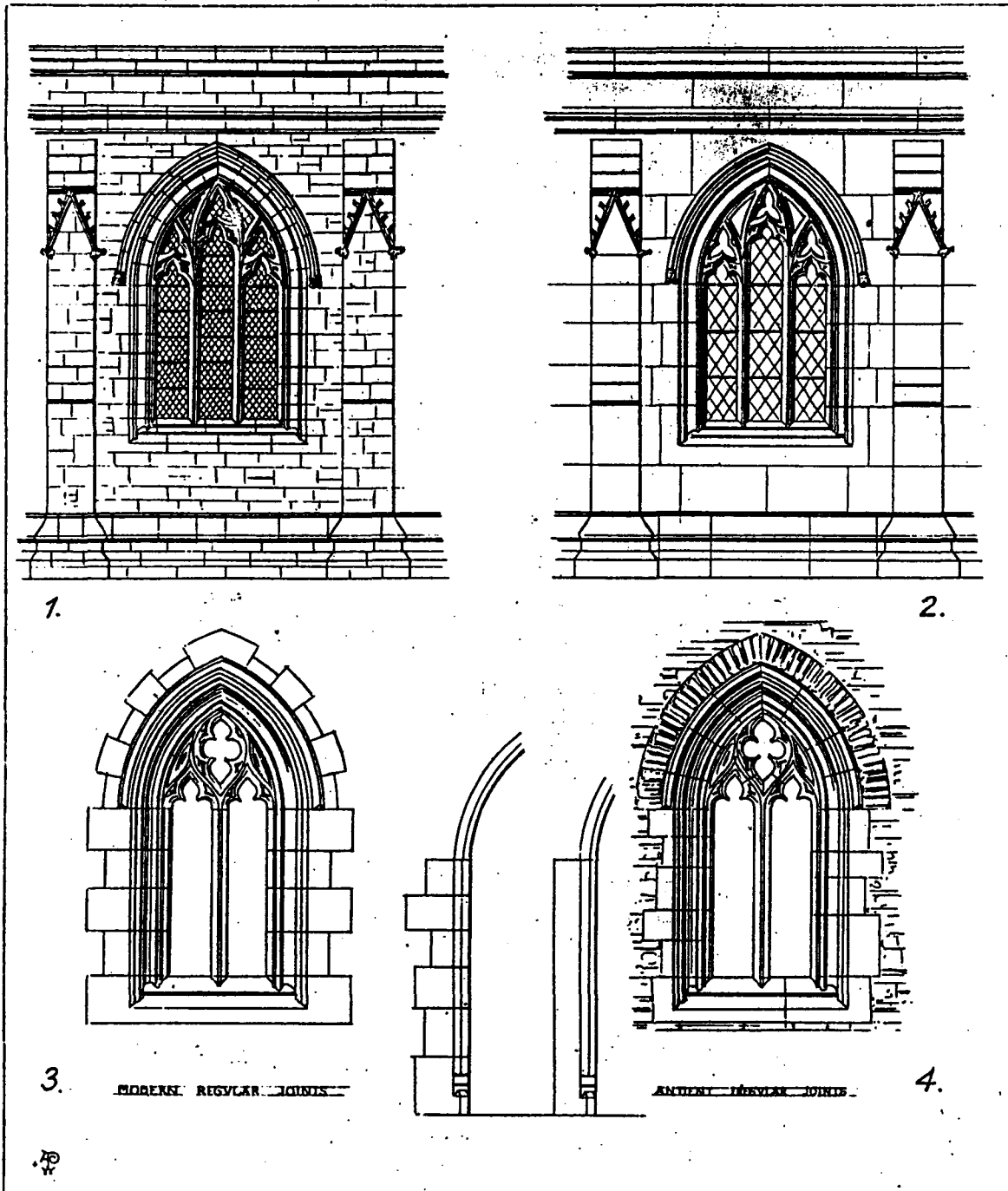
¹⁰⁵ A. W. N. Pugin, *op cit.*, p17.

¹⁰⁶ When Mrs Gray checked the builder's estimates for the Caledon church, she wrote on 27 December 1849, "There is very little hammer dressed stone except in the quoins & Belfry" thus indicating her understanding of the difference between dressed stone and random rubble (Letterbook 1849, p132).

¹⁰⁷ Gray's Journal, 24 August 1849.

PUGIN'S VIEWS ON SIZE OF BUILDING STONES & JOINTING

Pugin recommended the use of relatively small sized building stones (Drawing 1) in preference to larger stones (Drawing 2) in the building of churches. In the lower sketches, he extended the principle to the quoining of window jambs. The larger units in the modern example, laid with regular joints (Drawing 3), detract from the design of the window, whereas the smaller units with irregular joints in the ancient example (Drawing 4), allow the eye to focus on the window. The middle sketches illustrate the same principle with door jambs.



This is an extract from A.W. N. Pugin's, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, 1841 (Plate II on page facing p17). Pugin's references to the six figures have been omitted and the author's own references inserted. The window design in 4 is identical to the design of the nave windows in St Peter's Church, Pietermaritzburg, (Refer Figure Q4).

that so many of the churches and chapels still stand today.¹⁰⁸ Her commitment to stone can be quantified simply: Table V shows that, of 38 buildings where the material of the walls is known, 22 were built in stone. The balance of 16 churches were built of brick throughout which was then plastered and whitewashed. All of Sophia Gray's churches and chapels, with the single exception of Holy Trinity at Belvidere, were finished *internally* of brick and then plastered and whitewashed.

Visits to the various churches and chapels revealed that the masonry at the 22 stone buildings was laid in a variety of ways but classified as indicated in Table V: *Random rubble*, where rough unhewn stones are not laid in regular courses (4 churches); *Coursed squared rubble*, where the stones were roughly dressed and squared and laid in uneven courses (16 churches); *Dressed stone with tuck pointing*¹⁰⁹ at the Pietermaritzburg church, where the stones are finely dressed; and *ashlar* at the Holy Trinity Church, Belvidere. Of the 22 stone churches, only one, the last-mentioned, was constructed with ashlar, indicative of either a shortage of workable stone, a lack of stone-cutting technology, a scarcity of skilled stonemasons or combinations of these three requirements essential for quality ashlar work. The above statistics highlight again the important difference already mentioned between the churches with which the Grays were familiar in England and those they built in South Africa. Visual evidence of 19th century churches in the Diocese of Durham¹¹⁰ is that the majority of churches were built of ashlar of small dimensions or face brick; there was no trace of churches in random rubble or plastered brick. By comparison, the Grays' churches generally have a rustic appearance that speaks of a less sophisticated workmanship.

The relatively high cost of building in stone was well known to building committees. When the churchwardens of St Andrew's Church, Pietermaritzburg were contemplating the building of the church, they considered that "as building the church of freestone was impracticable on account of the expense, they were making enquiries whether a substantial edifice could not be erected of *pise work* or similar material, and solicited advice and opinions."¹¹¹

The type of stone used varied from church to church according to the stone available in the area. Sophia Gray seems to have been aware of where stone could "... be found... close at hand."¹¹² Stone for window and door facings *for certain churches* was dressed on site by immigrant stonemasons (Refer Section 2.4) who had declared, when working on the Knysna church (St George's), that the stone from the banks of

¹⁰⁸ Of the 50 churches listed, 48 were completed (Refer Table I). Of these, 39 are still standing. Six stone churches have been demolished, these being St Saviour's chancel (part of Herbert Barker's enlargement scheme); Christ Church, Swellendam (rebuild); St Paul's at North End (on account of freeway system); St Andrew's at Ceres (fire damage), St Mark's Chapel, (on account of large scale destruction of District Six) and the Armstrong Chapel, Grahamstown (ongoing deterioration).

¹⁰⁹ A decorative and protective method of pointing old stone or brickwork. The joints are first filled flush and then grooved to form a recess or tuck, which is filled with lime putty which projects above the stone or brick. Tuck pointing was also noticed on the walls of the Graaff-Reinett (C4), Schoonberg (C16), Clanwilliam (C37) and Fraserburg (C43) churches. It is probable that the tuck pointing was not on the original building but was introduced during restoration of the building.

¹¹⁰ J. Ruscoe, *Churches of the Diocese of Durham*, 1994. This is an illustrated catalogue of the approximately 300 churches in the County.

¹¹¹ *Natal Witness*, 5 April 1850. *Pise work* (*pisé de terre*) is walling made of rammed earth or cob (a mixture of clay and chopped straw). Damp earth, sometimes also mixed with cement, is rammed without reinforcement into formwork, left to dry and the formwork removed when the pise is set.

¹¹² Letterbook 1849, p132.

the Knysna river was "quite equal to any stone worked by them either in England or Scotland."¹¹³ Bishop Gray also recorded when he visited Knysna, "very fine stone has been found close at hand in time to use it for the quoins, buttresses and windows, for which the stone of which the walls are built would not have done."¹¹⁴ In some instances complete windows were imported, for erection by the local contractor, as at St Paul's, Rondebosch and at St Saviour's, Claremont where the making of the windows in England was supervised by William Butterfield. The imported stone at both these churches has weathered well. In Natal, Hattersley noted, "Sandstone on the hills above Pietermaritzburg shaped well under the chisel. Nor was the local shale without its charm..."¹¹⁵ A combination of these materials was used for the walls of St Peters's Church, which was built with "a good front of free-stone, backed with brick."

Material for the roofs was either imported Welsh slate or local thatch which was obviously cheaper. When Henry Barrington transported his household goods from England to Knysna in 1849, the vessel also carried a cargo of 3000 roofing slates that were used for Holy Trinity, Belvidere. Estimates for the St James's Church at Worcester were for either a slate roof or a "bush-wood roof and thatch." Corrugated iron, a product of the Victorian age, was also used for the smaller churches and chapels. At Colesberg, the local priest wrote when considering the roof material, "slates are out of the question and corrugated iron or zinc would cost too much, by weight & carriage so many hundred miles and as we have so much lightening (sic), iron would be objectionable."¹¹⁶ Timber for roof trusses was in some instances teak as at St Paul's, North End, but was generally of pitch pine or other local timber. Where timber was not available locally, particularly in the inland towns and villages, roofing for churches had to be hauled by wagon from the ports. For example, roofing timber for St Andrew's Church, Bloemfontein had to be ordered from Port Elizabeth.

Stained glass¹¹⁷ was no doubt the preferred decoration for windows but beyond the budget of the majority of the churches built. There was a revival in the style and themes of medieval stained glass in England at the same time that interest in Gothic buildings was on the ascendancy. A notable heraldic artist, Thomas Willement (1786-1871), one of the stained glass designers who collaborated with A W N Pugin, "did more than anyone to re-establish the principle of constructing a window out of a mosaic of small pieces of... coloured glass, restricting the painting of oxides only for the necessary details of drawing and shading."¹¹⁸ In Gray's journals there are no references to stained glass being *costed* as part of the building projects although there are records that stained glass was being ordered, such as at Riversdale where, in 1855, the "window of St Matthew for the east centre lancet and quarry glass for all other windows was ordered in England".¹¹⁹ At Schoonberg, a fund was started for stained glass windows¹²⁰ because the glass was regarded as a luxury item to be considered by

¹¹³ *S A Church Magazine*, December 1850, p372.

¹¹⁴ Gray's Journal, 26 November 1850.

¹¹⁵ A. F. Hattersley, *The British Settlement of Natal*, p319.

¹¹⁶ Refer Christ Church, C5.

¹¹⁷ "The art of 'stained' glass is, perhaps, a misnomer; it can be better described as 'painted' glass".

A. D. Herholdt, G. H. Nesbit, H. Steenkamp, *Eight Beautiful Gothic Churches of Port Elizabeth*, p50.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, p55.c

¹¹⁹ R. Langham-Carter & D. Wilson, *Notes on St Matthew's*.

¹²⁰ At Schoonberg when Gray consecrated the Church of St John on 13 October 1855, he noted that the offertory was for the windows, which "shall be of painted glass." Ten years later, Gray noted that "the painted windows... are crumbling away, as if the paint had been laid on, instead of being burnt in ..."

the parish church councils once churches had been well established. Mrs Gray had even to be satisfied in some instances with seeing calico windows in unfinished churches, despite the fact that in England, the mass production of stained glass had become another achievement of the Victorian period.¹²¹

12. INTERNAL FIXTURES AND FITTINGS

The manner in which Anglican churches of the time were designed and fitted out has been addressed in Section 1.1. Evidence that Mrs Gray designed her churches with full knowledge of the architectural requirements for the various services held in the churches, can be seen in the simple tracings of her drawings, copied in 1850 (Refer Figure J) by Richard J. N. Orpen, of her church at Colesberg.¹²² Although there is no chancel, the altar is placed under the triplet lancet in the east wall; the area in which the altar stands, is raised two steps above the floor of the nave; the pulpit is placed on the left of the nave, the 'Gospel side', with five steps leading up from the altar area (sanctuary). This would have elevated the pulpit about one metre above the nave floor. A reading desk is drawn on the right of the altar, the 'Epistle side.' A large octagonal font stands immediately to the left of the entrance thus acknowledging the unique requirements of the Baptismal Sacrament, beginning as prescribed in the porch or close to the western entrance and continuing at the font. The pews are arranged either side of a central aisle, evidence that Sophia would have worked out accurately how many 'sittings' the church could offer while the central aisle was essential for most of the services mentioned in Section 1.1. As there are no detailed plans existing for the altar, altar rail, pulpit, reading desk, font and pews, it can be assumed that Sophia Gray either had standard furniture designs for these or she left the details of the construction to the carpenter on the project.

While at North End, Port Elizabeth, the Bishop wrote that his wife had been commissioned by the St Paul's Church "to order... a pulpit and reading desk of teak, for which she is to prepare the drawings,"¹²³ proof that Mrs Gray had sufficient knowledge to design church furniture. The Bishop too, was *au fait* with what was considered 'correct' church furniture and the allocated place for the respective pieces within the church. When Gray was considering the plans submitted for the church at Bloemfontein, he remarked in his letter to the church secretary, Barber, "There are some points in the internal arrangements of the Church which appear also to call for remark. The position of the pulpit & reading desk does not quite satisfy me. And there should be no distinction in the sittings. All should be alike."¹²⁴ Later, when the Grays were in Caledon in 1855 for the consecration of Holy Trinity Church,¹²⁵ the Bishop "went down to inspect the Church... and found everything in excellent order" but noted, "unfortunately, the Church Committee had painted all the sittings, pulpit and reading desk... and the sittings had doors upon them. These little mistakes will, I hope, be remedied." Box pews¹²⁶ and 'sittings' with doors were pews that could be more readily rented out by the church to affluent parishioners, than the 'open seats with backs' preferred by the Ecclesiologists. The rental of pews was a practice that

¹²¹ "Twenty-five stained glass firms exhibited at the Great Exhibition in 1851" and three English firms designed and exported stained glass for the South African market (G. H. Nesbit, op cit., pp56, 57).

¹²² State Archives, C.O. 593.

¹²³ Gray's Journal, 1856, p56.

¹²⁴ Gray's letter, 27 August 1850, Letterbook Vol.1, p221.

¹²⁵ Gray's Journal, 25 August 1855, p9.

¹²⁶ Referred to in Section 1.1, Footnote 18.

Bishop Gray disliked intensely. In contrast to his criticism of the pews at Caledon and his church in Stockton in 1845,¹²⁷ (The church is hideous; ... pews bought and sold!), Gray commended the church at Fort Beaufort during his 1850 visitation about their pews. He wrote, "Ecclesiastically speaking, the building is very *incorrect*, but it is neatly fitted up inside... the pews have no doors and there are no pew rents."¹²⁸

The Grays appear to have been satisfied to employ local craftsmen, where available, for making the internal fittings and furniture. There are instances, however, as at the Claremont church, where imported furniture was preferred: The *SA Church Magazine* reported that "The church furniture and fittings such as the altar rails were all of English oak and English workmanship – evident tokens of the great progress of ecclesiastical art in England during the last few years."¹²⁹

MULTIFUNCTIONISM – THE SCHOOL CHAPEL

In medieval times, the nave of the church was used for many secular purposes as it was then often the only public place of meeting in a village. In the Cape Colony, as noted by Gray in his journals, public meetings in villages were held in the local Court House or Government schoolroom. These buildings also sometimes served as temporary churches for denominations that had not erected churches of their own. Although Anglican churches, once consecrated, appear to have been restricted in usage to ecclesiastical purposes, the Grays' building programme included both churches and school chapels, the latter serving as a school during the week and a church on the Sunday. The school chapel was never consecrated while it served a dual purpose. The east end where the altar stood, was considered 'set apart' for worship and thus it needed to be protected from the basic activities that took place in a classroom. How this was done may be explained in the Bishop's own words when he inspected the completed school chapel and house (rectory) at Mossel Bay in 1855: "...the former is an exceedingly neat building, with open roof and with a portion railed and curtained off for a Chancel. It is very neatly and reverentially fitted up. The building will serve for a few years the double purpose of School and Chapel."¹³⁰

The St Mark's Chapel, District Six, Cape Town, served not only as school and chapel but also as single accommodation for the school teacher, Miss Cook. A report of the opening ceremony said of the building that it had two rooms, "...one is for Miss Cook, the other for the boys' school, divided by a curtain, which can be drawn aside on the Sunday."¹³¹ Langham-Carter explained further, "on the west the larger room could accommodate 150 scholars on weekdays or worshippers on Sundays... The smaller section was Miss Cook's bed-sitter but on Sundays the curtain was drawn aside and it became the sanctuary with an altar and a priest's chair."¹³² How practical this was for the school teacher is not recorded.

PROVISION FOR EXTENDING NAVE OR CHANCEL

Examples of churches in England, reviewed by *The Ecclesiologist* during the years 1841 to 1844, all appear to have been planned to be built as fully developed Gothic churches, many complete with towers. The Grays were not so fortunate. Throughout

¹²⁷ C. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. I, p85.

¹²⁸ Gray's Journal, 29 September 1850, p147.

¹²⁹ May 1854, p164.

¹³⁰ Gray's Journal, 8 September 1855, p33.

¹³¹ *The Net*, January 1867, p10.

¹³² R. Langham-Carter, *The Church on Clifton Hill*, p8.

the Bishop's journals there are many entries that indicate that a particular church building "...is intended to be the chancel of a larger edifice." The Grays' building programme was hampered from the beginning by a shortage of adequate funding, the result being that in only a few instances were the nave and chancel of churches built simultaneously. In this context, Bishop Gray's idea to enlarge St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg (Refer Figures U and V overleaf), was possibly overly ambitious.

Table V, Column 2 shows that of the 40 Sophia Gray churches, only six were considered 'complete'. These were Holy Trinity, Belvidere (C12); St Paul's Church, North End (C20), the Armstrong Chapel, Grahamstown (C24); All Saints Church, Uniondale (C47), and St John's, Schoonberg (C16), the last two being small enough to be considered complete. The sixth church was St Paul's, Rondebosch (C1), where Sophia had added a nave to an existing small church that became the chancel. A further 8 were built as school chapels and were unlikely to have been extended and one project was abandoned (Green Point). Thus 25 churches were either naves without chancels (20) or chancels awaiting the building of a nave (5). Although the waiting period for future extensions to become a reality varied from church to church, most of the churches were ultimately finalized. The survey shows that only four churches still remain incomplete:

- 1) St George's Church, Knysna;
- 2) St Mary's Church, Robertson;
- 3) St Matthew's Church, Willowmore;
- 4) St John's Church, Victoria West.

In the first two instances, these were chancels for what was hoped to be large town churches. The chancel arch in stone had already been inserted in the Knysna church and the west end walled up in anticipation of the nave as depicted in Sophia's own pen and wash sketch of the church in its picturesque lakeside setting (Refer Figure W). At Robertson, the west wall remains blank, also in anticipation of being formed into a chancel arch of a large nave (Refer Drawing 59). The Willowmore church stands on a small plot with a blank east end (Refer Drawing 81). Clearly Sophia Gray hoped that a small chancel would be added as evidenced internally by a blind chancel arch in the east wall. At Victoria West, the large nave is without a chancel although the east end boasts a stained glass triplet lancet.

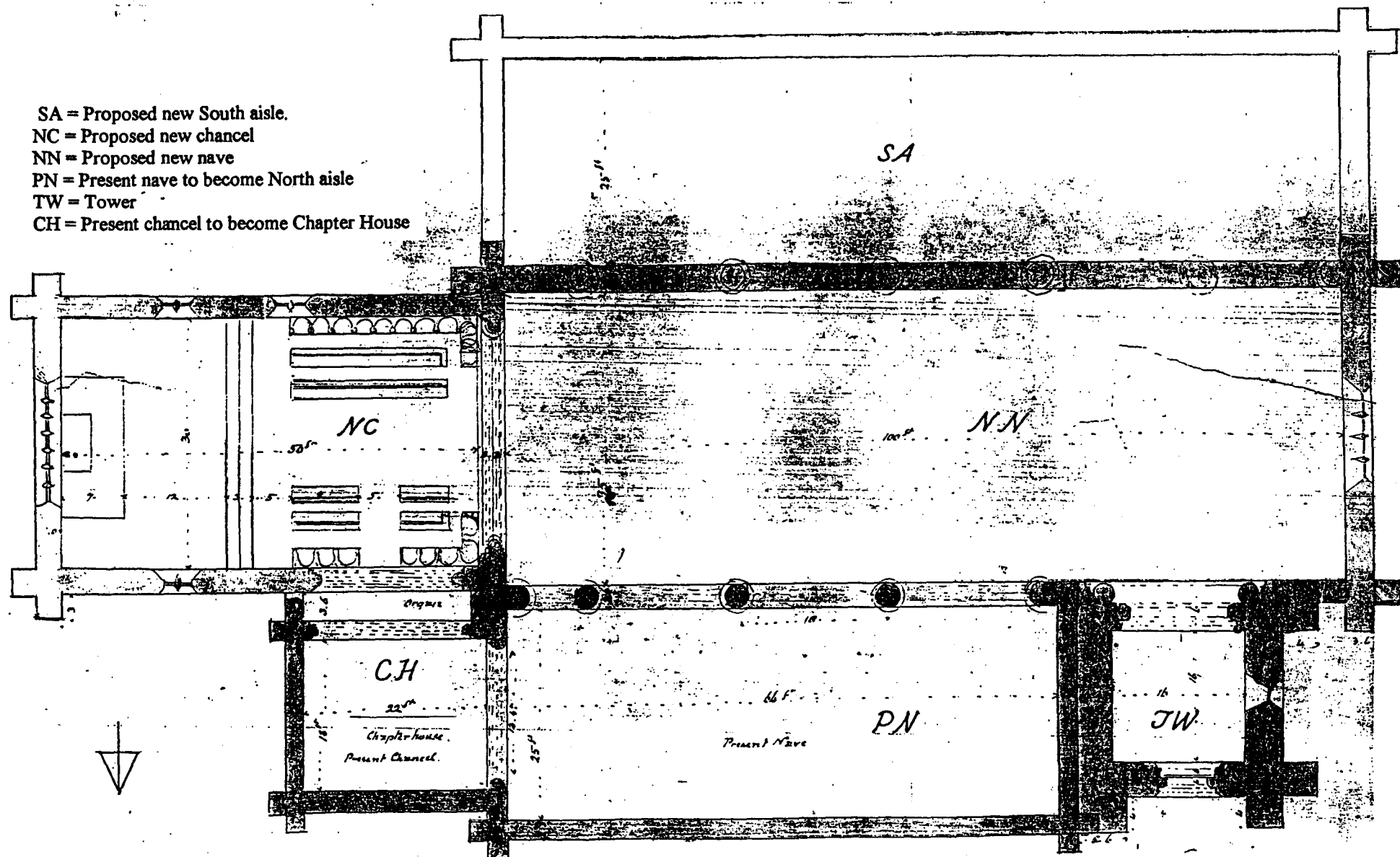
Bishop Gray and his wife had to anticipate the future completion of churches when instructing building committees where to build. For example, at Colesberg, the Bishop wrote, "The church ought to stand as near as possible to the lower part of the site, that there may be room thereafter to add a nave if required, the present building serving as a chancel."¹³³ The church was however built at the *upper* part of the site, the building serving as a *nave* to which a chancel was added some years later. Another example of forward planning is recorded in the Minutes of Christ Church, Beaufort West.¹³⁴ On completion of the church in late 1854, the builder was instructed to "Rough cast the Back Gable... with cement" rather than give the wall a costlier smooth finish. On 19 October 1855, Bishop Gray wrote, "A correct chancel – which will, I hope, one day be added – will greatly improve the Church."¹³⁵ The chancel was only added in 1872.

¹³³ 24 August 1849, Letterbook Vol.1, p83.

¹³⁴ 19 December 1854.

¹³⁵ Gray's Journal, 1855, p79.

SA = Proposed new South aisle.
 NC = Proposed new chancel
 NN = Proposed new nave
 PN = Present nave to become North aisle
 TW = Tower
 CH = Present chancel to become Chapter House

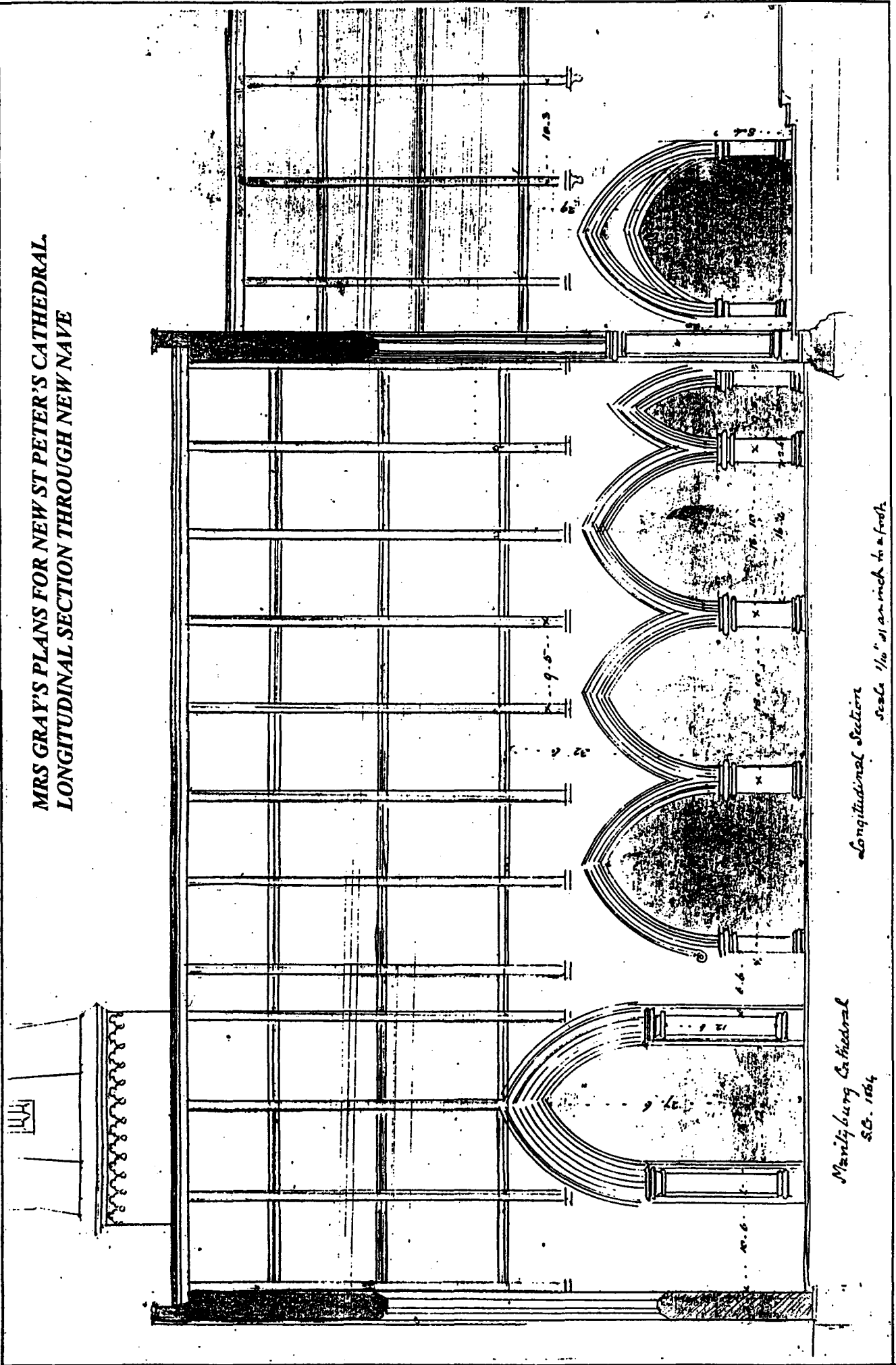


**MRS GRAY'S FLOOR PLAN FOR NEW ST PETER'S CATHEDRAL,
 PIETERMARITZBURG**

Pietermaritzburg Cathedral

*Ground Plan
 Scale 10" to an Inch.*

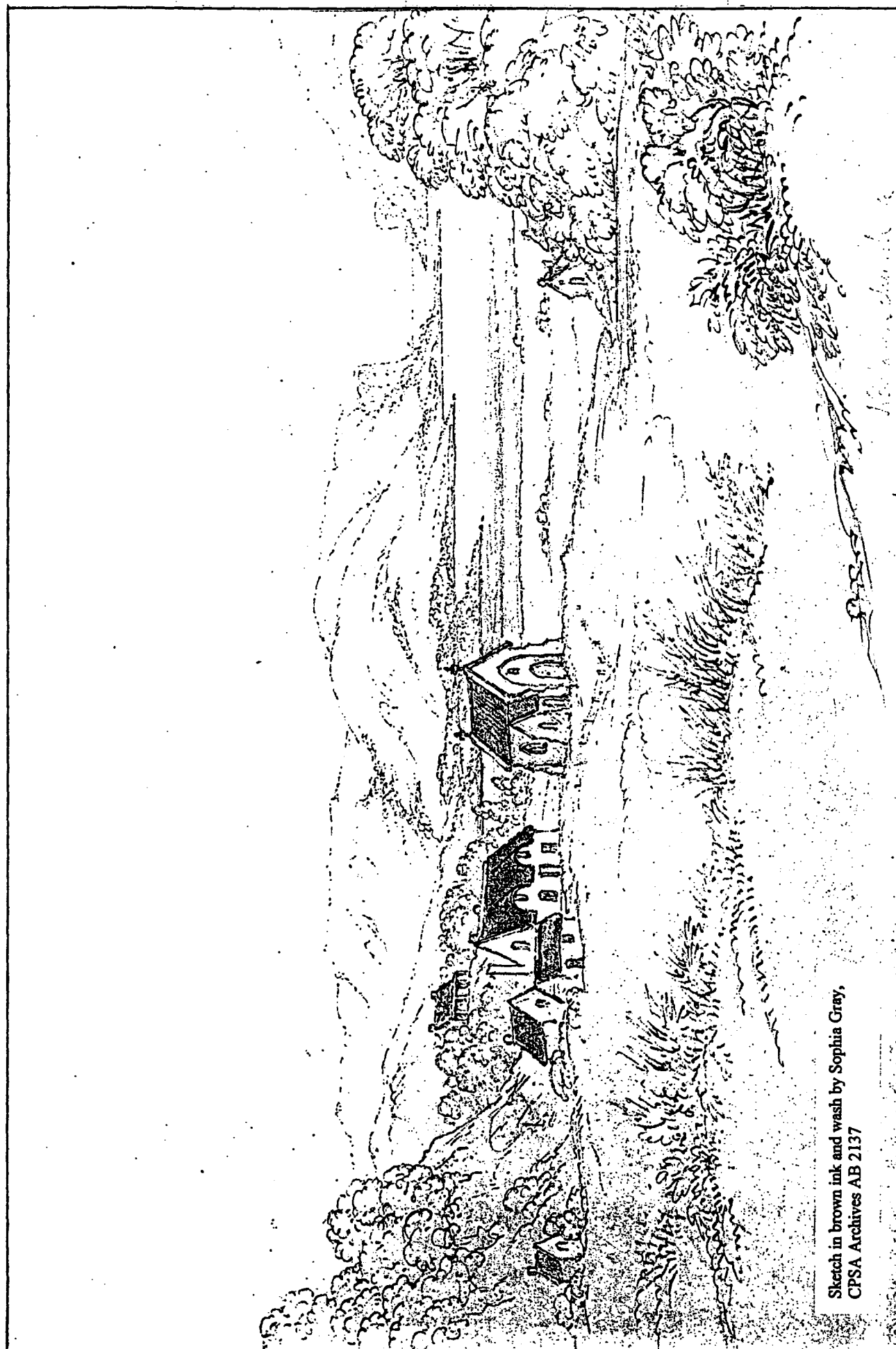
MRS GRAY'S PLANS FOR NEW ST PETER'S CATHEDRAL.
LONGITUDINAL SECTION THROUGH NEW NAVE



Manlyburg Cathedral
S.C. 1864

Longitudinal Section

Scale 1/16" = 1 foot



Sketch in brown ink and wash by Sophia Gray,
CPSA Archives AB 2137

There are other examples of the Bishop's acknowledgement that churches would need extending: At Somerset East, he had promised to furnish plans, working drawings and specifications "... but capable of enlargement." In an open letter to the St Mary's Parish, the 'mother church' of St Paul's, Port Elizabeth, Gray stated that the new church could "be so constructed as to be capable of future enlargement... the nave might be first erected; aisles, chancel and tower might be added, as funds were forthcoming."¹³⁶ When Rev Morris reported to the SPG in 1861 of his progress at Robertson, he stated, "... we exerted ourselves to procure funds for erecting a chancel of a future church..."¹³⁷ At Clanwilliam, Mrs Gray had sent up plans for a building which seated 70 but which was later converted into the chancel of St John's Church.

The parish church of Bishop and Mrs Gray, St Saviour's at Claremont, developed consistently through the fifty years after its completion as a chancel in 1854 (Refer C10 for details). The first two bays of the nave were added in 1857, another two bays in 1865 and bays 5 and 6 plus the triple bell-turret were built in 1880. It was thought that the church was complete but in 1903 -04, Sophia's original chancel was demolished so that the church could be extended in the opposite direction. Another two bays of the nave were built as well as a new chancel and ancillary rooms (Refer lower diagram in Figure X). Bishop Gray did not foresee this final phase but at the consecration of the first chancel in 1854, it was reported that the "present church is only meant to be the chancel of a larger church, hereafter to be built, and consequently has somewhat of an unfinished look..."¹³⁸ Sophia's sketch of 'her' church drawn after the completion of the first two bays in 1857, (Refer Figure X), shows, however, that the church had more of an 'unfinished look' at this interim stage of its development as a parish church. Mrs Gray's drawing records the two-light Decorated windows of the nave aisle, trefoiled heads on the lancets of the chancel as well as the three-light East window with its reticulated tracery.

CONCLUSION:

SOPHIA GRAY'S BUILDING STYLE AND THE BISHOP'S BUILDING PROGRAMME

A synopsis of Sophia Gray's architectural style and achievements must be made within the context of the building programme that created the need for her skills. The Bishop's programme, in turn, may be reviewed within the framework of the spread of Anglicanism in the 19th century in South Africa as the thread of British expansion in that century runs through virtually all aspects of the Grays' activities.

Apart from the roughly 4000 settlers who arrived at Algoa Bay in 1820, about another 6000 British immigrants were drawn to the Cape between 1815 and 1840 alone.¹³⁹ British settlers were responsible for bringing about a profound transformation in the Cape Colony's social and economic structure. The majority of the immigrants came out of urban and commercial backgrounds, introducing to the colony "a spirit and practice of enterprise and accumulation."¹⁴⁰ It has been estimated that only about a

¹³⁶ Gray's Journal, 31 August 1850.

¹³⁷ USPG Records, MSE 9, Cape Town Vol. E.12.

¹³⁸ *S A Church Magazine*, May 1854, p164.

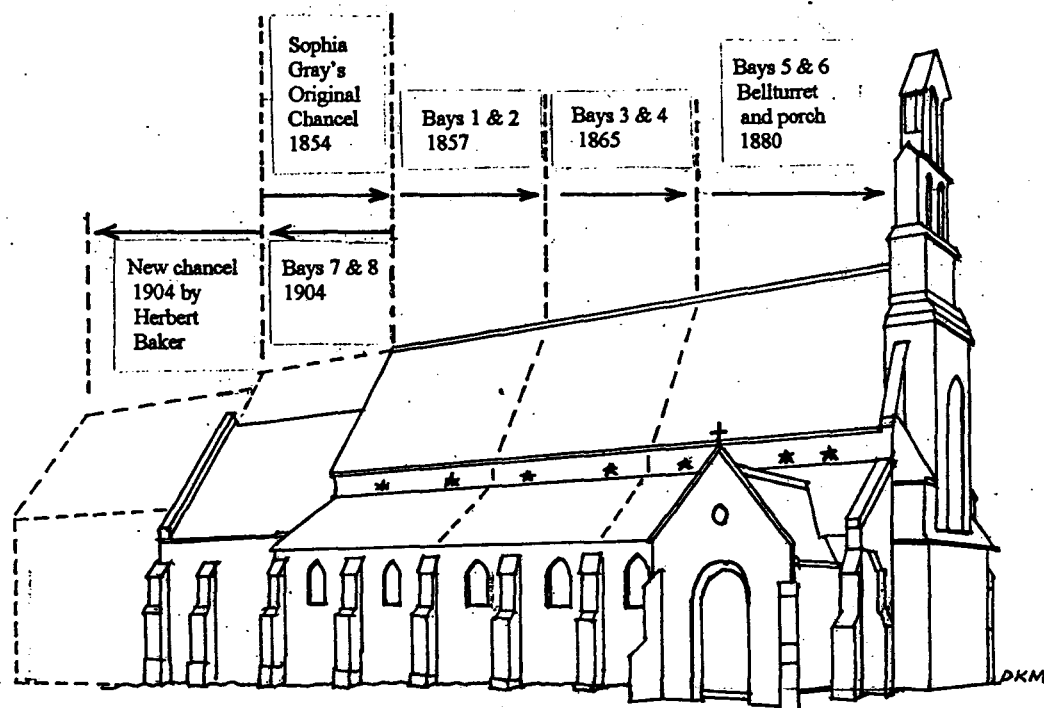
¹³⁹ *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, 2, p443, quoted in L. Bryer and K. S. Hunt, *The 1820 Settlers*, p73.

¹⁴⁰ J. B. Peires, 'The British and the Cape, 1814-1834' in R. Elphick & H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping*

DEVELOPMENT OF ST SAVIOUR'S CHURCH, CLAREMONT, CAPE TOWN



Mrs Gray's pencil sketch of St Saviour's c1857, showing (right) her original chancel of 1854 and (left) the first two bays of the nave built 1857.



Schematic sketch showing the five phases in the building of St Saviour's Church. Note that this view is from the north side; Sophia's sketch (above), is from the south side.

third of the 1820 settlers were farmers and unskilled labourers. The break-up of settler parties in the Albany settlements to pursue other occupations has been well documented.¹⁴¹ Events in the 1830s led to the emigration of Dutch colonists northwards and, according to Rev William Shaw's¹⁴² comments made in Grahamstown in 1844, as the Dutch moved out, so the British in the Eastern Cape, "became the principle owners of Port Elizabeth... acquired by purchase... the most valuable portions of Upper Albany, ... Uitenhage, Somerset, and Cradock, and are found even in the more remote Divisions of Graaff-Reinet and Colesberg... to a great extent they have Anglicanised... the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope".¹⁴³ This process applied equally to wherever the English had moved in. As the English settlers (with Church of England affiliations) moved inland, they drifted further from the established churches of the Anglican Communion. In 1847, the ten existing churches in the Cape Colony named by Bishop Gray were in the Cape Peninsula (5) and in the 'Settler Country' (5)¹⁴⁴ between Algoa Bay and Bathurst, with no English church in the 800 kilometres between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

In 1848, the Colonial Government was aware (John Montagu the Colonial Secretary in particular) that the newly arrived Bishop Gray would need to make contact with his widely scattered flock. In 1849, a travelling allowance of £400 was allocated to Gray and a like amount for his archdeacon, Merriman, in Grahamstown. In defending the grant in the face of criticism before the Legislative Council, Montagu stated that "the present system of an extensive immigration from England is daily and rapidly augmenting their numbers... it is considered that the bishop... must travel to every part of the Colony where a few members of his church may be gathered, it [the allowance] can hardly be regarded as an excessive amount."¹⁴⁵ As the histories in Section 2.2 have revealed, there was great appreciation for the visit of the bishop in the new and distant settlements and in most of these, Bishop Gray found a core of committed churchmen around whom he could build a church society.

Bishop Gray's stated objective of 1847, to "increase the number of clergy who will minister to... our own community, many of whom... are cut off from the services and religious ordinances of their own Church,"¹⁴⁶ compelled him to seek out the communities where English settlers had established themselves in sufficient numbers to justify the corollary to the objective: "I shall also need aid in providing Churches, Schools, and Teachers." The infiltration of British throughout the country encouraged the Church to follow, and where communities were motivated by the Bishop to build, there Mrs Gray was able to replicate a piece of English architecture, to which her husband could respond (as he did at George), "It is delightful to see our old English churches repeated in this land."¹⁴⁷

Most of the rural villages where an Anglican church was later built had been established some years before the advent of the English. Colesberg, on the road to the

of *South African Society*, p480.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p475.

¹⁴² Shaw (1798-1872) was the leading Methodist minister and missionary in the Eastern Cape.

¹⁴³ L. Bryer and K. S. Hunt, *The 1820 Settlers*, p70.

¹⁴⁴ Gray counted Fort Beaufort (a garrison chapel), as one of the five churches but excluded the Cuylerville Chapel, built in 1840.

¹⁴⁵ W. A. Newman, *Biographical Memoir of John Montagu*, p285.

¹⁴⁶ Letter of Appeal, 26 April 1847, USPG Archives, MSE 9, National Library.

¹⁴⁷ Gray's Journal, 3 December 1850, p189.

north, was begun in 1830. Gray started his church there in 1849. In Somerset East, established in 1825, the church began in 1854. Riversdale, begun in 1838, saw the start of St Matthew's in 1854. The time lag between the setting out of new villages and the start of a church by Bishop Gray, however, was in some instances remarkably short. At Knysna (Newhaven), the village was set out in 1846 and three years later, St George's Church had begun. Oudtshoorn was proclaimed a village in 1853 and only seven years later St Jude's was being built. Robertson started as a village in 1857 and its church begun in 1861. These are indicative of the great sense of urgency and concern with which Bishop Gray approached the task of building churches.

The graph, *Anglican Churches & Chapels built 1820-1879* (Refer Figure X*), is visual proof of the dramatic impact made in villages and towns by Bishop Gray's building programme. The ten Anglican churches built between 1826 and 1847, when plotted on the graph, show an averaged building rate of roughly a church every two years. From 1848 until about 1878, at least another 60 churches were built in 30 years, an averaged rate of *a new church every six months*. Taking the preceding 20 years as an equitable benchmark, the Bishop's programme can be acclaimed as remarkable building boom. As the churches graphed after 1848 do not include those erected through the efforts of other bishops (Bishops Colenso and Macrorie in the Diocese of Natal from 1854, Bishops Armstrong and Cotterill in the Diocese of Grahamstown from 1854, or Bishops Twells and Webb in the Diocese of Bloemfontein from 1863), the incremental tally of churches may be attributed solely to Bishop Gray.

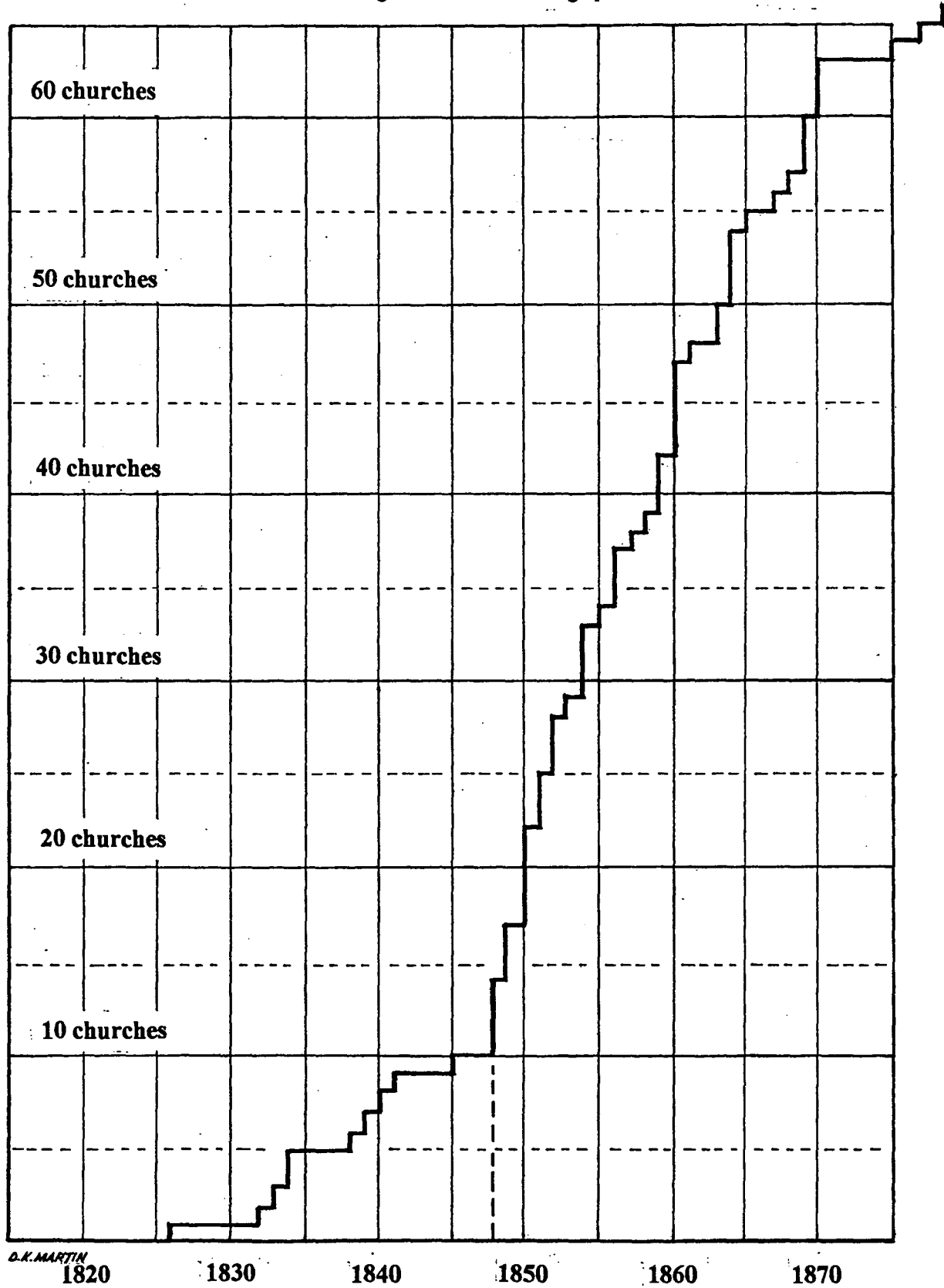
Mrs Gray's part in the church boom, initiated and sustained by her husband over a quarter century, though confined largely to the technicalities of design and construction, was key to the success of the planting function undertaken by the Bishop. The mere presence of someone with drawing skills and building knowledge assured the Bishop that queries and objections raised in the course of encounters with building committees and contractors, could be responded to on site. One of Bishop Gray's biographers writes of Mrs Gray, "She was like an architect's notebook, whenever the dear Bishop referred to her for information, her memory was equal to it; the price of materials, building in stone or brick, plastering, roofing, thatching; she seemed at home in it all; her ready pencil soon had plans and drawings for the new church or chapel prepared for the workmen."¹⁴⁸

Reference was made in the Introduction on page 4 to the *basis* on which authorship of the church designs was attributed to Mrs Gray. The histories in Section 2.2 do not in every case provide conclusive proof in primary source documents of her involvement and even secondary evidence is often vague. A factor that lends credibility to Mrs Gray providing plans *ahead of local designers or builders* was that (apart from the 1848 and 1850 Visitations) she was invariably at her husband's side during his travels and even when separated from him, she was intensely involved with the paper work of all his undertakings. She had a natural aptitude for drawing so assisting the Bishop with the design function would have been given out of her intrinsic interest in architecture rather than out of duty. She was obviously not paid for her drawings, an expense that the Bishop would have incurred had he consulted architects. The paucity of funds which runs like a thread through all of the Bishop's building projects, would more easily prompt a fledgling church community to accept the Bishop's 'in-house'

¹⁴⁸ A. E. M. Anderson-Morshead, *Reminiscences of Robert Gray*, p41.

ANGLICAN CHURCHES & CHAPELS BUILT 1820 - 1879 **Showing the impact of Bishop Gray's Church Building Programme**

The churches and chapels graphed after 1848 were those founded by Bishop Robert Gray.
These have been charted according to the start of building operations at each church.



D.K. MARTIN

design service than obtain plans from a local builder (as happened occasionally, such as at Bloemfontein where Mr Hopkins provided a design) even if these were gratis. Aspects of Mrs Gray's specialist contribution to the building project are summarised below.

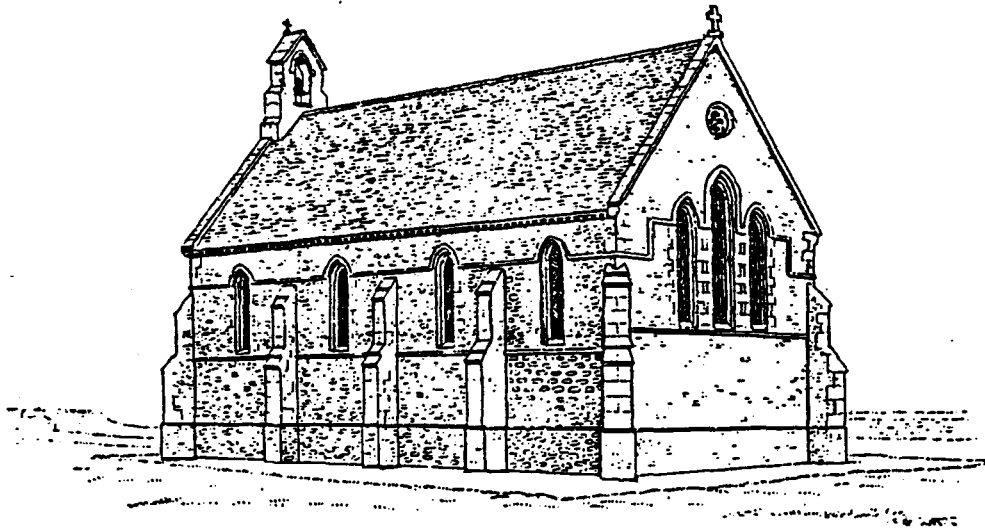
"The great test of Architectural beauty" wrote Pugin, "is the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended."¹⁴⁹ Put another way, the style of a building should correspond with its use; the purpose of the building should be apparent to the 'spectator.' The retrospective look at Sophia Gray's churches and chapels, viewed as an architectural group, confirms that her designs consistently and effectively show that all the buildings are places of worship or for religious schooling. There is no mistaking that any one of her churches could be used for any thing less than ecclesiastical affairs. Pugin's other principles, that "features about a building... not necessary for convenience..." are inadmissible, and "all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction," were also followed in Sophia Gray's work. She probably achieved this without consciously checking each design against Pugin's *True Principles*, but by following the patterns and plans drawn by respected English Gothic architects and being conscious of the standards of the Ecclesiologists, satisfactory results followed naturally. What was a possibility, however, was that she could have designed and introduced some new architectural device into a church plan to satisfy her own artistic bent. The Bishop may have been hard-pressed to sanction his wife's design had she, as his wife and as the unofficial Diocesan architect, added some architectural device he considered 'not correct in point of architecture'. Nowhere among Sophia Gray's churches, however, is to be found any innovation that may be regarded as an architectural aberration.

As seen in the preceding pages, Sophia Gray followed ecclesiological 'instructions' that dictated the requirements of *essential components* of a church. Summarising the aspects analysed, Mrs Gray and her husband had (1) oriented 30 out of 37 churches correctly; (2) Of the 29 churches measured, 25 had correctly proportioned naves; (3) Including school chapels, 32 of her 40 churches and chapels were built with buttresses; (4) Her high pitched roofs matched their English counterparts, half of these having pitches exceeding 55 degrees; (5) Roof truss designs conformed to the basic 'approved' arch-braced and scissors designs; (6) She faithfully employed the lancet, singly or in combinations in all 25 of her Early English churches, and in a number of cases, (8) introduced traceried designs; (7) She paid due respect to the east end with over 20 out of 25 Early English churches featuring the preferred triplet lancet; (9) Entrances to churches and chapels were correctly placed at the west corners or centrally in the west wall; (10) Foiled with her hope for towers, she placed bellcotes on 10 of her churches; and (11) as far as building materials were concerned, 22 of her churches were built in stone. As a self-trained architect, Mrs Gray acquired a sound enough knowledge of the profession to understand the constructional and aesthetic role of the disparate architectural elements, some of which have been analysed above. She applied and manipulated these elements, under strict budget limitations, to provide the optimum *internal space essential for church rituals and ceremonies* as required by the Church of England and the Ecclesiologists.

Notwithstanding the above statistics that confirm their high ideals to erect

¹⁴⁹ A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts...*, p1.

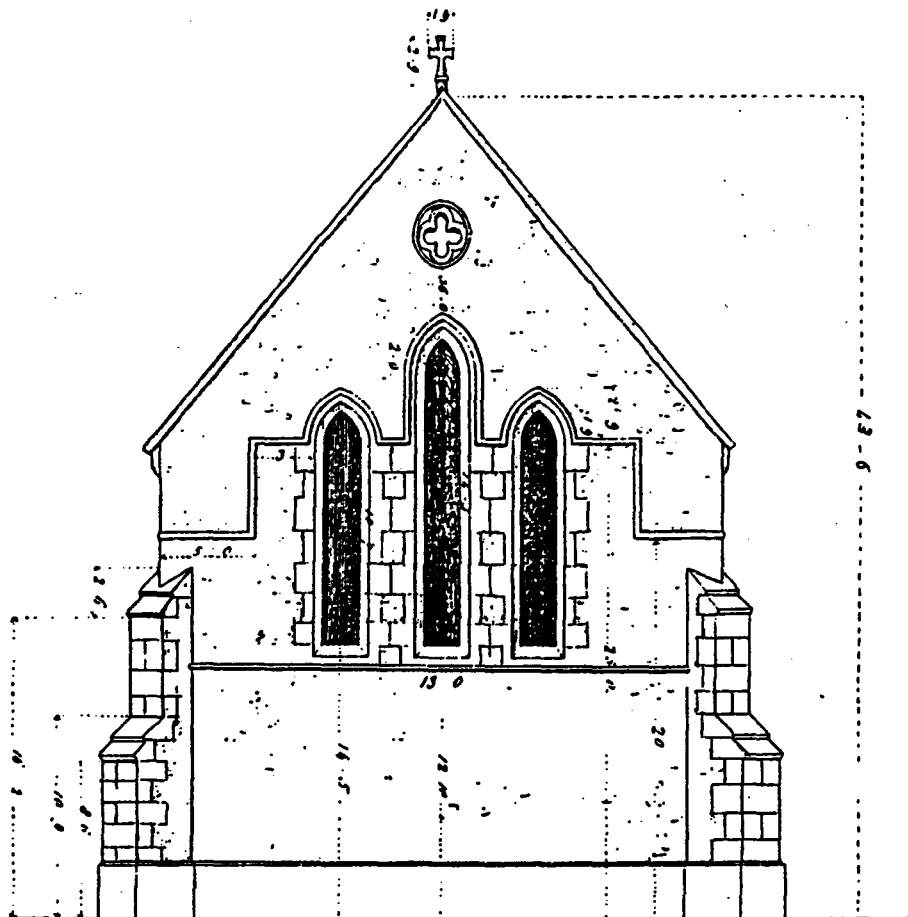
LITTLEMORE CHURCH, BY UNDERWOOD, PERSPECTIVE AND EAST END



A. Fisher del. et lith.

LITTLEMORE CHURCH.

VIEW FROM THE SOUTH EAST

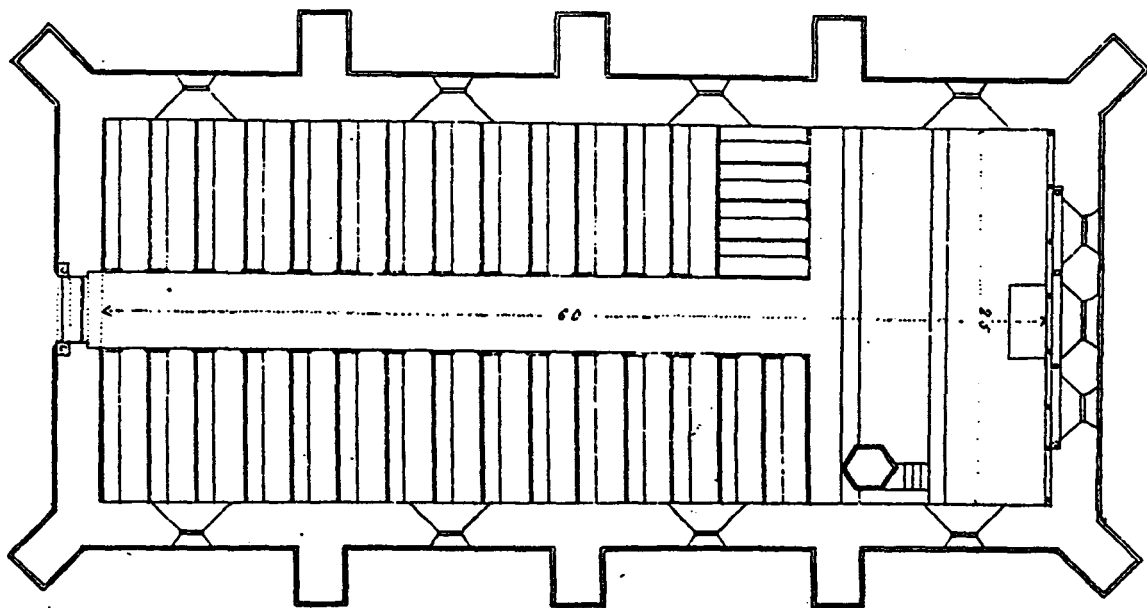
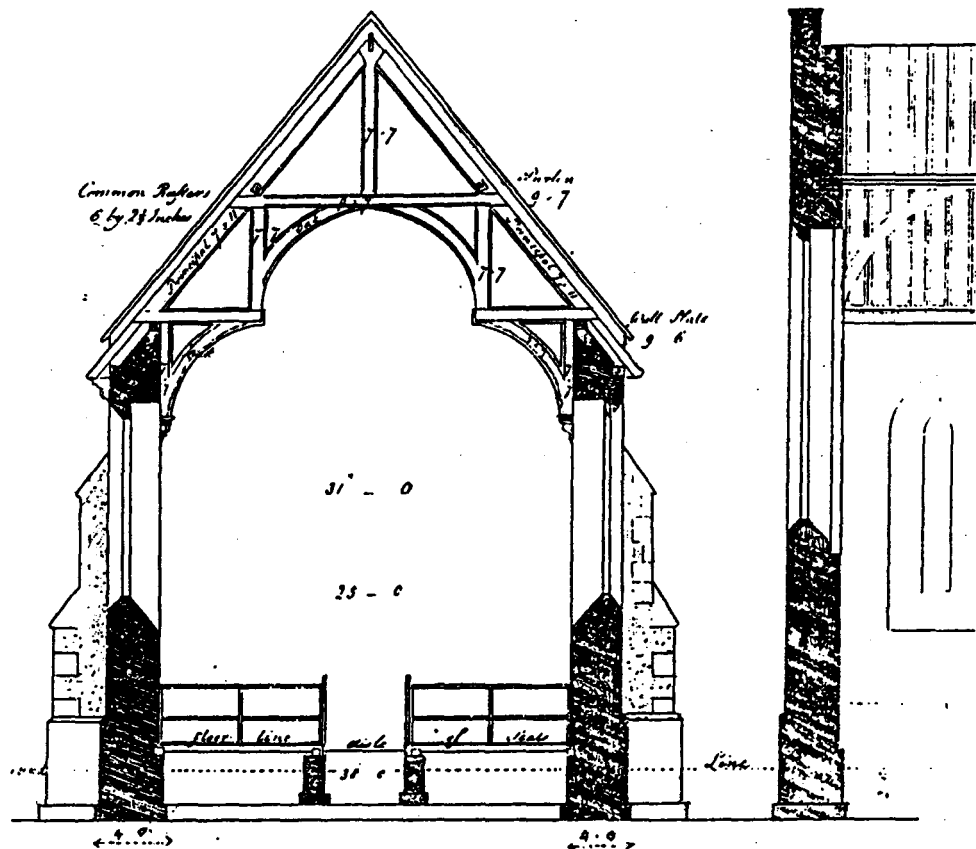


Elevation towards the East.

Perspective and East elevation showing triplet lancet and diagonal buttresses of the Littlemore Church, near Oxford, by Henry Jones Underwood, Architect, "The most churchlike of modern churches" (*The Ecclesiologist*, November 1841, p10). Plans published in 1840 by the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. Source: St Mark's Cathedral Archives, George.

LITTLEMORE CHURCH BY UNDERWOOD, SECTION AND PLAN

*Transverse Section of Church
showing the Timbers of Roof*



GROUND PLAN OF LITTLEMORE CHURCH.

Transverse Section (top) showing detail of hammerbeam truss, and Ground Plan.
The hexagonal pulpit stands incorrectly on the right or 'Epistle' side.
Source: St Mark's Cathedral Archives, George.

ecclesiastically correct churches in the Diocese, there is, as highlighted under the review of building materials (sub-section 11), a notable difference between the Gray churches and English Gothic Revival churches. Though the Grays had come out from England at a time when the Gothic Revival was in the ascendancy, Mrs Gray apparently soon realized that the designs in their portfolio of drawings would have to be modified to suit local building conditions and that they would need to accept that Early English would be the style for the majority of their churches, largely because it was the cheapest.¹⁵⁰ Even this simplest form of the Gothic had to be modified. Stone of churches built in the towns and villages was largely roughly dressed (squared) and in a few cases, random rubble, as opposed to the ashlar and brick used extensively in Britain. The coarser building materials gave rise to thicker walls, cruder detailing and explains why lancet windows of the Gray churches were generally not as slim¹⁵¹ as the 7:1 or 8:1 ratios of height to width, as preferred by the Ecclesiologists or even roughly 6:1 of churches in Durham County. Disregarding the five or six attempts at Decorated churches, and privately funded churches, Sophia's church style was thus largely confined to what could be managed with the meagre funds available. The Littlemore plans by Underwood (Refer Figures Y and Z on the previous pages), fall into this simple formula and probably account for their selection by Mrs Gray for St Mark's Church at George so early in the Grays' building programme. Devoid of vestry and porch, the Littlemore plan was austere and simple, comprising an extended rectangle, 60 x 25 feet, the added length allowing for the sanctuary, as there was no chancel. Littlemore was symmetrical: four diagonal buttresses, four window bays, a triplet lancet in the east wall, a lancet couplet in the west, a bellcote above the west door. Only the roof trusses (hammerbeam) can be considered more demanding to construct than the trusses that Sophia subsequently used.

The Gray churches, built under the named restrictions as well as following the imported English Gothic style, rendered them readily distinguishable from churches of the Dutch Reformed communities. Though these churches were Gothic Revival in character, many were built on a grand scale with large pointed windows, symmetrical in plan, constructed in brick and finished in white plaster. The Dutch, having established many of the settlements before the significant emigration of British settlers to the Cape in 1820, usually selected the prime site in the village for their church, a factor that enhanced the building's dominance of the area, whereas the Gray churches were not always ideally situated. After Carl Otto Hager, a drawing master-turned-architect, came to the Cape in 1837, the Dutch churches he designed were closer to pattern-book Gothic but were decorated with spires and pinnacles,¹⁵² a feature that he continued to use into the 1880s. Especially in the rural areas, Sophia's humbler, unadorned stone churches (and parish halls and parsonages), by contrast, display a rustic charm which prompted an Anglican priest to write, "All these buildings are of stone, and with... well-kept shrubbery look as if they had been transplanted from some country village in England."¹⁵³ Sophia's small, plain "high

¹⁵⁰ Gray had asked Rev Samuel Gray, Cradock, in his letter of 27 September 1851, "My wife will furnish you with plans & working drawings for your church... Have you any choice as to its style? Early English (like Mainsforth Church) is the cheapest. Do you propose to have it thatched or slated?" (Letterbook Vol.2, AB 1162/A1, p203).

¹⁵¹ A visual review of photographs taken of the Gray churches during extensive fieldwork between 1998 and 2001, confirms the claim.

¹⁵² Small turret-like terminations of spires and buttresses; usually ornamented.

¹⁵³ J. Widdicombe, *Memories and Musings*, p128. Widdicombe came to the Cape in 1860.

shouldered"¹⁵⁴ churches also differ from the more sophisticated Anglican churches that were built later in the century during economic booms in the country.¹⁵⁵

Mrs Gray demonstrated by her designs and those she modified, whether extensively or hardly at all, that she was aware of the ecclesiological summation of *the approach to church design*: "...we shall never rival the ancient builders till we imitate them in the object and principles by which they designed: namely, to the glory of God." The erection of such a church should be 'true and real' and adapted to its sacred purpose "even though of size the most humble and of materials the most mean".¹⁵⁶ *The Ecclesiologist* held that "an architect has a right to adopt any style he pleases; only having once adopted it he should adhere to it consistently."¹⁵⁷ As a self-taught architect and despite the Victorian aversion for women in professions, Sophia Gray achieved a consistency of style within each building she designed throughout her 24 years in South Africa, equal to respected Gothic Revival architects of the era. Her contribution to the architectural heritage of South Africa is unsurpassed, the result of a disciplined life, dedicated to the service of her God, her Bishop-husband, her Church and her role as 'architect of the diocese'. †

¹⁵⁴ This adjective for Sophia Gray's style of church was used by A. Brooke (*Robert Gray – First Bishop of Cape Town*, p31) in 1947: "As they went up she painted the little, high-shouldered, Gothic churches which she designed and which stand to her memory to this day".

¹⁵⁵ For example, in the Cape Peninsula during the period 1880 to 1910, 87 churches from all denominations were built, of which 28 were Anglican. Of these, 23 were built in stone (D. K. Martin, *The Cape Town Church Building Boom, 1880-1909*, p20).

¹⁵⁶ *The Ecclesiologist*, February 1844, p71.

¹⁵⁷ *The Ecclesiologist*, No. I, November 1841, p10.

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